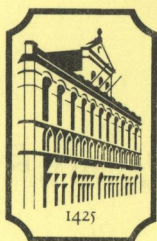


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IN PIAM MEMORIAM

LEONARDI W. FORSTER

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Victor SCHMIDT

A HUMANIST'S LIFE SUMMARIZED —
LEONARDO BRUNI'S EPITAPH*

In addition to the tombs — some of them cenotaphs — of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, of Michelangelo, Macchiavelli, Rossini, and others, the Santa Croce in Florence also contains the tomb of the famous humanist Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444). It was designed by Bernardo Rossellino and provided with an epitaph by Carlo Marsuppini (1398-1453), Bruni's fellow humanist and successor as chancellor of the Florentine Republic. This tomb, as well as a state funeral, had been awarded to Bruni because of his great services to the city. His funeral is described by the poet Naldus Naldius. It was conducted according to the classical tradition, *all' antica*: 'a disused custom or manner of burial which had been in use before among the ancients', according to Naldius.¹ His tomb, too, reflects classical traditions. The monument gives expression to 'a new conception of the sepulchral monument as a triumphal arch set against the wall'.² It is described as follows: "The tomb is contained within a niche, rectangular in plan and framed by fluted Corinthian pilasters supporting a broken entablature and a semicircular arch. Two steps form the base... The sarcophagus rests on two feet composed of lion's paws and skins. On the front face of the sarcophagus two flying genii bear the epitaph... Two eagles support the bier on which the effigy lies. Bruni wears an *oppelanda di gala*, gloves, and *pianelle*. His *capuccio* lies on the cushion. In the lunette is a half-length madonna with the Christ child in a medaillon flanked by two half-length angels'.³

* I wish to thank Dr. F. Akkerman (Groningen) for his critical reading of an earlier draft of this paper and Dr. C. W. Ooms Beek (Minneapolis) for the English translation of the text.

¹ His account, translated into English, can be found in *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni. Selected Texts, Translations and Introductions* by Gordon Griffiths, James Hankins, David Thompson, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 46 (Binghamton - New York, 1987), p. 44 (from now on referred to as *Humanism*).

² See J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (London, 1958), p. 44.

³ See Anne Markham Schulz, *The Sculpture of Bernardo Rossellino and his Workshop* (Princeton, 1977), p. 99.

Pope-Hennessy remarks further: 'But otherwise there is no religious imagery. Above the arch two putti support a garland of oak leaves containing Bruni's coat of arms.'⁴ The tomb, with its fluted pilasters and arches, breathes the spirit of the ancients. The same classical spirit is revealed in the epitaph:

postquam Leonardus e vita migravit,⁵
 Historia luget, Eloquentia muta est
 ferturque Musas tum graecas tum
 latinas lacrimas tenere non potuisse

(‘since Leonardo departed this life, History is mourning, Eloquence is mute, and it is said that the Muses, both Greek and Latin, could not restrain their tears’).

For this epitaph Marsuppini has used various elements from epitaphs of ancient poets; he has combined these elements, slightly altered them, and added to them. This will be discussed in more detail below.

The two classical epitaphs he had in mind are those of Naevius (died 201 B.C.), who wrote comedies, tragedies and an epic, and of Plautus, the comic poet (ca 250-184 B.C.). On first thoughts it seems odd that particularly Naevius' epitaph is playing a role in 15th-century Florence, for even though Horace mentions him twice in his *Sermones*, Naevius had become entirely forgotten in Rome by the first century A.D. Consequently, he is unknown to us apart from a few verses cited by grammarians; manuscripts of his work have not been transmitted. That Naevius still lives on in Bruni's epitaph is because he can be found, along with Plautus' epitaph, in the very same chapter of Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*.⁶ The oldest of the surviving encyclopedic writers of ancient Rome, Gellius was highly esteemed by the Florentine humanists.⁷ In the 14th century forgotten copies of parts of the *Noctes Atticae* had been discovered, which made it possible to reconstruct the entire work except for book VIII, which, but for some scanty fragments, has remained lost to

⁴ See Pope-Hennessy, p. 44.

⁵ The epitaph reads *migravit*, not *emigravit* as printed by Pope-Hennessy, through the fourth edition 1996. The same mistake occurs in the often-used guide to Florence by Klaus Zimmermann (DuMont Buchverlag), (Köln, 1990⁶), p. 315.

⁶ The same chapter in Gellius (I, 24) also contains the epitaph of Pacuvius, which has nothing in common with Bruni's epitaph. It reads as follows: "adulescens, tametsi properas, hoc te saxulum rogat, ut sese aspicias, deinde quod scriptum est legas. Hic sunt poetae Pacuvi Marci sita ossa. Hoc volebam nescius ne esses. Vale."

⁷ On this and the following see H. Baron, *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni* (Chicago, 1968), pp. 196-7.

this day. The oldest collection of the surviving nineteen books was rediscovered in Florence in 1418. A fragmentary text was carefully copied in 1413 by Niccolò Niccoli, a Florentine contemporary of Bruni, and a beginning was made to emend the poorly transmitted Greek passages. Another example showing how great the interest in Gellius was in Florence, is the fact that in 1425 Cosimo de' Medici consulted a manuscript of Gellius which was in the possession of Guarino of Verona, who was teaching in Ferrara at the time.⁸ It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Marsuppini was familiar with Gellius and knew the above-mentioned ancient epitaphs through him. Baron mentions Gellius' strong influence on the humanists:⁹ we can show that influence concretely in the way the two epitaphs cited by Gellius have been incorporated in Bruni's epitaph.

First, let us examine Naevius' epitaph:

Immortales mortales si foret fas flere,
flerent divae Camenae Naevium poetam.
Itaque postquam est Orcho traditus thesauro,
obliti sunt Romae loquier lingua latina.

Now let us look at that of Plautus:

Postquam est mortem aptus Plautus, Comoedia luget,
scaena est deserta, dein Risus, Ludus Iocusque
et Numeri innumeri simul omnes conlacrimarunt.

First of all we will mention the points in which Bruni's epitaph corresponds with these. Marsuppini's first line starts like the one in Plautus: *postquam Leonardus* vs. *postquam... Plautus* (and somewhat further down in Naevius *postquam est Orcho traditus*). *Comoedia luget* in Plautus corresponds with *Historia luget*, and the weeping Greek and Latin Muses find their counterpart in the weeping Camenae in Naevius (and the weeping *Risus*, *Ludus*, *Iocus*, and the *Numeri Innumeri* in Plautus). Personifications are found in Plautus (*Comoedia*, *Historia*, *Risus*, etc.) and in Marsuppini (*Historia*, *Eloquentia*).

But there are variations:

1. In Plautus it is *Comoedia* who mourns; in Bruni it is *Historia*. Her mourning, too, can be explained by her relation with the deceased, for Bruni's historical work on the Florentine Republic, written in elegant Latin, had brought him great fame. When, in 1439, he had completed

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

nine books of this work and offered them to the Signoria, he received in return immunity for himself and his children, and was made an honorary citizen of Florence (he was originally from Arezzo). And when, after his death, the city government resolved to bury him in the Santa Croce, his body, wrapped in deep-red silk, lay in state in the church, his head wreathed with laurels, and his *Florentine History*, his finest gift to the Republic, placed on his breast; on the tomb, too, his effigy on the bier is holding his *History*.¹⁰ — The next phrase in his epitaph is *Eloquentia muta est*, for, in addition to his *History*, Bruni had also been acclaimed for his rhetorical work, which sings the praises of Florence after the example of the Greek rhetor Aristides (117-ca 187), who had glorified Athens. However, the *Laudatio Florentinae Urbis* is not the only work suggested to us by the word *Eloquentia*: Bruni had in general been a great propagandist of eloquence and the art of rhetoric,¹¹ advocating the idea that the deliberative kind of rhetoric should have an important function in ruling the city.¹² The notion of Eloquence falling silent has its (somewhat less obvious) counterpart in the silence of the Romans, who had forgotten their Latin after the death of Naevius.

2. The notion of the Greek and Latin Muses being unable to restrain their tears has a parallel in the weeping of the *Camenae* in Naevius' epitaph. The weeping of *Risus*, *Ludus*, etc. in Plautus' epitaph — the personification of all that is characteristic of Plautine comedy — can be included here, too. It should be noted that on Naevius' epitaph the weeping of the *Camenae* is only alluded to: the function of the 'unreal condition' in *inmortales mortales si foret fas flere* is to indicate that it would be too bold to assume that the *Camenae* are weeping in reality. Interestingly enough, on Bruni's epitaph the weeping of the Muses is not announced as a fact either: *fertur* leaves the possibility open. We may assume that this aspect of Marsuppini's formulation has been inspired by the phrasing in Naevius' epitaph.

3. The word *Camenae*, the Latin name for the Greek Muses, was chosen deliberately in the case of Naevius. With his *Bellum Poenicum* Naevius had introduced the national epic to Rome, and as a comic poet he had latinized the subject-matter of Greek comedy. In Bruni's epitaph

¹⁰ Bruni's biographical data are taken from G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus* (Berlin, 1893³), I, pp. 306-7; also from *Humanism*, passim.

¹¹ See Griffiths in *Humanism*, pp. 101-2.

¹² See Hankins in *Humanism*, pp. 235-6.

we have the Greek and the Roman Muses, who are said to be weeping. The Greek Muses are mentioned first, not only because they were, so to speak, older than the Latin ones, but also because Bruni, in addition to his highly valued works in Latin mentioned above, was at least as famous for his translations from the Greek, e.g. of Demosthenes, Aeschines, Xenophon, Plutarch, and especially Plato. Through his elegant and lucid translations he made the treasures of Greek civilization accessible to the reader schooled in Latin.¹³ For this reason it is understandable that the Latin Muses come second.

4. The Latin models of Marsuppini's text are epitaphs that the poets made for themselves. At least, that is what Gellius I 24 says: *epigrammata... quae ipsi (sc. poetae) fecerunt et incidenda sepulchro suo reliquerunt*. In modern literature, however, some scholars dispute the correctness of this statement; the possibility that these epitaphs have been written by Varro cannot be ruled out.¹⁴ But in view of the esteem in which, as we have seen, Gellius was held, there is no reason to assume that Marsuppini would have questioned this statement by Gellius. So Marsuppini deviates from his model insofar as he wrote an epitaph not for himself but for his fellow humanist. Moreover, the self-made epitaphs of Naevius and Plautus are written in verse; for Naevius this is the Saturnian metre, in which he also wrote the *Bellum Poenicum*, for Plautus the dactylic hexameter.¹⁵

Marsuppini was consistent in opting for an epitaph in prose, since it was through his works in prose that Bruni had achieved his greatest fame.

5. Another significant deviation is the fact that the 'neutral' *postquam est mortem aptus Plautus* and Naevius' clearly pagan *postquam est Orcho traditus thesauro* are rendered in Bruni's epitaph as *postquam Leonardus e vita migravit*. We learn from *ThLL* s.v. *migrare* 936, 23 that the expression *e vita migrare* is attested first in Cicero, then once in Cicero's contemporary Nepos, and after that in Augustine and from Augustine it appears frequently in Christian authors. Nepos *Att.* 22,1 *hac oratione habita tanta constantia vocis... ut non e vita, sed e domo in*

¹³ See Voigt, p. 309.

¹⁴ See e.g. H. Dahlmann, *Studien zu Varro "de poetis"*, Abhandlungen der Akad. der Wiss. und Literatur Mainz, Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Klasse [1962], no. 10.

¹⁵ The hexameters are not particularly smooth: v.1 consists of only spondaics; in v. 2 final *a* in *deserta* is lengthened and *s* in *ludus* is suppressed. A detailed discussion of this question is outside the scope of this paper.

domum videretur migrare does not allow us to draw any conclusion as to an association with the afterlife, but other passages do, e.g. Cicero *Leg. 2*, 55 *nisi maiores eos, qui ex hac vita migrassent, in deorum numero esse voluissent*, where the association with the afterlife (*in deorum numero esse*) is emphasized by the addition of *hac* to *vita*. This association is also evident in *Rep. 6*,9 *grates... tibi ago, summe Sol, vobisque, reliqui caelites, quod ante quam ex hac vita migro, conspicio... P. Cornelium Scipionem* (sc. Masinissa, the Numidian prince who in the Second Punic War joined the Romans).¹⁶ Even more clear is *Rep. 6*,15 *quare et tibi Publi et piis omnibus retinendus animus est in custodia corporis, nec iniussu eius a quo ille est vobis datus, ex hominum vita migrandum est, ne munus humanum adsignatum a deo defugisse videamini*. The speaker is the deceased Aemilius Paulus, who appears to Scipio in a dream. He says that there is for himself and for all of those *qui patriam conservaverint, a certum... in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruuntur* (*Rep. 6*,13). When Scipio, eager to join him there, exclaims: *quid moror in terris*, Paulus calls him to order: only then it is permitted to *ex hominum vita migrare* when one has fulfilled the task God has imposed.¹⁷ Note that the words *retinendus animus est in custodia corporis* in *Rep. 6*,15 refer to the Pythagorean-Platonic concept of the body as the prison of the soul,¹⁸ which had been phrased even more clearly in the previous chapter (*hi vivunt, qui e corporum vinclis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt*; see below); the expression *e vita migrare* fits in with this notion. Another reference to an afterlife can be found in a passage from Cicero's *Hortensius*, transmitted in *Aug. Trin. 14*,9 (= *Cic. phil. frg. V 50*) *de omnibus quattuor* (sc. *virtutibus*) *magnus auctor eloquentiae Tullius in Hortensio dialogo disputans: 'si nobis (inquit) cum ex hac vita migrassemus,*¹⁹ *in beatorum insulis immortale aevum, ut fabulae ferunt, degere licet...'*; here, too, *vita* is qualified by *hac*. The passages mentioned by ThLL for Augustine are *Enchir. 31*,120 *nihil ei oberit, si tunc ex hac vita migraverit* and *Serm. 101*,1,1. For a Christian author the association with the afterlife is a matter of course.

¹⁶ K. Büchner, *M. Tullius Cicero. De re publica. Kommentar* (Heidelberg, 1984), remarks on this passage: 'Im folgenden Jahr stirbt Masinissa. Er hat die Ahnung des Todes, der für ihn eine Wanderung — *migro* — in ein anderes Reich ist', and points at the Numidian beliefs that play a role here.

¹⁷ *Ex hominum vita* is identical to what elsewhere was called *ex hac vita*.

¹⁸ See Büchner, p. 465 ad loc.

¹⁹ A little farther down in the same chapter we read *ex hac vita emigrabimus*.

The noun *migratio*, according to *ThLL* s.v. 934, 37, is used twice in connection with the afterlife: Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 27 *mortem... esse... quandam quasi migrationem commutationemque vitae* and 1, 98 *migrationem esse mortem in eas oras, quas qui e vita excesserunt incolunt*. Here Cicero gives a free rendition of Socrates' final words to his judges, as described in Plat. *Apol.* 40C f. (see below).²⁰

Because, according to the *ThLL*, *migrare* (-atio) is often confused in the mss. with *emigrare* (-atio) and vice versa, and because the meaning of the two expressions is identical, we can also include *emigrare e vita* in our examination. According to *ThLL* s.v. *emigrare* 488, 52 this expression occurs once in Cicero; then it is found several times in Augustine (*ThLL* mentions no passages after him). The passage in Cicero (*Leg.* 2,48) reads as follows: *nulla est... persona, quae ad vicem eius, qui e vita emigraverit, propius accedat*, which has been translated in the Loeb edition as 'for no one else can more truly be said to take the place of the dead (sc. to perform the rites, that up to this moment the deceased person had performed)'. It is difficult to find any connotations of the expression *e vita migrare* in this passage, and an explicit association with the afterlife cannot be made; on the other hand, we found this association possible in *e vita migrare* in *Leg.* 2,55. Be this as it may, the next passage cited by *ThLL*, Augustine *Civ.* 1,22 p. 36,24 D, leaves no doubt in this respect and deserves to be quoted in full: *quam ob rem si magno animo fieri putandum est, cum sibi homo ingerit mortem, ille potius Theombrotus in hac animi magnitudine reperitur, quem ferunt lecto Platonis libro, ubi de immortalitate animae disputavit, se praecipitem dedisse de muro atque ita ex hac vita emigrasse ad eam, quam credidit esse meliorem* (cf. also p. 37, 21). Here *e vita emigrare* refers explicitly to an *emigratio in vitam meliorem*, because this Theombrotus had become convinced of the immortality of the soul after reading Plato's *Phaedo*.²¹ Augustine uses the expression elsewhere in a Christian sense, e.g. *Con.* 9,3 *christianus et fidelis factus ex hac vita emigravit* (he

²⁰ See M. Pohlenz, *Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri V* (Stuttgart, 1912⁵), p. 114.

²¹ This story is already found in Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 84 (where the subject's name is Cleombrotus, however), after an epigram by Callimachus. But the terminology, which we are concerned with, is not found in Cicero's text, which only has *e muro se in mare abiecis*. So Augustine, by nature sensitive to the connection with the afterlife, has 'adapted' Cicero's text. Theombrotus' death, for that matter, was a widely quoted story among fourteenth-century authors; see J. Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, 17 (Leiden, 1990), I, 38 n. 18.

departed from this life being both made a Christian and baptized')²² and *c. Pelag.* 3, 5, 14 *de hac vita liberandus et in consortium cum Christo regnatorum recipiendus emigrat*. Here, too, the association with the afterlife is emphasized by the addition of *hac* to *vita*. In the story of Theombrotus this *hac* had the same function. In this respect there is a connection between Platonic and Christian views, although it should be mentioned that the qualification of the afterlife as a *vita melior* occurs only in the Platonic context.²³

Thus we have established that the expression *e vita* (*e-*)*migrare* (*-atio*) with the connotation of 'afterlife' is found first in Cicero and then in Augustine. In Cicero it is practically always connected with the notion of 'afterlife', in which case *vita* is qualified by *hac* or *hominum* (not in *Tusc.* 1, 98, however), and it is almost always found in a Platonic context. In Augustine it refers explicitly to the afterlife; generally found in a Christian context, it occurs once (*Civ.* 1,22) in a Platonic context.

Can we assume that this association with the afterlife is also alluded to in Bruni's epitaph? If so, then two questions need to be answered. First, did Bruni subscribe to those Platonic-Christian associations which were connected in antiquity with (*e-*)*migrare* and, second, if this is so, can we assume that Marsuppini took this conviction into account when he wrote the epitaph? With respect to the first question, Bruni has not often expressed an opinion on this subject,²⁴ but there is one letter in which he breaks his silence: his letter of consolation to Nicola di Vieri de' Medici on the occasion of the death of his mother. After praising her *virtus* and *probitas*, and after describing the happiness and completeness of her life, he continues:²⁵ *nec adversi quicquam illi accidisse existimo, quod mortua sit, nec sane in morte quicquam est mali, propterea quod aut extinguantur protinus omnes sensus, et fiat quasi somno cuidam nunquam interrupto simillima requies, qua si est suavissimum unius interdum noctis toto spatio sine ulla intermissione potiri: quanta suavis in illo sempiterno tempore est existimanda? Aut si remaneant*

²² Translation by W. Watts in the Loeb edition.

²³ *ThLL* mentions the following variations on *e vita migrare*: "de vita migrare, e mundo migrare, de hac luce migrare, ab hac luce migrare", all of them in Christian authors, 'fere in formulis'. The only pagan text is *Cic. fin.* 1, 62: "non dubitat, si ita melius sit, migrare de vita", referring to Epicurus, who renounces each form of afterlife!

²⁴ Griffiths in *Humanism*, p. 321: 'his mind was closed on the subject of religion'.

²⁵ The following quotation is from the edition by Laurentius Mehus, *Leonardi Bruni Arretini Epistolarum libri VIII*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1741). Our text is Mehus II, 55. The letter is dated 1433/4, see Griffiths in *Humanism*, p. 337.

sensus, vivantque animi nostri post mortem, viam illam fatalem ingresses ad meliora domicilia migrare, et cum melioribus et sui similibus habitare est procul dubio confitendum, ut aut nichil mali sit in morte, aut multum etiam boni.

It has been established for a long time that Bruni is following here the argumentation of Socrates before his judges, as it appears in Plato's *Apology* 40C, although there are differences in nuance. Plato, too, mentions the two possibilities: δυοῖν γὰρ θάτερόν ἐστιν τὸ τεθνάναι· ἢ γὰρ οἶον μηδὲν εἶναι μηδὲ αἴσθησιν μηδεμίαν μηδενὸς ἔχειν τὸν τεθνεῶτα, ἢ ... μεταβολή τις τυγχάνει οὕσα καὶ μετοίκησις τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον.

The first alternative is elaborated in 40D; it is also the first alternative in Bruni (*quod aut extinguantur...*). Then, without hesitation, Bruni opts for the second alternative (*aut si remaneant sensus* etc.) with the words *ego... michi persuadeo, animos hominum esse sempiternos*. In Plato the preference for the second alternative is expressed in a slightly less confident way: πολλή ἔλπις ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ εἶναι (40C), and τί μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν τούτου εἶη ἄν (40E; note the potential optative!). Admittedly, this choice was somewhat easier for a humanist in 15th-century Florence, since he had the authority of Christian doctrine on his side.²⁶

Shortly afterwards, in *Ap.* 40E, the second alternative is formulated: εἰ δ' αὖ οἶον ἀποδημῆσαι ἐστὶν ὁ θάνατος ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον. In his letter of consolation Bruni renders ἀποδημῆσαι as *ad meliora domicilia migrare*. For the use of *migrare* Bruni could fall back on the translation Cicero, in *Tusc.* 1, 97-98, had made of Plato *Ap.* 40C, rendering μετοίκησις τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ τοποῦ τοῦ ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον with *ut... in alium quendam locum ex his locis morte migretur*; in his own translation of the *Apology*²⁷ Bruni had rendered

²⁶ Cf. Marsuppini's explicit statement on this subject, cited in note 36 below.

²⁷ Concerning the translation of the *Apology*: 'Bruni was the most important translator of Plato in the early fifteenth century', according to Hankins, *Plato*, I, 29. His first translation of Plato was that of the *Phaedo* in 1405. In Plato he found an ally of Christianity because of Plato's arguments for the immortality of the soul, as we can read in Bruni's introduction to his *Phaedo* translation: "neque enim minima pars religionis est, quae ad animas nostras post mortem hominis pertinet. Qua in re licet Christiana doctrina nullo indigeat adiumento, cum omnia usque adeo plana ac firma sint, ut in neminem penitus nisi omnino insipientem ulla dubitatio iam cadere possit, tamen erit ista non mediocris ad recte credendum accumulatio, si videbunt hominem philosophum ex omni gentilitate acutissimum ac sapientissimum idem quod nostri de anima sensisse" (this text is quoted from H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino. Humanistisch-philosophische*

ἀποδημῆσαι etc. as *tanquam migracio quedam est mors ex hac vita in alium locum*.²⁸

By adding the adjective *meliora* to *domicilia*, Bruni prepares the notion of death being even preferable to life, as does Socrates in *Ap.* 40E when he asks τί μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν τούτου εἶη ἄν (namely, to find oneself in an ἄλλος τόπος), and in 41D μοι δῆλόν ἐστι τοῦτο, ὅτι ἤδη τεθνάναι ... βέλτιον ἦν μοι.²⁹ But in his letter of consolation Bruni goes further than Socrates, adding the paradoxical notion that death is the beginning of true life, and that earthly life is actually death: *seque nunc tandem vivere, nostram vero hanc, quam vitam dicimus, mortem esse cognoscit* (sc. *optimus quisque*). That paradox is not found in the *Apology*, but Bruni could read it in *Cic. Rep.* 6,14 (a passage that precedes the one in *Rep.* 6,15 cited above), where Aemilius Paulus says: *immo vero... hi vivunt, qui e corporum vinclis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt, vestra vero quae dicitur vita mors est*, in which *e corporum vinclis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt* refers to Platonic thought. With *ad meliora domicilia migrare* in Bruni's letter of consolation we are back to

Schriften. Mit einer Chronologie seiner Werke und Briefe (Leipzig - Berlin, 1928, p. 4). Plato is regarded here as an ally of Christianity as to the question what happens to the soul after death. That is in agreement with the way in which Bruni makes use of the views on the immortality of the soul in the *Apology*. The high point in Bruni's endeavour to find an ally in Plato can be found in his dedication of his translation of the *Gorgias*: "de creatione mundi a vero et summo deo et de piorum impiorumque post mortem premiis penisque... Plato ipse sic asseverat et probat, ut nostris disciplinis imbutus videatur. In moralibus vero talis est eius doctrina tamque salubris et integra, ut libros eius sepe dum lego, Petrum et Paulum precepta vite tradentes me audire existimem" (I quote from Hankins, *Plato*, I, 54, n. 54). The translation of the *Gorgias* was completed in 1409, according to Hankins, *Plato*, I, 53.

Hankins rightly assumes that in the *Gorgias* it is most of all the great myth of the after-life which, in Bruni's opinion, is in harmony with Christianity. After his translation of the *Gorgias*, Bruni's interest in Plato faded because he did not agree with Plato's rejection of rhetorical culture. Only later he returned to Plato because his interest in Socrates' discourse on the soul's fate after death had remained intact. According to Hankins, *Plato*, I, 73-74, the *Apology* was translated again in 1424; one of the reasons was probably that Bruni was no longer satisfied with his first translation.

²⁸ I owe this information to Dr. B.C. Barker-Benfield (Oxford), who checked Bruni's translation of the *Apologia* (Ms. Auct. F.6.2, fol. 91r in the Bodleian Library = nr. 1769, in J. Hankins, *Repertorium Brunianum. A Critical Guide to the Writings of Leonardo Bruni*, I, (Roma, 1997, p. 224) for me (letter of Nov. 11, 1996). He also informed me that Bruni translates μετοίκησις in *Ap.* 40C as *transmigra(cio) animi*. Why Bruni chose this word is unclear. The dictionaries of Georges and Blaise mention the word in the Vulgate, Prudentius, and Orosius, where it refers to the exile of the Jews; for the meaning 'passage au ciel', 'mort', Blaise mentions a passage as late as the Merovingian period.

²⁹ Cf. also *Ap.* 41A: ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ πολλάκις θέλω τεθνάναι εἰ ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἀληθῆ.

the *emigratio ad vitam meliorem* expected by Theombrotus in Augustine's *Civitas*, when he had read about the immortality of the soul in Plato's *Phaedo*.

To this *migratio ad meliora domicilia* Bruni adds the notion of dwelling *cum melioribus et sui similibus*. Again, Bruni's wording is somewhat different from Plato's. About the place to which the soul (possibly) moves on, Plato says first (40E): ἐκεῖ εἰσιν ἅπαντες οἱ τεθνεῶτες. In this place where all the dead are, Socrates hopes to meet 'true justices' like Minos and Rhadamanthys, to see Orpheus, Hesiod, and Homer, and to converse with the heroes of the Trojan war (41A). Bruni does not speak of 'all the dead'; instead, he is more eclectic and speaks only of *meliores et sui similes*. He, too, looks forward to meet the luminaries of antiquity in these *meliora domicilia*.³⁰

This expression needs to be explored somewhat further. *ThLL* s.v. *domicilium* 1875, 74f. mentions only a few passages where this noun is used *de sede caelesti hominum (animi)*, namely Cic. *Cato* 77 est ... *animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram*; *Tusc.* 1,24 *animos... in caelum quasi in domicilium suum pervenire* (also *Leg.* 1,26). Then it is not found until *Itala* (Tert. *Resurr.* 41 p. 85, 23) II Cor. 5,2 *domicilium nostrum quod de caelo est* and one passage in *Cypr. epist.* 76, 7. Interestingly, Hieronymus translates the Greek word οἰκητήριον in II Cor. 5, 2 as *habitationem*; apparently he found *domicilium* incorrect. We must conclude that Bruni can hardly have borrowed the term *domicilium* (referring to the place to which *migratio* after death takes place) from a Christian author, since Tertullian and Cyprian play only a subordinate role in his works; his source is Cicero, especially *Tusc.* 1, 24. *Meliora* as the qualifier of *domicilia* does not occur in any pagan or Christian text, as appears from *ThLL* s.v. *bonus*; but the combination *vita melior* is found in Augustine's account of Theombrotus, as we have seen. It seems that Bruni has borrowed his expression *migrare ad meliora domicilia* from this Platonically inspired passage in Augustine; as to the paradox that follows *meliora domicilia* in his text, he could have read that in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (= *Rep.* 6, 14), which is also inspired by Plato.

The ideas formulated by Bruni in his *litterae consolatoriae* have been qualified as a kind of secular Pelagianism.³¹ Nowhere in the letter is any

³⁰ Dr. F. Akkerman pointed out that the encounter with luminaries of antiquity is a recurrent theme in humanist authors: Dante meets Vergil in the first canto of the *Inferno*; Petrarch writes letters to Cicero.

³¹ See Griffiths in *Humanism*, p. 321 and 266; Hankins, *Plato*, I, 61.

mention of purgatory, grace, or sacraments. 'The joys of the next life are won through virtue in this life; the good man is assured of salvation.'³² That holds true for Socrates with his continuous search for what ἀρετή is; for him, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας περὶ ἀρετῆς τοὺς λόγους ποιεῖσθαι (Ap. 38A) is μέγιστον ἀγαθόν. (This has been phrased most impressively in Socrates' last request of his judges, namely to punish his sons if in adulthood they would care for money or anything else more than for ἀρετή: 41E: ἐάν ὑμῖν δοκῶσιν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλου του πρότερον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ ἀρετῆς). The same is true of the mother of Nicola di Vieri de' Medici whose virtue is praised, of Aemilius Paulus, Scipio, and other Roman statesmen in Cicero's *Republic*, and implicitly of Bruni himself because of his choosing Socrates' second alternative in his letter of consolation. Explicitly, this is confirmed by Poggio, who wrote an *oratio funebris* for his friend Bruni after his death.³³ Poggio, too, emphasizes — in Bruni's spirit — that for those *qui iuste ac recte vixerunt, nihil (est) in morte mali neque post ipsam* (p. 663).³⁴ Poggio's final sentence is a recapitulation of what Bruni had argued in his letter: *qui autem haec duo* (i.e. the connection of *litterarum studia* and *doctrina* with *exercitia virtutum*) *enixe amplectuntur, necesse, ut primum beata vita fruuntur, quae virtute et recte factis acquiritur, tum vero assequantur memoriam nominis sempiternam, postremo felicitatem futurae vitae, quae est vera et perfecta felicitas, quamque omnes debemus appetere, consequuntur* (p. 672, read: *consequantur*). These words convey in an impressive way what had also been Bruni's conviction, namely that death means a *migratio ad meliora domicilia*, where he will enjoy a *vera et perfecta felicitas*.

Concerning the second question (above p. 8), it is useful to pay some attention to a letter of consolation written by Marsuppini to Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici in connection with the death of Piccarda de' Medici in 1433, practically at the same time when Bruni wrote his letter of consolation. There we read the same reasoning about the two alternatives (*aut in morte ita universus fiat interitus ut omnis sensus extinguatur aut*

³² Thus Griffiths in *Humanism*, p. 321.

³³ Not at his funeral. The funeral oration at Bruni's bier was given by Gianozzo Manetti; see E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus. Leben und Werke* (Hildesheim - New York, 1974=1914¹, pp. 205-7). Poggio's funeral oration is a literary masterpiece, written in Rome in June or July of 1444; Bruni died in Florence in March. See Voigt, p. 311, n. 4.

³⁴ Poggio is quoted after the edition of Laurentius Mehus, Florence 1741, repr. Torino 1966 (= *Opera Omnia* II, p. 672).

sensus resideat)³⁵ as in Bruni's letter. Marsuppini says explicitly that for him the choice is obvious, because on the authority of the Holy Scriptures we know for certain that the soul is immortal and that they (i.e. the souls), *cum hac vita excesserint*, will ascend to heaven *si modo honeste vixerint*.³⁶ Somewhat farther along we read: *cum ergo tot bonis potita* (sc. *mater*), *tot virtutibus accumulata e vita excesserit, non eius immaturam mortem arbitremur, sed a Deo evocatam esse existimemus*.³⁷ In both passages he uses the formulaic phrase for dying *excedere (e) vita*,³⁸ not the term *(e-)migrare*.³⁹ But as it was a matter of Piccarda's own wish to die, since her life was complete, he writes that she had a *desiderium migrandi e vita*: that was the way she wanted her death to be formulated. Our conclusion is, that Marsuppini consciously uses *e vita migrare*, first in his letter of consolation to render the conviction of Piccarda, and then again in Bruni's epitaph, because he knew that that was the phrase the deceased would have preferred.

Rossellino built a tomb composed of classical elements, undoubtedly in the spirit of the deceased. On this monument, only the Madonna (the patron of the city) with the Child points to a Christian background (apart from the fact, of course, that the tomb is situated in a church). In the epitaph, too, the principal elements are those from antiquity, culled from the epitaphs of Naevius and Plautus, and describing what has been Bruni's life: his work as a humanist, which consisted in familiarizing the West with the writings of Greek antiquity through his translations into Latin, and in writing the history of his adopted home town. In addition, the expression *e vita migrare* reflects Plato's notions about the immortality of the soul, including (as appears from Bruni's contemplations in his letter) a *migratio ad meliora domicilia*, in which we must assume a Platonic origin for both *domicilia* and *meliora*.

³⁵ This quotation is from the edition by P. G. Ricci, 'Una consolatoria inedita del Marsuppini', *La Rinascita*, 3 (1940), 363-433. Our text is found on p. 419, l. 901.

³⁶ *Ibid.*: "nos vero qui sacris litteris imbuti sumus, quibus repugnare, cum divino ore loquantur, nefas ac sacrilegum est, hanc divisionem nobis alienam arbitremur animosque immortales, cum hac vita excesserint, esse credamus facileque, si modo honeste vixerint, ad caelum evoluturos."

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 427, l. 1157.

³⁸ We already encountered the expression *e vita excedere* in Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 98. It appears from *ThLL* s.v. *excedere* 1207, 1 f. that this combination occurs frequently in pagan literature, both with and without *e*.

³⁹ Neither does Marsuppini mention *cum melioribus et sui similibus habitare*, as in Bruni's letter.

We have to keep in mind, however, that Bruni believed that Plato's doctrine about the immortality of the soul was in agreement with Christian dogma and signified a *non mediocris ad recte credendum accumulatio*,⁴⁰ as Bruni wrote in his prologue to the translation of Plato's *Phaedo* in 1405.⁴¹ Plato's ideas about the immortality of the soul in the *Phaedo* are — sometimes literally — identical to those in the *Apology*,⁴² which Bruni translated for the second time in 1424.⁴³ Although Bruni dissociated himself from other Platonic thoughts after 1405,⁴⁴ there is no reason to assume that in 1433/4 (the date of his letter of consolation) his views on Plato's doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and on its correspondence with Christianity, had changed from the views he had formulated in 1405. Even if the classical elements prevail in the epitaph (as they do on the tomb), the epitaph, like the tomb, contains a vague reference to Christian ideas — although the phrasing of that reference is inspired by Plato.⁴⁵

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⁴⁰ Cf. the discussion on the agreement of the Platonic and Christian doctrines, in connection with *ex hac vita*.

⁴¹ See note 27 on text and date.

⁴² *Ap.* 40C μετοίκησις ... τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον and *Phd.* 117C μετοίκησιν τὴν ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσε. Liddell and Scott (*Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. μετοίκησις) mention, apart from these two passages from Plato, only one more passage from *Cat. Cod. Astr.* for this meaning.

⁴³ See the last sentence of note 27.

⁴⁴ See Baron, p. XIX (mentioned in note 27 above); Hankins in *Humanism*, p. 261.

⁴⁵ A. Chastel, 'La glorification humaniste dans les monuments funéraires de la Renaissance', in *Umanesimo e Scienza Politica, Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Umanistici*, ed. E. Castelli (Milano, 1951), pp. 447-485, discusses only Bruni's tomb, not his epitaph.

Nikolaus THURN

ANMERKUNGEN ZUM VERSTÄNDNIS DER *HYMNI*
NATURALES VON MICHAEL MARULLUS

In den letzten Jahren sind eine ganze Reihe von Monographien, Übersetzungen und Kommentaren zu den *Hymni Naturales* von Marull erschienen. Den Anfang machte eine Untersuchung von Walther Ludwig, gefolgt von einer Monographie von Christine Harrauer; beide legten im Rahmen ihrer Arbeit Übersetzungen größerer Teilstücke vor. Im Jahre 1995 erschienen die ersten vollständigen, kommentierten Übersetzungen durch Jacques Chomarat und Donatella Coppini, 1996 dann auch eine deutsche Übersetzung mit Anmerkungen von Otto Schönberger.¹

Da die drei vollständigen Übersetzungen unabhängig voneinander entstanden, sollte man meinen, daß nun eine gesicherte Grundlage für das sprachliche und inhaltliche Verständnis geschaffen sei.² Daß dies in Hinblick auf einige, wenige Probleme nicht der Fall ist, liegt gewiß an der bewußt hermetischen Sprache Marulls; angesichts der vorliegenden Kommentare und Studien ist es aber umso dringender, auf nur anscheinend gelöste Probleme hinzuweisen, um nicht eine Textauffassung auf viele Jahre als "communis opinio" zu fixieren, die zumindest fragwürdig ist und noch überdacht werden müßte.

Der vorliegende Artikel widmet sich deswegen solchen Stellen bei Marull, die, wie ich meine, noch nicht hinreichend geklärt worden sind. Dabei steht das Verständnis des Details im Vordergrund und nicht die Interpretation eines Hymnus oder gar des Hymnenkorpus als Ganzem.

¹ Im folgenden: W. Ludwig, *Antike Götter und christlicher Glaube. Die "Hymni naturales" von Marullo* (Hamburg, 1992) = Ludwig; C. Harrauer, *Kosmos und Mythos. Die Weltgotthymnen und die mythologischen Hymnen des Michael Marullus* (Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar) (Wien, 1994) = Harrauer; J. Chomarat, *Michel Marulle, Hymnes Naturels*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 296 (Genève, 1995) = Chomarat; D. Coppini, *Michele Marullo Tarcaniota, Inni Naturali. Introduzione, traduzione italiana, commento* (Firenze, 1995) = Coppini; O. Schönberger, *Michael Marullus, Hymni Naturales / Hymnen an die Natur, Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen von Otto Schönberger* (Würzburg, 1996) = Schönberger.

² In diesem Zusammenhang sei insbesondere die sehr genaue, sprachlich adäquate und im Kommentar angenehm nüchterne Arbeit von D. Coppini hervorgehoben.

I. 1, 1, 6-16:

Sed neque Pieridum praesentia vatibus antra
 Nec tu, care, satis nostris, Pimplee, Camaenis,
 Parnasusque biceps facundaque flumina largae
 Phocidos: ipse animum vati, mentem ipse ministra,
 Sancte pater, sive aetherio delapsus Olympo
 Enthea divino praecordia concutis oestro
 Ignotasque vias aperis teque ipse recludis
 Sive iubes cinctum solis caput igne tuentem,
 Ingenio mentisque oculis ad inane levatis,
 Eminus informi quaesitum ostendere in umbra
 Effigiemque tuam primos et ducere vultus.³

Am Anfang seiner Hymnen bittet Marull Iuppiter Optimus Maximus selbst, ihn zu inspirieren, da bei einem so hohen Thema die Hilfe der Musen nicht genüge. Dabei bietet er eine Alternative, wie dies geschehen könnte.

Der Passus ist nicht ganz übereinstimmend verstanden worden: Ludwig 40, Harrauer 6; 24; Coppini 11; 163 sehen hier die unterschiedlichen Gotteserkenntnisse "furor divinus" und "contemplatio" über den Mittler Apoll/Sonne ausgedrückt. Chomarat 28 meint dagegen, in christlichem Sinne würde die "Revelatio/Prophezeiung" und die "Ekstase" angesprochen. Ebenfalls herrscht Unsicherheit über das zu "tuentem" gehörige logische Subjekt: Ludwig sieht hier eine unbestimmte Person, nämlich jeden, der sich über das Abbild Gottes, die Sonne, zur Erkenntnis emporschwingt; andere glauben, der Dichter meine sich selbst und die Rolle seiner Dichtung. Ebenfalls unsicher ist die Deutung von "ducere vultus": Harrauer übersetzt im Sinne von "deducere": Marull behaupte von sich selber, er würde die Gestalten Gottes den Menschen begreifbar machen, womit er — nach der Sonne — zu einem zweiten Mittler im Sinne des Konzepts vom Dichter als "vates" wird. Chomarat 28 meint, man müsse es im Sinne von "darstellen, zeichnen" verstehen.⁴ Gemeinsam ist jedoch allen Interpretationen die Annahme, ein Mensch erkenne über die Schau der Sonne den obersten Gott und vermittele diese Erkenntnis weiter. Eine solche Interpretation stimmt mit der Funktion der Sonne im Hymnus 3, 1 überein und drängt sich damit auf.

³ Der Text folgt stets der kritischen Ausgabe von A. Perosa, *Michaelis Marulli Carmina* (Zürich, 1951). Er stellt damit nicht immer mein Verständnis des Textes dar, das im folgenden erst entwickelt werden soll.

⁴ Nach Plin., *nat.*, 35, 79 "lineam ducendo"; Ov., *pont.* 4, 2, 24; insbesondere aber Verg. *Aen.*, 6, 848 "vivos ducent de marmore vultus".

Es gibt aber einen grundsätzlichen Einwand gegen diese Interpretation: sie macht an dieser Stelle eine Bitte um Inspiration unsinnig. Überspitzt formuliert hätte Marull nämlich folgendes gesagt: Ihm seien die gewöhnlich von Dichtern angerufenen Kräfte, nämlich Apoll und die Musen, angesichts seines hohen Themas nicht ausreichend; so bitte er Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, ihm Inspiration zu verleihen, sei es, daß dieser seine Gottheit selber offenbare, sei es, daß er seine Beschreibung dem Dichter anheimstelle. Sinnvoll wäre die "contemplatio" als Erfüllung der (in der Tradition des Musenanrufs) ausgesprochenen Bitte nur, wenn es eine besondere Erlaubnis oder Gnade zur Schau des Göttlichen bedürfe. Genau davon ist, wenn man den Text in der referierten Weise versteht, aber nicht die Rede.⁵

Darüberhinaus gibt es auch andere Einwände: Coppini 163 bemerkt zu Recht, daß, wenn man in v. 7 "tu, Pimplee" Apoll sehen würde, wie dies Ludwig 37 offensichtlich will, ein Widerspruch zu v. 13 entstünde, da die Gotteserkenntnis ja über die Schau der Sonne = Apoll stattfinden soll, und versteht selber stattdessen "mons Pimplaeus"; andererseits wird aber gerade eine Identifikation mit Apoll durch das Adjektiv "care", das einem "mons Pimplaeus" schlecht anstünde, ebenso nahegelegt wie durch die Tatsache, daß Marull hier Stat., *Silv.* 1, 4, 19-21 bewußt imitiert, und Statius neben den Musen auch Apoll als Inspiration ablehnt.⁶

Der Gedankengang Marulls läßt sich anders verstehen: Möglicherweise kannte er die erste Stanze aus Pulcis "Morgante", wo jener, wie es in den Romanzi am Anfang eines jeden Canto üblich war, gerade Gott als seine Inspirationsquelle anrufen will, als ihm einfällt, daß auch ein Engel genügen würde.⁷ Der "Morgante" wurde in Florenz um 1480 beendet und dürfte dem ja auch italienisch dichtenden Marull nicht unbekannt gewesen sein, als er in Florenz seine "Hymni Naturales" verfaßte.

⁵ "iubes" als eine solche aufzufassen ist nicht möglich, denn davon ist die Infinitivkonstruktion, also die Darstellung des Göttlichen, nicht aber dessen Schau, abhängig. Nimmt man das dennoch an, würde die Parallellität zum ersten "sive" verlorengehen.

⁶ "Ast ego nec Phoebum, quamquam mihi surda sine illo / plectra, nec Aonias decima cum Pallade divas / aut mitem Tegeae Dircesve hortabor alumnum..."

⁷ L. Pulci, *Morgante*, a cura di F. Agno (Milano — Napoli, 1955). Pulci, *Morg.* 1, 1: "In principio era il Verbo appresso a Dio, / ed era Iddio il Verbo e'l Verbo Lui: / questo era nel principio, al parer mio, / e nulla si può far senza Colui. / Però, giusto Signor benigno e pio, / mandami solo un degli angel tui, / Che m'accompagni e rechimi a memoria / una famosa, antica e degna storia."

Mit Sicherheit jedoch stellen Marulls Verse eine Imitation von Manilius' *Astronomica* 1, 1-50 dar.⁸ Dort ist der Gedankengang folgender: Manilius möchte die Kunde von der Astrologie vom Himmel auf die Erde bringen (1-6: "artes et... sidera... deducere mundo / aggredior"). Hierfür erwartet er von Augustus sowohl Unterstützung wie Inspiration (7-10: "mihi tu, Caesar, ... das animum"). Die Kenntnis vom Kosmos ist den Menschen von Merkur vermittelt worden (25-39: "... tu princeps auctorque sacri, Cyllenie, tanti, / per te iam caelum interius, iam sidera nota / ... / sentirentque deum gentes, qua maximus esset"). Aber auch die Natur hat sich den Menschen von selbst erschlossen (40-45: "et natura dedit vires seque ipsa reclusit / regalis animos primum dignata movere"). Und schließlich wirkten Priester als Mittler zwischen Menschen und Göttern, indem diese von Göttern inspiriert wurden (46-49 "Tum... sacerdotes... officio vinxere deum; quibus ipsa potentis / numinis accendit castam praesentia mentem"); worauf — zumindest wird dies Marull so verstanden haben — die verehrte Gottheit den Menschen zu der höheren Gottheit brachte (50 "inque deum deus ipse tulit patuitque ministris.").

Marull änderte nur leicht den Gedankengang um und die Personen. Bei ihm ist es nicht die Natur, sondern der höchste Gott, der sich selber offenbart, und statt Merkur schickt er einen anderen Götterboten unter die Menschen.

Sein Götterbote ist einerseits der christliche Engel, der unverwandt ins Antlitz Gottes schaut, Teil seines Lichtes ist und so Abbild seiner Gestalt ("ducere vultus" im Sinne von Verg. *Ecl.*, 9, 49 "duceret uva colores": "eine Gestalt annehmen")⁹. Marull wählt andererseits ein Bild für den Engel, das man auch heidnisch verstehen könnte: der Adler, Götterbote Jupiters, ist das einzige Lebewesen, das mit offenen Augen die Sonne anschauen kann.¹⁰ Vielleicht meinte Marull weiter, daß, wenn er die Blitze des Jupiter trägt, er damit auch dessen ursprüngliche Gestalt zeigt.¹¹

⁸ Die Stelle wurde von Harrauer, S. 58 bereits zur Interpretation herangezogen. Zur Konstruktion des "sive... sive" vgl. auch Lucan, *Phars.* 2, 7-13.

⁹ So auch Ludwig, p. 39 "...und dein Abbild und deine ersten Züge führt!"

¹⁰ Vgl. Lucan, *Phars.* 9, 902; Sil. 10, 110-111; Serv., *Aen.* 1, 394; Dante, *par.* 1, 6ff.; *par.* 20, 31; Petrarca, *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta* 19. Beim Florentiner Dichter und Zeitgenossen Ugolino Verino findet sich ebenfalls die Vorstellung des "Adlers" als christlicher Engel (Ugolino Verino, *Carlias*, ed. N. Thurn (München, 1995); hier: 7, 563; 8, 311.

¹¹ "ducere" dann im Sinne von Verg., *Ecl.* 8, 75 "effigiem duco".

Als Folge dieser Interpretation muß v. 14 "Ingenio mentisque oculis ad inane levatis" als Partizipialkonstruktion im Dativ verstanden werden: den Menschen, die ihren Sinn den Dingen im Himmel zuwenden, zeigt der Adler, welcher seinerseits unverwandt die Sonne (hier Gott selbst und nicht Apoll) anschaut, auf Gottes Befehl dessen ursprüngliche Gestalt. Der Gedankengang bleibt platonisch, nämlich der der absteigenden Seinsstufen, hat aber einen unverkennbar christlich-neuplatonischen Hintergrund.¹² Zwar bleibt der Gedanke der "contemplatio rerum" erhalten ("oculis ad inane levatis"); diese führt aber nur durch die Gnade Gottes (indem er sich selber offenbart oder einen Engel schickt) zum Erfolg. In v. 42 nimmt Marull den Gedanken noch einmal auf, hier im Gewand einer Homer-Allegorese: nur wenn Hermes, der Götterbote, den Menschen das Moly der "gratia Dei" gibt, können sie zu wahrer Gotteserkenntnis kommen.

Die "Gnadenlehre" ist ein spezieller Zug der durch Ficino geprägten Form des Neuplatonismus: ohne das Geschenk der Gnade ist der Mensch nicht in der Lage, die Gottheit zu schauen.¹³ Damit findet man in Marulls erstem Hymnus also auch hier ein speziell christliches Verständnis der Inspiration.

II. 1, 2, 10-11 "Seu te tyrannicum solum et / Vicina templa rupibus Telonicis".

Marull nennt die Kultorte der Pallas Athene; schwierig ist die Deutung von "tyrannicum". Fast unbestritten ist (durch die Erwähnung der Telonischen Klippen), daß Marull auf den Athenetempel auf dem Vorgebirge von Sorrent anspielen muß, und daß die "tyrannische Erde"

¹² Man denke auch an die außerordentliche Wirkung von Ps. -Dionysius Areopagita, *De caelesti hierarchia*; Marull folgt dem Werk auch im *Hymnus* 1, 4: "Coelitibus".

¹³ P. O. Kristeller, *Die Philosophie des Marsilio Ficino* (Frankfurt, 1972), S. 228: "Dagegen ist der Akt der höchsten Gottesanschauung durchaus vereinzelt und auf einen Augenblick beschränkt. (...) Dieses Moment, das sich schon bei Platon und Plotin angedeutet findet, gewinnt doch bei Ficino eine ganz andere Kraft durch die christliche Gnadenlehre. Denn wenn die ewige Seligkeit ein Geschenk der göttlichen Gnade ist, die unmittelbare Gottesanschauung aber gleichsam einen Vorgesmack des jenseitigen Lebens darstellt, so ist auch folgerichtig das menschliche Bewußtsein nicht aus eigener Kraft imstande, den Akt der höchsten Kontemplation zu vollziehen, sondern es ist die Gottheit selbst, welche die strebende Seele zu sich emporzieht und erleuchtet." Vgl. dazu M. Ficino, *Opera omnia* (Torino, 1962 = *Marsilii Ficini Opera omnia*, Basileae, 1576), [= Fic. op.], p. 411: "Quod quidem et gratiae et gloriae lumen appellant, quo illuminata mens et multa magis accensa divinam iam substantiam... induitur velut flammam."

und die telonischen Klippen auf denselben Ort anspielen sollen. Lediglich Coppini 174 denkt an Syrakus, aber ihr einziges Argument für die Lokalisierung, diese Stadt sei lange Zeit von Tyrannen regiert worden, scheint mir nicht hinreichend, um einen weiteren Ortswechsel anzunehmen. Chomarat 38 erinnert an Tiberius' Aufenthalt auf Capri, von dem die Gegend denn "tyrannicum solum" genannt werden kann, aber das scheint mir doch etwas weit hergeholt. Harrauer 118 will mit verlockend guten Argumenten¹⁴ in "Tyrrhenicum" ändern; dies verbietet sich jedoch aus metrischen Gründen: Marull verwendet hier nach dem Vorbild des Horaz die iambische Epode, und auch bei ihm ist im iambischen Dimeter nach griechischem Vorbild die innere Senkung stets rein (das 1. breve).

Eine Lösung, die rundum zu befriedigen vermag, kann auch ich nicht geben. Es mag jedoch angebracht sein, auf eine von Perosa übersehene Lesart hinzuweisen. Im Codex Riccardianus 971 lese ich "tyrannicam". Gemeint wäre also Pallas in ihrer Rolle als Alleinherrscherin (wie Zeus "ὁ τῶν θεῶν τύραννος" ist), die Land und Tempel von Capri bewohnt. Das doch etwas merkwürdige Adjektiv soll wohl auf ihre schreckensverbreitende Kraft hinweisen.¹⁵ Eine Apposition "tyrannus" wäre allerdings natürlicher, und so befriedigt auch diese Lesart nicht völlig.

III. 1, 6, 16: "Orgia verendis arcana recondita calathis".

Gewöhnlich wird "*calathus*" mit "Korb" übersetzt. Direktes Vorbild war Catull 63, 259 "Pars obscura cavis celebrant orgia cistis". Ferner dachte Marull wohl auch an den sechsten Hymnos des Kallimachos (6, 1 "τῷ καλαθῷ κατιόντος ἐπιφθέγξασθε, γυναῖκες"); und schließlich an Ovid, *Met.* 2, 552ff.¹⁶ Marull soll also — so die Meinung der bisherigen Interpreten — Körbe gemeint haben, in denen für den Kult bestimmte Gegenstände verborgen gewesen sein sollen.

Ein solches Verständnis des Textes birgt aber die Schwierigkeit, daß der "*calathus*" in diesem Sinne nicht in Verbindung mit dem Kult des

¹⁴ Sie beruft sich auf Stat., *Silv.* 2, 2, 1-3 "Est inter notos Sirenum nomine muros / saxaque Tyrrhenae templis onerata Minervae / celsa Dicarchei speculatrix villa profundi".

¹⁵ Zum Schrecken der Pallas Minerva vgl. Cic., *de nat. deor.* 3, 24, 62 "Minerva quia minuit aut quia minatur."

¹⁶ "...nam tempore quodam / Pallas Erichthonium, prolem sine matre creatam, / clauserat Actaeo texta de vimine cista..." Insbesondere hier könnte man eine christliche Nebenbedeutung festmachen, denn in der "cista" der Athene barg sie ein Kind, das ohne eine Mutter geboren wurde, wie sie selbst.

Bacchus selber gestanden haben kann. Zumindest muß man sich fragen, welchem Zweck die "Körbe" in dem gegebenen Zusammenhang gespielt haben. Marull hat vermutlich auf die dritte Ekloge von Nemesian angespielt: dort singt Pan ein Lied von Bacchus, in welchem auch beschrieben wird, wie Satyrn Wein zum Keltern in Körben (v. 41sq. *decerpunt vitibus uvas / et portant calathis*) herbeitragen. Noch weiter führt Vergil, *Ecl.* 5, 69-71, denn hier werden auch die Krüge, die den Wein im Winter aufbewahren, "calathi" genannt.¹⁷

Marull denkt also konkret an Körbe mit Trauben zum Keltern oder eher an Krüge mit Wein, übertragen an die Betrunkenheit und endlich die göttliche Trunkenheit des Sängers.

Die Krüge enthalten bei Vergil "Nektar"; und auch bei Nemesian wird der Wein "Nektar" genannt:¹⁸ schon Ludwig 57 weist auf die Verbindung von Nektar mit der bacchantischen Trunkenheit hin, die er auf die Ausschüttung des heiligen Geistes bezieht. Ausgehend von Plato, *Phaedrus* 247E deutet Marsilio Ficino Nektar als "gaudium", Ambrosia als "visio".¹⁹ Daß Marull ebenfalls eine Verbindung zu "gaudium" sehen wollte, zeigt Vers 23: "Regio volucres nec sustinet aetheria suas", denn dies ist wohl eine Anspielung auf das von Plutarch, *Flam.* 10 überlieferte Ereignis an den isthmischen Spielen von 196 v. Chr.: Als dort durch die Römer die Freiheit Griechenlands erklärt wurde, brach vor Freude ein solcher Jubel aus, daß die Vögel vom Himmel fielen.

IV. 2, 1, 13 "Ruptoque praeceps Arno ab aggere"

Zu wenig hat man sich bisher Gedanken gemacht, aus welchem Grunde der Arno seinen Damm gebrochen hat. Chomarat 84 verweist auf die Überschwemmung im Jahre 1330; aber das ist doch höchst unwahrscheinlich: Einerseits liegt das Ereignis zu weit zurück und müßte zumindest zum Inhalt des Hymnus in irgendeiner Beziehung stehen, damit es erinnerungswürdig wäre; andererseits ist es überhaupt unwahrscheinlich, daß Marull von einer Überschwemmung spricht, da diese mit all ihren Folgen unmöglich so kurz abgehandelt worden wäre, wie er dies hier tut. Nun überliefert aber Villani in seiner Chronik (und Bartolomeo della Scala ist ihm in seiner Geschichte von Florenz darin

¹⁷ "et multo... Baccho, ... vina novum fundam calathis Ariusia nectar."

¹⁸ Nemesian. 3, 61: "ex illo venas inflatus nectare dulci..."

¹⁹ Ficino, *op.*, p. 663.

gefolgt)²⁰, daß vor der Gründung der Stadt Florenz zwischen Signa und Montelupo ein großer Stein namens Gonfolina den Lauf des Arno so gehemmt habe, daß die Gegend bis vor Florenz versumpft war. Die Vorbedingung einer Besiedlung der Gegend war es also, diesen Fels zu zerteilen: erst dadurch wurde die Gegend bewohnbar. Auf diese zur Gründungsgeschichte von Florenz gehörige Sage spielt Marull an. Der Wechsel von der ursprünglichen Bezeichnung eines Steines zum “agger” bei Marull läßt sich wohl daraus erklären, daß er Bartolomeo della Scalas Bezeichnung des Steines als “obex” aus lautmalerischen Gründen (*Arno ab aggere*) variierte, und damit die Funktion des Hindernisses, nicht seine Gestalt anspricht. Er macht eine Ortsangabe: Es ist die idyllische Gegend der Ebene vor Florenz, die der Ort der Handlung ist.

V. 2, 6, 1 “Antiqua Codri progenies”

Alle Interpreten²¹ sind sich bisher einig, daß Marull hier — anders als sein Vorbild Horaz, der in 3, 29, 1 “Tyrrhena regum progenies” Maecenas anspricht — keine bestimmte Person gemeint habe, sondern die Griechen im allgemeinen.

Gegen eine solche Auffassung spricht, daß nicht einsichtig ist, warum diese Griechen ausgerechnet als ihre Herrschaftsinsignien eine “consularis purpura” und “curules” schätzen sollen.²²

²⁰ G. Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. G. Porta (Parma, 1990), Bd. 1, 71: “e questo si puova, che anticamente tra Signa e Montelupo nel mezzo del corso del fiume d’Arno, ove si ristigne in piccolo spazio tra rocce di montagne, aveva una grandissima pietra che si chiamava Gonfolina, la quale per sua grandezza e altezza comprendeva tutto il corso del fiume d’Arno...”. Bartolomeo della Scala in: Codex Laurentianus 68, 29, f°3r, “obice[m] Arno flumini fuisse quidam tradunt, Gonfolina vocant, ubi scalpellis et multa vi quondam diffractus lapis depressiorem alveum flumini fecit.” Bekanntlich war Della Scala der Schwiegervater von Marull, und so mag dieser ganz natürlich das um 1484 beendete Werk kennengelernt haben.

²¹ So auch: M. J. McGann, ‘Reading Horace in Quattrocento. The Hymn to Mars of Michael Marullus’, in *Homage to Horace*, ed. S. J. Harrison (Oxford, 1995), Ss. 329–347. An dieser Stelle soll darauf hingewiesen werden, daß McGann für 2, 6, 23–24 “Dic, sancta, dic, Clio, parentum / Laude patrem solita Gradivum” wohl als einziger die richtige Interpretation gibt: “parentum” wird gewöhnlich als Genitiv Attribut zu “laude” gezogen und “mit dem Lobe der Väter” übersetzt. Um zu erläutern, was für ein Lob der “Väter” von Marull gemeint sei, denkt Schönberger 141 an den Homerischen Hymnos 8 “An Ares”; Chomarat 123 an die “Carmina” der Salier. McGann 341 gibt dagegen die wohl richtige Interpretation: wenn Marull v. 25 fortfährt “Heu, tot suorum quem miserae iuvant / Clades” und Mars v. 85–86 mit einer Anspielung auf den berühmten Vers der *Aeneis* “viro[rum] pater et pater armorum” nennt, dann ist klar, daß Mars als Vater der Väter, nämlich der Römer und des (ost-)römischen Reiches (“mit gewohntem Loblied”), besungen wird.

²² 2, 6, 5–8 “Frustra clientum dinumeres greges / Et consulari praemia purpurae, / Frustra renidentes curules / Et veterum decora alta patrum”.

Der Widerspruch würde sich nur lösen, wenn man hinnimmt, daß es sich bei dem Nachfahren des letzten Königs von Athen, Kodros, gar nicht um einen Griechen handeln darf. Im Gegenteil wird dieses Gedicht wohl einem Florentiner, Zanobi Acciaiuoli, gewidmet sein, der ein alter Freund von Marull gewesen ist.²³ Die Titel "Principe d'Aciaia" und "Duca d'Atene" waren in der Familie erblich. Zanobi Acciaiuoli (1461-1519) ging mit seinem Vater Agnolo 1466 aufgrund einer Verschwörung gegen die Medici ins Exil, wurde 1478 zurückgerufen, 1494 als Mitverschwörer gegen Piero neben Lorenzo und Giovanni di Medici verhaftet, erlangte nach der Flucht Pieros wieder die Freiheit und wurde später zum Anhänger Savonarolas.

Das Gedicht richtet sich also an einen, der das Exil kennt wie Marull. Da Zanobi Acciaiuoli sich zum Zeitpunkt der Entstehung des Gedichtes vermutlich bereits wieder in Florenz aufhielt, wird von ihm wohl vorausgesetzt, daß er auf die Wiederherstellung des Dukats von Athen hoffe. Die Konsulswürden mögen dabei nicht nur gelehrte Anspielung auf römische Herrschaft sein, denn der Stadtstaat von Florenz kannte das Amt der "consoli del mare" (die Verwalter von Pisa). Die "curules" wiederum mögen als ur-etruskische Erfindung²⁴ Erwähnung gefunden haben.

VI. 2, 8, 71 "Commodus peraeque animoque gnavo et / Rebus agendis"

Die Beschreibung der göttlichen Zuständigkeit und Wirkung Merkurs werden bisher einhellig übersetzt mit: "der Du gleichermaßen dem regen Geist und den Taten geneigt bist". Dabei muß man annehmen, daß "peraeque" den eher seltenen Fall darstellt, wo eine Kürze an der vierten Stelle des sapphischen Elfsilbers auftaucht. Dies ist zwar bei Catull an drei Stellen der Fall (*carm.* 11, 6; 11, 15; 51, 13), bei Marull in den Hymnen ebenfalls belegt (2, 7, 34; 2, 7, 42) und also eine mögliche Deutung. Man sollte sich allerdings überlegen, ob Marull nicht an das aus dem Griechischen entlehnte Substantiv "pera" mit langem "e" gedacht haben könnte, das "Ranzen" bedeutet (insbesondere hätte Marull an Homer, *Od.* 13, 437 denken können, wo Athene Odysseus mit

²³ Zum Verhältnis von Marull und Zanobi Acciaiuoli vgl. C. Kidwell, *Marullus. Soldier Poet of the Renaissance* (London, 1989), hier: S. 64; Ss. 165-7.

²⁴ Aus Liv. 1, 8, 3 übernommen von Leonardo Bruni, *Historiarum Florentini populi libri XII et Rerum suo tempore gestarum commentarius*, a cura di E. Santini e Carmine di Piero (Città di Castello, 1914): *Hist. Flor.* 1, S. 9.

Stock und Ranzen beschenkt): Merkur ist ja der Gott der Wanderer, und wurde als solcher im Hymnus bereits angesprochen. Darüber hinaus würde der gebildete Leser auch eine Anspielung auf Merkur, den Gott der Diebe, heraushören können (wie aus dem Vorbild für Marulls Gedicht, Hor., *carmin.* 1, 10, 7f. bekannt: “callidum, quidquid placuit, iocosum condere furto”), denn das letztlich aus dem lateinischen Synonym von “pera”, “mantica”,²⁵ abgeleitete Verb “manticulari” hat die Bedeutung “mit einem Kunstgriff irgendwie etwas Unrechtes tun; stehlen”.²⁶

VII. 3, 2, 35-36 “At vos sub ima fugite — si sapitis — vada, / Vis, helluones, humida”

Marull besingt in den Versen 33-38 die Wirkung des Vollmondes. Seefahrer und Liebende brauchen ihn nicht zu fürchten. Darauf folgen jene zwei Verse, deren Übersetzung so klar ist wie ihre Deutung dunkel. Francesco Arnaldi hat diesen Versen uneingeschränkte Bewunderung gezollt, und zwar gerade wegen ihrer impressionistischen Gestalt, aber er merkt an: “Perché quei crapuloni diventino quasi degli ebbri ‘folletti’, creature dell’acqua, non si riesce del tutto a comprendere”.²⁷ Chomarat 198 weist darauf hin, daß der Mond als Erzeuger von Feuchtigkeit galt (aber gerade am wenigsten bei Vollmond), bemerkt jedoch dann zu Recht, daß der Ratschlag an Wesen, die voll Feuchtigkeit sind, ausgerechnet ins Wasser zu fliehen, doch sehr mysteriös sei. Coppini sieht in “humida” ein Adjektiv, das wie v. 22 “udus vinitor” die Bedeutung von “betrunken” erhalte.²⁸ Sie führt nicht weiter aus, warum dann betrunkenene Prasser bei Vollmond ausgerechnet besonders klug wären, ins Wasser zu gehen. Schönberger 162 überlegt, ob die “feuchten Prasser” nicht vielleicht in Verbindung mit dem Vorhergesagten stünden: ist der

²⁵ Vgl. Porph. zu Hor., *sat.* 1, 6, 106. “manticula” ist der Deminutiv.

²⁶ Vgl. ThLL 8, 3 Sp. 331, 60ff.; Fest. p. 133 “unde manticulari dicebantur, qui furandi gratia manticulas attrahabant. Inde poetae pro dolose quid agendo usi sunt eo verbo”.

²⁷ In seiner Einleitung zur Anthologie neulateinischer Dichter: *Poeti Latini del Quattrocento*, a cura di Francesco Arnaldi e Lucia Gualdo Rosa, 2 Bde. (Torino, 1976), 2, 313.

²⁸ Auch diese Deutung, allgemein akzeptiert, scheint mir lediglich eine Folge des Mißverständnisses von “helluones” zu sein. Der Winzer, der Bacchus preist, kann “naß” viel eher beim Keltern werden. Man vergleiche dazu Nemesian. 3, 45 “nudaque purpureo sparguntur pectora musto”, wo sich in vielen Handschriften “udaque” anstelle von “nudaque” findet. Das Gedicht war Marull mit einiger Sicherheit bekannt und dürfte auch seinen Hymnus an Bacchus beeinflußt haben (vgl. oben zu 1, 6, 16).

Vollmond den Seeleuten günstig, so sollen wohl Walfische oder Meereseungeheuer untertauchen, um ja keinen Sturm zu erregen.

Alle Deutungen nehmen "vis humida" als Apposition zu "helluones". Ich sehe es umgekehrt: Nach einer in der Antike verbreiteten Vorstellung bewirkt eine "vis humida" den Zustand der Mondsüchtigkeit und des Epileptikers, der sich besonders bei Vollmond auswirkt.²⁹ Die Aktualität dieser Deutung bezeugt Sannazaro (*De partu virginis* 3, 352ff.).³⁰ Daneben sind es nach einer ebenfalls bereits auf die Antike zurückgehenden christlichen Vorstellung Dämonen, die den Mondsüchtigen heimsuchen.³¹ Den Ausdruck "helluones" für Dämonen prägt Augustin, *civ. dei* 3, 20 (p. 130, 18D): In ihrer Sucht nach Opfern seien die antiken Götter "helluones" (Gefräßige).³²

Marull hat beide Erklärungen der Mondsüchtigkeit miteinander vermischt und ruft diese Kräfte ("vis humida") auf, den Kranken zu verschonen und in ihr eigenes Element, das Wasser, zurückzukehren.³³ "helluones" sind die Wasserdämonen wohl deswegen, weil sie die Lebenskraft der Menschen aufzehren.

VIII. 4, 3, 99-102:

"Nam quis, quaeso, ferat deum aeternum aut iustitia quaerere prodita
Virtutem aut, medium nisi,
Si quicquam modo sit, credere quod decet?"

Die Rede von Aether, der Iuno, welche sich die Keuschheit wünscht, zur Heirat mit Iuppiter rät, ist bisher "politisch", "antiklerikal" und

²⁹ Vgl. Origines, in *Matth.* 13, 6ff., S. 193, 14.

³⁰ "cedet et infestae violentior ira Dianae, / ira nocens, quae.... / ... nunc perdere aqua (miserabile visu!) / festinat: stygio nimirum armata veneno / exuperat vis et spumas agit ore tumenteis."

³¹ Vulg., *Mt* 17, 14-17; *Mc* 9, 16-26.

³² "Hic aliquid agerent dii helluones atque nebulones, sacrificiorum adipibus inhiantes et fallacium divinationum caligine decipientes..."

³³ Die Vorstellung war Marull vielleicht über das Neue Testament vermittelt worden: Vulg., *Mc* 5, 13; *Lc* 8, 30-33 wird von Besessenen berichtet, deren Dämonen von Jesus exorziert werden, auf Schweine übergehen und diese ins Wasser treiben. *Mc* 5, 13: "Et exeuntes spiritus immundi introierunt in porcos; et magno impetu grex praecipitatus est in mare ad duo milia, et suffocati sunt in mari." Vgl. ferner auch: für das Fliehen der Dämonen in die Hölle Vulg., *Am* 9, 2 "si descenderint usque ad infernum, / Inde manus mea educet eos"; für den Vergleich der Hölle mit einem tiefen Meer *Ps* 73, 13 "Tu confirmasti in virtute tua mare / Contribulasti capita draconum in aquis"; *Is* 14, 19 vom Fall der Engel: "Et descenderunt ad fundamenta laci, / Quasi cadaver putridum."

insbesondere als gegen den Zölibat gerichtet verstanden worden. Diese Interpretation dürfte von Marull zwar grundsätzlich erwünscht worden sein; dennoch spricht er im Grunde von etwas ganz anderem: Im Bild der Frau, die zur Ehe überredet wird, damit sie Kinder gebäre, geht es ihm vornehmlich um die verschiedenen "Seinsstufen", die als "catena causarum" sich "fortpflanzen" bis hin zur untersten Stufe, die "steril" ist.³⁴ Iuno ist in erster Linie das Element "Aer", das sich zwischen die Elemente "Terra" und "Ignis" (Iuppiter) legen soll.

Im Rahmen einer "antiklerikalen" Deutung werden die Verse 99-102 als Aufforderung an die Iuno verstanden, von ihren egoistischen Wünschen nach Jungfernschaft abzulassen. In diesem Sinne wird von allen Übersetzern angenommen, daß von "*ferat*" ein AcI ("*deum quaerere virtutem*") abhängig wäre: Iuno wird vorgeworfen, sie habe die Gerechtigkeit im Stich gelassen und strebe nicht nach der Tugend noch glaube sie an das Geziemende.

Ich kann mir nur schwer vorstellen, daß von einer Gottheit — noch dazu in einem Hymnus an sie — ausgesagt werden kann, daß sie nach Tugend streben, oder, daß sie die Tugend aufgeben könne. Dagegen halte ich es eher für wahrscheinlich, daß dies Aufforderungen an die Menschheit sein dürften, denen das Streben nach Tugend und Wahrheit wesenseigen ist. Dies erfordert eine neue Interpretation der Szene.

Ich glaube, daß von "*ferre*" kein AcI, sondern bloße Infinitive abhängig sind, die man folgendermaßen übersetzen müßte: "Welcher Mensch würde es auf sich nehmen, einen Gott oder die Tugend zu suchen, oder zu glauben, was sich zieht?". "*ferre*" mit Infinitiv im Sinne von "sich etwas gefallen lassen" ist nicht ohne Parallelen (vgl. Ov., *Her.* 5, 12 "*servo nubere Nympha tuli*"; *Met.* 13, 460 "*scilicet haud ulli servire Polyxena ferrem*"³⁵). Die so entstehende Satzreihe "*deum aeternum... aut virtutem quaerere... aut credere*" kommt im selben Gedicht ähnlich konstruiert auch in Vers 26-30 ("*saepe coercitis / in nodum aut Zephiro datis / Aut flexis.... / comis*") vor, kann also hier nicht als auffällig gelten.

Nach Chomarat 248³⁶ fasse ich ferner v. 101f. auf als: "*nisi si quicquam medium modo sit*", und tilge das Komma hinter "*nisi*". Das "*medium quicquam*" kommt aus Plato, *Tim.* 31c (zwischen Feuer und

³⁴ 4, 3, 81-83 "Quid, quod haud nisi protinus / Defectus sterile est, nec numeris sine / Virtus stare potest suis?"

³⁵ "*ferrem*" ist nicht eindeutig überliefert; es existiert auch die Lesart "*vellem*" (P. Ovidii Nasonis *Metamorphoses*, ed. W. S. Anderson (Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1996)); Anderson entscheidet sich für letzteres).

³⁶ Er verweist auf Ovid, *met.* 5, 616 "*nisi si timor illa videbat*"; Ov., *ep.* 4, 111 "*nisi si manifesta negamus*."

Erde müsse in der Mitte ein verknüpfendes Band entstehen),³⁷ es geht in seiner Bedeutung aber weit darüber hinaus: Augustin behauptet *civ. Dei* 9, 15 (p. 387-9D) die Notwendigkeit des "mediator" Christus für das Glück der Menschen. Der Mittler für die Menschheit wird aber nötig, nachdem diese durch den Sündenfall den direkten Kontakt zu Gott verloren haben: Ich sehe also den Abl. Abs. "Iustitia prodita" in keiner inhaltlichen Beziehung zu den Tätigkeiten der Menschen, sondern zum Nebensatz "nisi si medium quicquam sit": Nachdem das goldene Zeitalter mit der Flucht der Göttin Iustitia von der Erde endete,³⁸ wäre nun ein Mittler zwischen Gottheit und Menschen nötig geworden. Dieser ist im christlichen Sinne Christus oder ein Engel, nach einem nichtchristlichen Verständnis der Priester, Sänger oder Philosoph.

Die Konstruktion dürfte also folgende sein: "Nam, iustitia prodita, nisi si quicquam medium modo sit, quis ferat Deum aeternum (sc. quaerere) aut virtutem quaerere aut credere, quod decet"; "Denn wer würde es noch auf sich nehmen, den ewigen³⁹ Gott oder die Tugend zu suchen oder zu glauben, was sich ziemt, wenn nach Aufgabe der Iustitia nicht irgendetwas existiert, was als Mittelding dient."

In der Rede von Aether ist der Hinweis auf die Notwendigkeit eines vermittelnden Bindegliedes (der für den Leser einen christlich-platonischen Hintergrund eröffnet und auf den ersten Blick nichts mit der Weigerung Iunos zu tun hat, sich der Ehe zu stellen) ein Argument für das Element "Aer" = Iuno, die Rolle als Bindeglied und vermittelndes Element zwischen Feuer (Jupiter) und Erde (Terra) zu akzeptieren.

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³⁷ "δύο δὲ μόνω καλῶς συνίστασθαι τρίτου χωρὶς οὐ δυνατόν· δεσμὸν γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ δεῖ τινα ἀμφοῖν συναγωγὸν γίνεσθαι."

³⁸ Vgl. Ov., *met.* 1, 149-50. Die Idee ist aber wohl ein direkter Rückgriff auf Catull., 64, 397-8: "sed postquam tellus scelere est imbuta nefando, / iustitiamque omnes cupida de mente fugarunt". Ursprünglich hätten die Menschen in direktem Kontakt mit den Göttern gestanden, nun aber könnten sie die Gottheiten nicht mehr von Angesicht zu Angesicht sehen. Auch Pontano nimmt in *Parthenopei sive Amores* (2, 1, 5-26) diesen Gedankengang auf. Bei ihm ist es allerdings die Göttin Iustitia, die den Menschen die Zivilisation bringt. Boccaccio brachte in seinem Dantekommentar das goldene Zeitalter und die christliche Idee des Paradieses in Zusammenhang: G. Boccaccio, *Il commento alla Divina Comedia e gli altri scritti intorno a Dante*, a cura di Domenico Gerri, 3 Bde., (Bari, 1918), 2, 185. Man darf annehmen, daß eine solche synkretistische Deutung für das kulturelle Umfeld Marulls Allgemeingut war.

³⁹ Prof. J. Leonhardt bin ich dankbar für den Hinweis, daß Marull mit der seltsamen Silbentrennung "Ae- / Ternum" auch auf die Dreifaltigkeit anspielen dürfte.

Enrique GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ

MARTINUS DORPIUS AND HADRIANUS BARLANDUS
EDITORS OF AESOP (1509-1513)*

In 1970, Paul Thoen published an important essay¹ on one of the aspects of Latin Aesop diffusion as a textbook during the Renaissance: the collection of *Fabulae* edited at the beginning of the sixteenth century by Martinus Dorpius,— that is — van Dorp (1485-1525), a humanist teaching in Leuven.² Thoen studied the wealth of the Dorpius' compilation, reprinted in a variety of ways at least two hundred times, as well as its sources and significance.

In the bibliographical series studied and classified by Thoen, he pointed out the existence of two important gaps: first, the unknown *editio princeps* of the Latin rendering in prose of Aesop written by William Hermansz of Gouda — Gulielmus Goudanus — (ca. 1466-1510), a book which inspired new editions by Dorpius, and by Hadrianus Barlandus (1486-1538).³ The last one was a younger humanist also teaching at Leuven, and a close friend of Dorpius.

* During the second part of 1994, I enjoyed a fellowship granted by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven through the Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, to study the printed work of Leuven humanists of the first quarter of XVIth century. My deepest gratitude goes to Professors Joseph IJsewijn and Gilbert Tournoy. Dr. Chris Coppens, Curator of manuscripts and old books of Leuven University gave me useful and friendly advice. Ms. Elly Cockx-Indestege, from the Royal Library of Brussels, suggested the elaboration of this paper to me. Sarah Taylor and Lieve Jookien helped me to review the English text.

¹ 'Aesopus Dorpii. Essai sur l'Esope latin des temps modernes', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 19 (1970), 241-289.

² See the fundamental studies and texts by H. de Vocht, *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia. Texts and Studies about Louvain Humanists in the First Half of the XVIth Century: Erasmus — Vives — Dorpius — Clenardus — Goes — Moringus* (Louvain, 1934). J. IJsewijn edited 'Martinus Dorpius *Dialogus* (ca. 1508?)', in *Charisterium H. de Vocht 1878-1978*, Pref. by J. IJsewijn and J. Roegiers, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 2 (Louvain, 1979), pp. 74-101; and *Orationes IV. Cum Apologia et Litteris Adnexis*, Bibliotheca Teubneriana (Leipzig, 1986). IJsewijn also wrote Dorpius' biography, in *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and the Reformation*, 3 vols. (Toronto - Buffalo - London, 1985), I, 398-404.

³ On Goudanus' compilation, see below note 17. E. Daxhelet, *Adrien Barlandus*,

The second main gap recorded by Thoen, was the first edition of Dorpius' *Fabulae*, supposedly printed in november 1512. At the publication of Thoen's essay, there was not yet any trace of surviving copies. My discovery, in the Royal Library of Brussels, of an imperfect copy of this *editio princeps*, which in fact appeared in 1509, led me to write the present note.

Here, I try to reconstruct the lost parts of the 1509 edition, and, based on the evidence supported by it, also propose another perspective in order to evaluate the role played by Dorpius in the diffusion of that set of Aesop's fables, as well as to correct, or to make more accurate, some aspects of his chronology. I also intend to emphasize the relevant contribution of his younger colleague Barlandus to the subsequent success of Aesop, something insufficiently considered before. Therefore, I will not discuss here the textual implications of Dorpius' and Barlandus' work in relation to Aesop. Finally, thanks to the new edition, it becomes possible to add several modifications to Thoen's already excellent work.

I

The same year of the publication of Thoen's essay, 1970, the antiquarian bookseller Goldschmidt announced the sale of an imperfect copy of Aesop fables, printed by D. Martens in Antwerp, the 1st of December of 1509. The monumental catalogue of Nijhoff-Kronenberg incorporated the notice into its last supplement, 1971, taking it from Goldschmidt.⁴ This note was apparently overlooked by K. Heireman, who did not include it in his catalogue of the *Tentoonstelling Dirk Martens 1473-1973*.⁵ Later on, no attention seems to have been directed to that reference. Luckily, the Royal Library of Brussels bought the book in 1970.⁶

humaniste belge, Humanistica Lovaniensia, 6 (Louvain, 1938) still remains the basic text for Barlandus' life and works. See also the entry in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*. G. Tournoy and myself are preparing 'Hadrianus Barlandus at work in the printing-office of Dirk Martens (With twelve previously unnoticed letters)'.

⁴ The entry 4502, only mentions: 'Aesopus Fabulae latinae et aliorum, Antuerpiae, T. Martinus Alostensis, 1 Dec. 1509'. M. Nijhoff - M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500-1540*, 8 vols. (The Hage, 1923-1971), volume 8 (Derde Deel, Vijfde stuk), 1971.

⁵ Aalst, Stedelijk Museum-Oud Hospitaal, 1973. I thank Prof. G. Tournoy for the gift of a copy of this catalogue, which is no longer available.

⁶ Shelfmark 1.12.1509; 9.5 x 9.3 cm. The thin volume of 27 unnumbered leaves has been recently bound in carton, and has no traces of any source, nor manuscript notes.

After working with this imperfect copy, I identified that piece as the lost *editio princeps* of Dorpius' compilation, which in fact appeared in 1509, and not in 1512, as had been assumed since the publication of De Vocht's studies on the humanist.

The only known copy of Dorpius' <*Fabulae*>, Antwerp, 1 December 1509, is an 8° (95 x 93 mm.) beginning in *b*¹, and ending in *d*⁷; therefore, the entire volume probably had 32 leaves, the first 8 leaves, designated *a*, being lost, as well as the last page of *d*, possibly blank. The colophon appears in *d*⁷, and the date 'prima die decembris. Anno. M. ccccc. nono', leaves no room for any doubt. Even if the small volume is not complete, it seems possible to establish the missing part with the combined help of two procedures. First, by collating this copy (edition A) with the following Aesop editions printed by Martens, that is, a new collection of fables compiled by H. Barlandus in april, 1512 (B), and the reprint of Dorpius-Barlandus' *Fabulae*, appearing in October-November, 1513 (C). Second, by analyzing the four *errata* printed at the end of the book. This unexpected list will allow us to infer the contents of the lost pages of the 1509 volume (ed. A) since the *errata* make reference to mistakes printed, precisely, in the unknown part of the only copy. As these four passages could be identified, reprinted and duly corrected, in the 1513 edition (C), they gave clues that define the unknown portion of the copy, as I try to demonstrate in the second part of this article.

The extreme rareness of extant copies of the three mentioned editions, and the different criteria used by bibliographers for describing the contents of B and C, suggest the importance of starting with a new description, from the oldest text onward.

A The only known copy of <*Fabulae*>, Antwerp, D. Martens, 1 december, 1509, 8°, starts in the second fascicule: signature *b*. It includes:

- i) 'exsoluit penas', i. e., the continuation of *De leone senectute confecto*. It is followed by 33 more fables (*b*¹-*d*¹);
- ii) *Ex secundo Noctium atticarum Gelii Apologus Esopi Phrygis memoratu non inutilis* (*d*¹-*d*³*v*);
- iii) *Fabella ex Lamia Politiani desumpta* (*d*³*v*-*d*⁴*v*);
- iv) *Apologus ex secundo libro Petri Criniti de honesta disciplina desumptus* (*d*⁴*v*-*d*⁵);
- v) An excerpt *Ex Epicteto* (*d*⁵-*d*⁶*v*);

vi) Four *Errata* (d⁷):

In fronte libelli, lege Endecasyllabon

In carmine, eruditulumque, si secus habeas

In epistola prima quonam absterrear, si aliter habeas

In quinto folio, plus sudauerim

vii) And the colophon: *prima die decembris. Anno. M. ccccc. nono* (d⁷).

The verso of d⁷, is blank; d⁸, possibly blank, is missing.

B The edition of Barlandus, *Pluscule Esopi Phrygis et Auiani Fabulae non illae quidem a Gulielmo Goudano versae sed aliae ab Hadriano Barlando mutatae et auctae quibusdam veluti appendicibus ex Io. Antonio Campano & Raphaelae Volaterrano dessumptis*, Antwerp, April 20, 1512, contains the following elements in its 18 leaves:⁷

- i) Seven distichs, *Martinus Dorpius in fabellas a Barlando expolitas* (A^{1v});
- ii) The letter, undated, from Leuven, *Literatissimo viro. M. Ioanni Borsalo. Hadrianus Barlandus* (A²-A³);
- iii) The letter, dated November 14, 1511, *Ioannes Borsalus Hadriano Barlando suo* (A³-B¹);
- iv) The letter, from Leuven, April 12, *Doctissimo viro M. Petro Scoto apud Gandauos Gymnasiarche Hadrianus Barlandus* (B¹);
- v) The letter, from Leuven, undated, *Ornatissimo perindeque illustrissimo adulescenti Leonardo Seuenbergensi* (B^{1v}-B²);
- vi) *Esopi fabulae Hadriano Barlando interprete*: 24 fables (B²-C⁴);
- vii) *Hunc apologum (...) ex Baptista Mantuano vertimus (...)* (C^{4r-v});
- viii) The letter, from Leuven, *Hadrianus Barlandus Nicolao Putto* (C^{4v});
- ix) *Auiani fabulae Hadriano Barlando interprete*, 9 fables (D¹-D⁴);
- x) *Fabella de coruo et lupis ex Ioanne Antonio Campano desumpta*, and a second by the same (D^{4r-v});
- xi) *Apologus de membris & ventre ex Raphaelis Volaterrani Anthropologia desumptus* (D^{4v});
- xii) And the colophon: *Theodoricus Martinus Alosten. Hantvuerpie imprimebat An. D. M. CCCCC. XII* (D^{4v}).

⁷ I worked with a microfilm from the copy of Gießen UB. Signatures: A, C-D4, B6. The Hamburg copy was destroyed during World War II. Thoen's description, in pp. 247-248.

C The edition of *Fabule*, printed at Leuven by D. Martens in 1513, was the main model for the following two hundred reprints traced by Thoen between that date and the nineteenth century.⁸ As we will see, it comprehends a sort of synthesis of the two previous editions, but it also includes new materials. It contains, in 52 unnumbered leaves:

- i) After the modest title of *Fabulae*, the poem *Petri Aegidii Antuerpiani Endecasyllabon ad lectores* (t.p.);
- ii) *Admonitio ad lectores* (A¹v);
- iii) *Opusculi sequentis interpretum nomina* (...) (A¹v);
- iv) The letter dated Leuven, November 20, *Martinus Dorpius Ioanni Leupe, Iacobo Pape & Ioanni Niniuitae, eruditissimis in Flandria ludimagistris* (A²-A³);
- v) The undated letter of *Gulielmus canonicus diui Aurelii Augustini Florentio suo illustri Baroni Iselsteyno* (A²v-A³);
- vi) 45 Aesop fables, beginning with *De Gallo gallinaceo* (A³-C⁷v);
 - the fifth fable, *De leone et quibusdam aliis*, appears in leaf A⁴r-v;
 - the twelfth fable, *De leone senectute confecto*, is printed in leaf C⁷v;
- vii) The biography *Quaedam lectu non iniucunda de Esopo, a Barlando aedita* (C⁷v-C⁸; the verso is blank);
- viii) The undated letter, from Leuven, *Ornatissimo viro M. Petro Scoto apud Gandavos preceptoris suo Hadrianus Barlandus* (D¹r-v);
- ix) Seven distichs, *Martinus Dorpius in fabellas a Barlando expolitas* (D²);
- x) *Esopi fabulae Hadriano Barlando interprete*: 22 fables (D²v-E⁵v);

⁸ The copy kept at The Hague (KB) has the colophon '*vndecimo Kalendas octo.*' ('September, 21'): (N - K, 2243; Heireman, A286, M 92), but other copies, like the one from Brussels KB/ BR, Inc. A. 1911 show: '*vndecimo Kalendas Novembres*' ('October, 22'): (Nijhoff-Kronenberg, 27; Heireman, A 338, M 94). I collated xeroxcopies of the exemplar from The Hague with the Brussels copy, and I concluded that most probably both belong to the same edition. Both have the identical irregular signature: AF⁸⁻⁴, G⁴, H⁸, I⁴, the same capitals, blank spaces, and word divisions; their orthography and abbreviations also seem to be identical. Apparently, the only differences are found in the last page (I⁴): the copy having the colophon '*vndecimo Kalendas octo.*', also has the letter *Ioannes Munterius Gandauensis Barlando suo* dated: '*no. cale. Octo.*'. On the other hand, the copies with colophon '*vndecimo Kalendas Novembres*' have the mentioned letter dated '*vndecimo Kalendas No.*'. It seems that, when the printing was in progress, a chronological mistake was detected, and it had been corrected for the rest of the copies. My description is based on the Brussels copy; for a more detailed one, see Thoen, pp. 249-250.

- xi) *Apologus ex Mantuano traductus* (E⁵v-E⁶);
- xii) 13 *Fabulae* dedicated to *M. Petro Scoto* (E⁶-F²);
- xiii) The letter, undated, *Barlandus lectori* (F²);
- xiv) Two *Fabulae Aniani. Guielmo* (sic!) *Hermannno* (...) *interprete mutata incipiunt foeliciter* (F²r-v);
- xv) The letter, undated, from Leuven, *Generosissimo adulescenti Antonio Bergensi Hadrianus Barlandus* (H⁴);
- xvi) Nine *Apologi ex Chiliadibus adagiorum Erasmi desumpti ad communem puerorum fructum* (H⁴-H⁷v);
- xvii) *Is qui emendandis iis fabulis praefectus fuit sequentes apologos ex varias & his optimis authoribus collegit ut a pueris quoque legerentur quibus nunquam est bene instructa atque copiosa bibliotheca* (H⁷v);
- xviii) *Ex secundo Noctium atticarum Gelii Apologus Esopi Phrygis memoratu non inutilis* (H⁷v-I¹);
- xix) *Fabella ex Lamia Politiani desumpta* (I¹-I²);
- xx) *Apologus ex secundo libro Petri Criniti de honesta disciplina desumptus* (I²);
- xxi) *Fabella de coruo et lupis ex Ioanne Antonio Campano desumpta*, and a second, written by the same (I²v);
- xxii) *Apologus de membris & ventre ex Raphaelis Volaterrani Anthropologia desumptus* (I²v-I³);
- xxiii) The letter dated: 'no. calen. Octob.' (but in the copies with colophon 'undecimo Kalendas Nouembres' the same letter is dated: 'no. calen. No.'): *Ioannes Munterius Gandavensis Barlando suo* (I³-I⁴);
- xxiv) The undated letter, from Middelburg, *Ioannes Cluetingius Guilielmo Goudano viro eruditissimo* (I⁴);
- xxv) The undated letter, finishing with a distich: *Barlandus lectori* (I⁴).
- xxvi) The colophon 'undecimo calendas octobris', or 'undecimo calendas nouembris' in other copies (I⁴).

The verso of I⁴, is blank.

II

Before starting to analyze the contents of the previously described editions, a comparative table may help us to understand it. Once the pieces contained in each one of the previous three editions are described,

their collation will prepare the reconstruction of the missing parts of **A**, as well as a reconsideration of the role played by Dorpius and Barlandus in the following two editions of fables by Aesop and other authors.

A (1509)	B (1512)	C (1513)
?		i
?		ii
?		iii
?		iv
?		v
...i		vi (<i>repr. from A</i>)
		vii
		viii
	i	ix (<i>repr. from B</i>)
	ii-v	
	vi*	x (<i>partly from B</i>)
	vii	xi (<i>from B, revised</i>)
	viii	
		xii
		xiii
	ix	xiv (<i>alternative fables to those pr. in B ix</i>)
		xv
		xvi
		xvii
ii		xviii (<i>repr. from A</i>)
iii		xix (<i>repr. from A</i>)
iv		xx (<i>repr. from A</i>)
v		
vi		
	x	xxi (<i>repr. from B</i>)
	xi	xxii (<i>repr. from B</i>)
		xxiii
		xxiv
		xxv
vii	xii	xxvi

* This set of Aesop fables differs from that one printed in **A** i.

As we can see, editions **A** and **B** run parallel in the sense that each of them includes a list of Aesop fables, followed by a set of apologues taken from other authors. Nevertheless, their contents differ entirely. None of the Aesopic pieces found in **A** — at least in the preserved part of its only copy — have been reprinted in **B**. At the same time, all the excerpts compiled from other authors are different in each edition. It suggests that, when Barlandus started to prepare edition **B**, he took edition **A** as his model. Then he tried to write a sort of enlargement, or complement, to edition **A**. In a third step, edition **C** is an evident compilation of the largest part of both previous editions, with the addition of new pieces.

The mentioned progression from **A** to **C** invites the question whether the missing components of the Brussels copy of edition **A** could have been reprinted in **C**. At this point, the four *Errata* added to **A** provide a fundamental evidence. The first two reveal that the title page of **A** included the *Endecasyllabon* by Petrus Aegidius, which is also found in **C** i, where both errors have been corrected. Even more important, the ‘*epistola prima*’ (alluded to in the third *erratum*) must be that which Dorpius addressed to the three Flemish *ludimagistri* (**C** iv), where we find the word *absterrear* (**A**²v, 2d line) instead of the unknown mistake of **A**. At the same time, since the third *erratum* speaks about the ‘first’ letter, it indicates that at least a second one had to exist, probably that of Goudanus to Iselsteynus, found in **C** v. Finally, the last *erratum* mentions the word *sudauerim*, that we find in the fifth *fabula* printed in **C** vi: *De leone et quibusdam aliis*. At the same time as the *erratum* mentions that this passage appeared in the fifth leaf, it also suggests that the first fascicule was a complete booklet of 8 leaves, not a half. The first fascicule known, b, starts with the final part of the fable which occupies the twelfth place at **C** vi, and it continues in the same order until the fable number 45 of **C**. Both circumstances, i. e., the fourth printing error of the fifth — unknown — leaf, and the internal sequence of the known parts of the copy of **A**, allow us to assert that this former edition included for the first time the whole collection of 45 Aesop fables turned into prose by Goudanus, as they were reprinted in **C**.

If we accept the above premisses, we can conclude that the lost parts of the Brussels copy were the same as those that appeared in **C** with the numbers i, iv, v, as well as the first twelve fables of vi⁹, and conse-

⁹ Although we have no evidence, **A** could have included in the verso of its title page the *Opusculi sequentis interpretum nomina*, with a shorter number of authors than those of **C** iii. To the contrary, the *Admonitio ad lectores*, arguing about the reasons for the

quently, that **A** is the *editio princeps* of Dorpius' compilation of Aesop fables, until now considered lost.

III

Even though imperfect, the Brussels copy of <*Fabulae*>, 1509, gives a new perspective of different items concerning the role played first by Dorpius, and then by Barlandus as the promoters of a better Latin text of Aesop for textbooks.

First of all, the question of the actual date of Dorpius' prefatory letter can be reconsidered. Until now — and lacking the evidence of the 1509 edition —, it has been argued, based on indirect signs, that Dorpius' unknown edition of fables had been printed at the end of 1512, and therefore, that his preface to the three '*ludimagistri*' had to be dated November 22, 1512.¹⁰ But, if we accept the previous arguments in order to infer the missing parts of the Brussels volume, we have to accept that Dorpius' letter, dated '*10 Kal. Decembres*', goes back to November 22, 1509, precisely a week before print had been completed.

Internal evidence can be added to support the date of 1509. In the letter, Dorpius suggests that this book is his first to be printed, although he is not the author. Only if he succeeds, he will dare to print his own works. Until then he has written, or he is about to finish a few dialogues, poems, prefaces on Plautus, and a complement to his *Aulularia*.¹¹ He

spelling of '*Anianus*', instead of '*Auianus*', clearly refers only to edition **C**, where Barlandus adopted the first form. See **C** xiv.

¹⁰ The only known version of Dorpius' letter, dated with day and month but without the year, is that which was printed in **C** iv. H. de Vocht argued that it must be dated November 22 of 1512. According to de Vocht, there is a passage by Petrus Aegidius — the author of the *Endecasyllabon* printed on the title page of Dorpius' *Fabulae* — written December 12, 1511, which implies that 'Dorp does not seem to have had any connection with Martens nor with his staff before December 1511'; therefore, Dorpius' letter must be dated after this date. On the other hand, as the reprint of the letter appeared in October 22, 1513 (my ed. **C**), de Vocht concludes that Dorpius' letter 'certainly belongs to 1512', precisely November 22: *Monumenta*, p. 362. De Vocht's argument has been generally accepted, and sometimes forced explanations *ad hoc* in order to justify the chronological primacy of edition **B** with respect to that of Dorpius. See, for example, Daxhelet, *Adrien Barlandus*, pp. 33-37.

¹¹ Daring to publish Aesop's fables and a few excerpts from other authors 'Quod si genio quopiam aspirante, levis haec alea feliciter ceciderit, plusculum aliquando audebo, & quaedam meae ipsius foeturae, quae interim parturio, pariam: dialogos, carmina, prologos in actiones Plautinas, complementum Aululariae, atque id genus alia'. Ed. **C**, A2r. - v. Reprinted in de Vocht, *Monumenta*, pp. 361-364.

thus mentions pieces undoubtedly datable before the end of 1509, as those related to Plautus, and probably his *Dialogus in quo Venus et Cupido omnes adhibent versutias*,¹² but certainly not works written later, as for example his *Orationes*; the first of these, on the Assumption of Mary, was pronounced in August, 1510.¹³ Also, on November 10, 1512, Nicolaus Buscoducensis was sending a *Tractatus terminorum* by Dorpius to print, which appeared in Paris, December 6 of that same year.¹⁴ This fact hardly agrees with Dorpius' testimony if we accept the traditional date of November 22, 1512. On the contrary, dated in 1509, the letter gives a first hand account of Dorpius' hesitant beginnings as an author of printed works.

The question still remains whether Dorpius' letter could have been readapted for its reprint in the new edition of 1513 (C iv), or if the original version was simply reproduced. If we observe its text, it seems more consistent with the contents of edition A than with the pieces included in C: Dorpius said, other than Aesop fables (i), 'adieci paucula ex Gelio, Politiano, Crinito, Epicteto, sed selecta'. Actually, we find those excerpts in sections ii -v of A, and printed together in the same order after the fables. In C, on the contrary, Gellius, Politianus and Crinitus form sections xviii-xx, together with Campanus and Volateranus (xxi-xxii), but the announced excerpt from Epictetus does not appear, as de Vocht has already noticed.¹⁵ For all these reasons, it can be assumed that the Dorpius letter to the three 'ludimagistri', as we know it through its reprint in C, reproduces, unchanged but corrected, the actual text of 1509.

A second item to review, is the chronological sequence of editions A to C. As long as Dorpius' first edition remained unknown, it was accepted that it *certainly* had appeared by November, 1512. For this reason, since Barlandus' *Fabulae* (Ed. B) has the colophon April 20, 1512, scholars admitted B as the first Martens edition of Aesop, followed a

¹² All of these pieces were printed together under the title mentioned by Martens, in 1514 (Nijhoff-Kronenberg 737, Heireman, M. 106). De Vocht argues that they are the reprint of an earlier edition, now lost; *Monumenta*, pp. 326-333. The *Aulularia*, with Dorpius' prefaces and complement, was played in Leuven, September 9, 1508, p 308. IJsewijn believes that the *Dialogus* is even older, and that it must have been performed 'Cinerum die anno 1508 vel etiam 1507 aut 1506'. Maybe, the new *terminus ante quem*, should strengthen his argument. See 'Martinus Dorpius *Dialogus*', pp. 75-79.

¹³ See IJsewijn, *Orationes IV*, pp. X-XII.

¹⁴ See below, note 22.

¹⁵ Cf. Introduction in *Monumenta*, p. 362

few months later by that of Dorpius. That statement forced very confusing explanations in order to place Dorpius as a sort of follower of his younger and less experienced friend, Barlandus.¹⁶ Now, the evidence provided by the 1509 edition leads us to reconsider the traditional chronology, and allows a clearer, and more consistent account of the facts.

Like many contemporary humanists, Dorpius held that the *vulgata* verse version of Aesop, so popular among grammar teachers, was not at all worthy of the Greek author. For that reason, when Dorpius read a set of Aesop fables translated into humanist prose by W. Goudanus,¹⁷ an old friend of Erasmus, he decided to reprint it. He thus wrote a prefatory epistle recommending the new version to three famous Flemish grammar teachers. For him, editing quality versions of the best authors was very fruitful to the cause of good literature, as Aldus was doing in Venice.¹⁸ If we believe Dorpius, he did not change the highly praised Goudanus version of Aesop's fables, as has been suggested by scholars. He limited himself to promote, among Latin grammarians, an Aesop version allegedly more suitable for students, arguing why he considered Goudanus' prose better than the current verse version. At the end of the volume, Dorpius added, as a sort of supplement, a small selection of pieces of the same genre, taken from various renowned authors (A ii-v).

Three years later, Barlandus, taking his first steps as a latinist, decided to enlarge the extant *corpus* of renewed Aesop versions, adapting 24 new fables into prose, all of them different from those selected by Goudanus, and reprinted by Dorpius in A.¹⁹ As his model Goudanus had

¹⁶ See before, note 10.

¹⁷ For the life and bibliography of W. Goudanus, see *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, vol. 2. As mentioned before, not one copy of that book of fables seems to have survived. We only know of it through Dorpius' reedition, which most probably included the prefatory letter by Goudanus. Some additional light could be shed by comparing Dorpius' text with the edition, mentioned by Thoen (p. 247), of *Aesopi fabulae ex oratione ligata in solutam verse*, Deventer, J. of Breda, ca. 1515. Unfortunately, this book only has 10 leaves, and seems to be without any preface. See Nijhoff - Kronenberg 30. On Goudanus' sources — who did not translate the fables from the Greek text but followed the anonymous verse version attributed to Gualterus Anglicus, also known as the Anonymus Neveleti —, see Thoen, *passim*. He also gives a list of available versions of Aesop in Dorpius' time.

¹⁸ He wrote: 'ausus sum [...] fabellas Aesopicas rursus emittere, non carmine quidem illas subrustice conscriptas, sed prosa oratione nimisque lepide concinnatas, vtpote a Guilielmo Goudano, tanto viro, vt ab Erasmo meo, litteratorum quasi phenice, serio sit laudatus'. *Fabulae* (edition C), A²-A³. De Vocht reedited the letter in *Monumenta*, pp. 361-364, dating it November 1512, a question discussed before, in note 10.

¹⁹ Barlandus clearly explained this in his title page of B: he was editing 'Fabulae, non illae quidem a Gulielmo Goudano versae, sed aliae ab Hadriano Barlando mutatae et auctae'.

done before, Barlandus translated the verse fables into prose. Along the same lines, he reelaborated nine Avianus fables from medieval 'sordida' prose.²⁰ Finally, following Dorpius' edition of 1509, Barlandus compiled a few more excerpts from other humanists. Since Dorpius recommended Barlandus' work through seven distichs (**Bi**, and **Cix**), it becomes evident that both friends worked in mutual agreement. Edition **B**, far from being a redundant copy, was considered by them as a sort of enlargement of edition **A**. It also marked the first contact of Barlandus with the printing press.

A year later, thanks to the evident success of **A** and **B**, edition **C** (1513) included the contents of the previous two editions, eliminating several pieces, and adding new material. It brought together a total of 80 Aesop fables (those 45 formerly edited by Dorpius, from Goudanus (**A** i), 22 by Barlandus selected from the 24 of **B** vi, and 13 new fables (**Cxii**)). At the same time, it included those pieces previously taken from Gellius, Polizianus, Crinitus (**A**), Mantuanus, Campanus, and Volateranus (**B**), the poem by Aegidius (**A**) and the other by Dorpius (**B**). The pieces eliminated were a passage by Epictetus from **A** v, and the fables of Avianus, adapted to prose by Barlandus in **B** ix.²¹ Instead of these, the editor selected two fables from Goudanus' version of 'Anianus' (**C** xiv). Other new elements added to **C** were: a small Aesop biography by Barlandus, nine excerpts from Erasmus' *Adagiorum chiliades*, and a total of

²⁰ A lot of confusion has arisen over Barlandus' references to his version of Avianus and that by Goudanus. It seems that Goudanus, after editing the 45 Aesop fables — an unknown edition, obviously previous to Dorpius' reprint of 1509 (see before, note 17) —, produced a new volume of fables, this time with several adaptations from the Avianus medieval standard text. The two excerpts from the Goudanus version of *Anianus* included by Barlandus in **Cxiv**, most probably belong to that lost edition, as well as the letter 'Ioannes Cluetingius Guilielmo Goudano' (**C** xxiv), and maybe the set of Goudanus' poems that Barlandus himself had included in his edition of Erasmus' *De ratione studii*, printed in Leuven, by Martens, on September 24, 1512 (Nijhoff - Kronenberg, 863, Heireman, M 82). When that 'postrema Goudani editio' fell into Barlandus' hands, he discovered that some of the pieces he had translated had also been adapted by Goudanus. Obviously, Barlandus did not wish to compete with the famous humanist, but to enlarge the set of fables in quality prose available to the grammar students. He even became afraid of being charged with fraud if he decided to publish his own versions after those by Goudanus, and asked a friend to testify the truth of his story (**B** ii and iii). Truth or not, Barlandus' version was harshly criticised by his colleagues, as he recognized (**Cviii**), and he did not include his Avianus versions in **C**, incorporating the two mentioned excerpts by Goudanus, and Cluetingius' letter. See Daxhelet's different version in *Adrien Barlandus*, pp. 33-37.

²¹ See the previous note. It also explains the elimination from **C** of two of the 24 Aesop fables formerly printed in **B**.

eight letters. Actually, two of these had appeared previously in A. This sort of combination of Aesop text with analogous literary pieces excerpted from very different authors would then lead to a very successful series of reprints and adaptations whose history has been the object of Thoen's essay.

The third question to review involves the name of the compiler of edition C. If Barlandus followed Dorpius as an editor of Aesop, which of them prepared the third *compilatio* for Martens' press? If we pay attention to the contents, all the items making reference to Dorpius can be traced back to previous editions. On the contrary, the author of the pieces specific to edition C, makes evident Barlandus' hand. He wrote the biography of Aesop (vii), he introduced the two *Fabulae Aniani* (xiv), he excerpted the nine *Apologi* from Erasmus' new *Adagia* (xvi); and finally, Barlandus is the author of four of the six new letters of C, as well as being the addressee of a fifth one.

From those early years on, Dorpius seems to be more interested in writing than in printing. In the above mentioned letter to the three *ludimagistri*, he gives a list of his own works, reluctantly quoting that maybe, they will be printed in the future. It was not until 1512 that his first work was printed; the mentioned *Introductio [...] ad Aristotelis libros intelligendo*, or *Tractatus terminorum*, which appeared in Paris.²² Even more interesting, he declared that typographical care of the Aesop edition had been taken by his friend Nicolaus Broeckhoven, or Buscoducensis.²³ This same friend reappears three years later as the curator of the Parisian edition of *Termini*. Dorpius, after teaching grammar for some time, spent at least nine years as a professor of logic and natural philosophy, before devoting himself entirely to theology. The printing press seems to have been something rather incidental, merely instrumental, in his life. On the contrary, Barlandus showed an enthusiastic interest in the printing press, especially since 1512, when D. Martens left Antwerp for Leuven. So great was his interest, that he took an active part in at least sixteen of the books printed by Martens during the following three years. This concern, both for humanities and for the printing press, remained for the rest of his life.

²² This treatise was discovered and incorporated into Dorpius' works by J. IJsewijn, in his *Praefatio to Orationes IV*, p. IX. I thank him for kindly offering me a reproduction of this most rare opusculum.

²³ He — Dorpius — declares in his epistle: 'curam huius aeditiunculae in se omnem deriuauit'.

We can conclude that, if Dorpius had the grand idea of reprinting Goudanus' prose version of Aesop, supplemented with fables by different authors (ed. **A**), Barlandus went a step further by enlarging the *corpus* of humanist versions of Aesop, Avianus, and other authors of apologues for student use (ed. **B**). Later on, he compiled his friend's former work together with portions of **B**, and new materials (ed. **C**). Still later, when Martens reprinted the biggest part of **C** in 1517, and then again in 1520, Barlandus introduced the editions with new prefatory epistles, and corrected his former versions, eliminating most of them.²⁴ Dorpius inaugurated a tradition which was supported and developed by his friend Barlandus.

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²⁴ See Daxhelet, *Adrien Barlandus*, p. 36.

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ERASMUS' *MODUS ORANDI DEUM*, ORIGEN'S *DE ORATIONE*,
AND CAMBRIDGE TRINITY COLLEGE MS 194 (B.8.10)

It is not surprising that prayer, a fundamental part of Christian life, was one of Erasmus' many interests. He composed and published several prayers of his own. These include the *Paeon Virgini matri dicendus*, the *Precatio ad Virginis filium Jesum*, and the *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam* (in his *Lucubrationes* of 1503), and a collection of prayers in two parts, *Precationes aliquot novae* (1535). He was interested too in the works of early Christian writers on prayer. After coming across two short sermons on this topic by John Chrysostom he published a Latin translation of them on their own, with the Greek text appended, in April 1525,¹ and among his own writings on prayer there is the "paraphrase", as Erasmus calls it, of the Lord's Prayer, the *Precatio dominica*, published in 1523. His most expansive treatise on prayer, however, is the *Modus orandi Deum*, which was first published in October 1524. Through most of his mature publishing and scholarly career, then, prayer, if not a dominant topic, was certainly a recurring one that engaged the humanist's concern.²

Erasmus' close knowledge of the works of the Fathers of the Church — many of which he edited, in whole or in part — can hardly be overestimated, and in his writings he constantly refers to them. His prodigious memory allowed him to draw freely and without effort on their thoughts and ideas, even if he was not always fully conscious of his debt. The purpose of this article is to examine the question of whether in two of his works on prayer, the *Modus orandi Deum* and the *Precatio dominica*, Erasmus drew on and was influenced by Origen's *De oratione*.

¹ The Greek text of these can be found at *Patrologiae cursus completus ... series Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, vol. 50, columns 779-86 (this work will be cited hereafter as *PG*). Erasmus' translations are in Volume V of the Leiden edition of his works (1703-1706), hereafter cited as *LB*, columns 127-32.

² See now Hilmar M. Pabel, *Conversing with God: Prayer in Erasmus' Pastoral Writings* (Toronto, 1997).

Although the *Modus orandi Deum* was first published in October 1524, an expanded edition, described on the title page as an “opus per ipsum autorem diligenter et recognitum et locupletatum”, appeared in March of the following year, and it is this second version that is the basis for the Latin edition of the work in volume V-1 of the new critical edition of the works of Erasmus.³ In his introduction the editor of the *Modus orandi Deum*, J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, briefly discusses the indebtedness of Erasmus to earlier works on prayer. He includes among these Origen's *De oratione*: “Erasme y a trouvé plusieurs matières qui l'ont poussé à des expositions importantes”.⁴ As examples he cites the principle of praising God at the beginning of all prayers, the explanation of the terminology of prayer as found in 1 Timothy 2:1, and the question of whether prayer should be directed to the Father alone, or to the Son and Holy Spirit as well. A similar link between Origen's *De oratione* and part of the Erasmian corpus was also suggested by André Godin in his study of the influence of Origen on Erasmus.⁵ He sees the former as an inspiration for the *Precatio dominica* of Erasmus, pointing in particular to similarities in Origen's and Erasmus' discussion of the fourth petition, “Give us this day our daily bread”. Most recently, however, and more cautiously, Hilmar Pabel suggests that Erasmus may not have been aware of Origen's treatise,⁶ but he does not pursue the matter in much detail.

There is no denying that similarities between Origen's *De oratione* and the two works of Erasmus in question do exist, and these deserve examination. Before they are looked at, however, other evidence that Erasmus had read or even knew of Origen's essay has to be considered. Erasmus never mentions this work and shows no awareness of its existence, even though it is referred to by Pamphilus.⁷ Moreover, in the edition of the complete works of Origen that was prepared by Erasmus and published soon after his death in 1536, the *De oratione* is not to be found. Indeed, the *editio princeps* of *De oratione* did not appear until 1686. What reasons, then, other than the alleged similarities, are there for believing that Origen's essay on prayer not only was known to Erasmus but also influenced some of the ideas presented in the *Precatio*

³ *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmus Roterodami* (cited hereafter as ASD), V-1 (Amsterdam, 1977), pp. 112-76.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁵ André Godin, *Erasme, lecteur d'Origène* (Geneva, 1982), p. 626, n. 131.

⁶ Pabel, *Conversing with God*, p. 29.

⁷ See Rufinus' translation of Pamphilus' *Apologia pro Origene*, ch. 8 (PG 17, 603).

dominica and the *Modus orandi Deum*? These two possibilities need to be kept distinct. It may be that Erasmus read Origen's *De oratione* at some time, but chronological considerations make it virtually impossible for him to have done so before he composed the *Precatio dominica* in 1523 and the *Modus orandi Deum*, initially in 1524 and then, in the expanded version, in 1525.

Godin (*loc. cit.*) believes that Erasmus had direct knowledge of the Greek text of Origen's *De oratione* because the humanist used Cambridge Trinity College MS 194 (B.8.10) for his translation of part of Origen's commentary on Matthew, and this manuscript also contains the *De oratione*. Accordingly, by Godin's reasoning, Erasmus must have read the *De oratione*. There is an obvious assumption that the *De oratione* was already bound with the commentary on Matthew when Erasmus was working on the latter. Even if this assumption is accepted for the moment, there is incontrovertible evidence that Erasmus did not have access to this manuscript until *after* he had published the *Precatio dominica* and the *Modus orandi Deum*.

Erasmus' *Fragmentum commentariorum Origenis in Euangelium secundum Matthaeum* was published in 1527 in Basel by the Froben press. At the end of the prefatory letter of this edition, written to Nicholas of Diesbach and dated 6 July 1527, Erasmus says that the manuscript he used had come from Ladenburg,⁸ and had been supplied to him by Wolfgang of Affenstein.⁹ Other letters confirm this, and also provide a *terminus post quem* for when Erasmus actually received the manuscript. One of these is a brief letter written to Erasmus on 28 December 1526 (Epistle 1774) by Wolfgang himself. Wolfgang, who was in the service of Henry, Count Palatine, the Bishop of Worms at that time, describes the library at Ladenburg, which Henry had entrusted to his care. This library had been considerably enlarged, if not established, by Johann von Dalberg, who was Bishop of Worms from 1482 until his death in 1503.¹⁰ The collection is now in a sorry state, Wolfgang says, and he has undertaken to restore it to good repair.¹¹ Up till the time of

⁸ Ladenburg, a castle on the Neckar, near Heidelberg, belonged to the bishops of Worms.

⁹ This is Epistle 1844. The letter was dropped from Erasmus' 1536 edition of the works of Origen, although a small part of it was used. See P. S. Allen, ed., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, VII (Oxford, 1928), p. 101.

¹⁰ See K. Morneweg, *Johann von Dalberg* (Heidelberg, 1887).

¹¹ The library, writes Wolfgang, has for long been exposed to dust and mice. Some of the volumes are "semicorrosa", others are "situ et antiquitate obesa et depravata" (Epistle 1774 Allen, lines 9-10).

writing he has not allowed anyone access to the library without Henry's consent, but is willing to accede to a request of Erasmus that had been communicated to him through his doctor Theobald Fettich. This refers to the content of Epistle 1767, a letter written by Erasmus on 5 December 1526 to Fettich.¹² In it Erasmus commends Jerome Froben to the doctor. Froben, says Erasmus, has set out for Ladenburg, because of reports that there is a treasury of ancient manuscripts in the library there. Wolfgang's letter to Erasmus (Epistle 1774) is virtually a reply to Epistle 1767.¹³ Wolfgang's response is that he has allowed Froben not only to see but also to take whatever manuscripts he wanted, on condition that they be returned ("bona tamen sub fide restituendos").¹⁴ The Ladenburg Origen, therefore, could not have reached Erasmus until January 1527 at the earliest, and perhaps somewhat later.¹⁵ Since Wolfgang says that the library had been locked up for many years ("obseratum tot annis bibliothecae ostium") and that scarcely anyone has had access to it ("nemini fere, vel docto vel indocto,... patuit"),¹⁶ and since Erasmus gives the impression that the information about the library was new to him when writing to Theobald Fettich, he could not have seen the Ladenburg manuscript on another occasion before he received it in early 1527. If he was influenced by the *De oratione* when composing the *Precatio dominica* in 1523 or the *Modus orandi Deum* in 1524/1525, he must have seen a different manuscript of the work at an earlier date.

However, this is highly improbable. The reason for the late date of the *editio princeps* of the *De oratione* is the rarity of manuscripts containing the work. Indeed, the Trinity College manuscript appears to be the sole independent witness to the whole text. Two other surviving manuscripts

¹² The prefatory letter to Erasmus' edition of Ptolemy in 1533 is addressed to Fettich (Epistle 2760 Allen).

¹³ Cf Allen *Opus epistolarum*, VI, p. 446.

¹⁴ Epistle 1774 Allen, line 17. We also learn of Jerome Froben's activities at Ladenburg from Johann Huttich. In a letter to Beatus Rhenanus of 30 November 1527 (*Der Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, eds A. Horawitz - K. Hartfelder (Leipzig, 1886 = Hildesheim, 1966), no. 264) he tells of how he has visited the Ladenburg library but, apart from a Nicander, has found nothing that has not been published ("divulgatum"). Froben, he says, has plundered everything ("convulsit omnia").

¹⁵ We know from another letter of Erasmus (Epistle 1827, written on 23 May of that year) that he had been engrossed in translating Origen ("occupatissimus in Origene ver-tendo", Allen, *Opus epistolarum*, VII, p. 74) when a letter from his correspondent (of uncertain identity) had been delivered. This must be a reference to his translation of Origen's commentary on Matthew.

¹⁶ Epistle 1774 Allen, lines 14, 4-5.

are known: Paris, B.N., supp. gr. 534, and Paris B.N., gr. 1788 (containing only the final part of the treatise), but we know definitely that the former is a copy of the Cambridge manuscript made by Pierre-Daniel Huet in Stockholm, to where the manuscript had been taken by Isaac Vossius in 1648 (see below notes 50, 51). Paul Koetschau thought that there was nothing to preclude the other Paris manuscript from being also a (corrected) copy of the same.¹⁷ Many manuscripts, however, have been lost, and if the similarities shared by the *De oratione*, the *Precatio dominica* and the *Modus orandi Deum* are striking enough, then we have to entertain the possibility, unlikely though it seems, that prior to 1523 Erasmus had access to another manuscript of *De oratione* that has not survived.

It is to these similarities, including those mentioned by Bakhuizen van den Brink and Godin, that we now turn.

Prayers should begin with praise of God

Traditionally, praise of God is an important element in discussions of prayer. Augustine, for example, in his treatise *De sermone Domini in monte* says that since we have to win the goodwill of God when we pray, we do so by offering him praise, which is customarily put at the beginning of the prayer: “et hoc [praise of God] in orationis principio poni solet”.¹⁸ He makes this comment in the context of explicating the first clause of the Lord’s Prayer, “Our Father who art in heaven”, which he interprets as laudatory. Frequently too, in discussions of prayers, the psalms are adduced, as they are in the *Modus orandi Deum*, because they not only provide good examples of how to praise or glorify God but also contain precepts relating to prayer. So Clement of Alexandria quotes Psalm 70:4 (“May those who love thy salvation say evermore ‘God is great!’”) as advice to be followed by those who seek God.¹⁹ How significant, then, are the similarities between Origen and Erasmus on this point that prayers should always begin with praise of God? At the end of the *De oratione* Origen says “at the beginning and exordium

¹⁷ P. Koetschau, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1899), pp. lxxxv-vi.

¹⁸ *De sermone Domini in monte* II.4.15 (*Patrologiae completus cursus... series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne [hereafter cited as *PL*], vol. 34, column 1275; *Corpus christianorum, series Latina*, vol. 35, pp. 104-5, lines 307-10).

¹⁹ *Protrepicus* 10.29. Cf. too Clement’s explication of Psalm 150 (“Praise the Lord”) at *Paedagogus* II.4.42.

of our prayer we must address praises to God through Christ, who is praised together with him in the Holy Spirit who is likewise hymned" and "our prayer ought to end in praise to God through Christ in the Holy Spirit" (XXXIII.1).²⁰ In contrast, while Erasmus stresses the necessity of praise in prayer, he is much less prescriptive than Origen. At the very beginning of the *Modus orandi Deum* he discusses the nature of psalms, hymns and spiritual songs, referring to Colossians 3:16 and Ephesians 5:18-19. He says that these different kinds of songs are similar to prayers in that praise, and particularly praise of God, plays a predominant part in all three. Near the end of the work he illustrates the different components of prayer, drawing from prayers in the Scriptures. "These often begin with words of praise or of complaint, aimed at eliciting goodwill, and sometimes with the expression of thanks, which, as we have shown, is a form of praise".²¹ Nowhere in the essay does he prescribe, in the strict manner of Origen, that prayers ought *always* to begin and end with praise. He is closer to Augustine, as quoted at the beginning of this paragraph, in simply stating that prayers frequently do begin with praise of God. As the previous quotation shows, Erasmus even allows that prayers may begin with a complaint or lament, citing as an example Jeremiah 20:7 ("O Lord, you have deceived me and I was deceived").²²

The terms used for prayer

Origen (XIV.2-5) discusses 1 Timothy 2:1 to distinguish between the four words used there for prayer: δέησις, προσευχή, ἑντευξις, εὐχαριστία. Erasmus too devotes part of his essay to the different words for prayer (ASD V-1, pp. 126-7, lines 168-219). He begins by differentiating between *oratio* and *precatio*, and then moves on to the pair

²⁰ Ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῷ προοιμίῳ τῆς εὐχῆς λεκτέον τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ συνδοξολογουμένου ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι συνυμνουμένῳ ... τὴν εὐχὴν εἰς δοξολογίαν διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καταπαυστέον. The translations of Origen are taken from E. G. Jay, *Origen's Treatise on Prayer* (London, 1954).

²¹ He advises taking examples from Scripture, "in quibus animadvertere licet laudem, aut conquestionem, quae pertinet ad conciliandum favorem proemii loco, nonnumquam et gratiarum actionem, quam ostendimus esse laudis genus" (ASD V-1, p.164, lines 487-9).

²² The term "conquestio", here translated by "complaint", is a technical term in rhetoric, described at *Rhetorica ad Herennium* III.24 as "a speech which tries to elicit the sympathy of the listeners by exaggerating misfortunes". Like praise, then, it is a form of *captatio benevolentiae*.

oratio and *obsecratio*, equating the former with προσευχή, and the latter with δέησις, on the basis of Philippians 4:6 and Ephesians 6:18. Erasmus then adduces 1 Timothy 2:1, where, he says, Paul joins together three words for prayer: δέησις, προσευχή, and ἔντευξις. In his discussion of what these words mean and how they differ, if at all, Erasmus refers to the interpretations on this topic of Ambrose (twice), Augustine, Theophylact, and the Greek scholia of biblical manuscripts.²³ If Erasmus knew Origen's *De oratione* and was drawing from it at this point, it is surprising that he does not mention Origen as one of his sources. It should be said too that Origen talks about four kinds of prayer (he defines εὐχαριστία as an acknowledgment with prayer of receiving blessings from God), while Erasmus focuses only on three, leaving the element of thanksgiving out of his discussion. In any case, 1 Timothy 2:1 is central for any attempt to discuss the nomenclature of prayer, and the fact that both Origen and Erasmus explicate the different meanings of the various words for prayer in this verse has little significance since similar discussions are to be found in the commentaries of the Church Fathers, only to some of which Erasmus explicitly refers.

Prayer should be directed to God alone

The issue here is whether prayers should properly be addressed to God alone, and not to Christ or the Holy Spirit as well. At *De oratione* XV.1 Origen says that "prayer is to be addressed to no man born of woman, not even to Christ himself, but to the God and Father of all alone, to whom even our Saviour himself prayed".²⁴ He goes on to say, however, that prayers to the Father should be offered through Christ and in his name (XV.2). Not surprisingly, in a tract on prayer, Erasmus also discusses to whom our prayers should be directed (ASD V-1, p. 144, lines 830 ff.). He admits that in keeping with Scripture "prayers of all the early Christian writers are almost always directed to the Father

²³ See Ambrose, *Commentaria in Epistolam ad Ephesios*, PL 17, 424C; *Commentaria in Epistolam I ad Timotheum*, PL 17, 491D-492B; Augustine, *Epistolae* 149.13-6, PL 33, 635-7; Theophylact, *Expositiones in Epistolam I ad Timotheum*, PG 125, 29B-C. These references are given in ASD *ad loc.* (not always accurately).

²⁴ Μή ποτε οὐδενὶ τῶν γεννητῶν προσευκτέον ἔστιν οὐδὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὄλων καὶ πατρὶ, ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν προσήχετο. Jay, *op. cit.*, p. 127, n. 3, points out that Origen's statement here is inconsistent with his own practice, since he addresses elsewhere both Christ and the Holy Spirit, but "when he comes to write a treatise on the subject he is unable to justify the practice theologically".

because they read that the apostles were openly and frequently admonished to pray to their Heavenly Father, but in the name of the Son. Moreover, in the Gospels the Son addresses the Father in his frequent prayers. He promises the Holy Spirit, but does not pray to it".²⁵ Erasmus also repudiates the alternative text of John 14:14 that reads "If you ask anything of me" instead of "If you ask anything" because it lacks manuscript support. But Erasmus' comments on this point are simply a preamble to his main purpose in this section, to defend the practice of praying to the saints. The fact that Origen and Erasmus agree on the point that strictly prayers should be directed to God alone, in accordance with Scripture, is hardly enough to show that Erasmus was influenced by Origen on this matter.

On their own, then, the three topics adduced by Bakhuizen van den Brink are a weak basis for believing that Erasmus knew Origen's *De oratione* and drew on it for the *Modus orandi Deum*. Are there other similarities that might make a better case? The following affinities are worthy of examination.

Both Erasmus and Origen use the same two parables in similar contexts. Erasmus states that Christ and his disciples were so insistent in urging constant prayer because "the most steadfast support in misfortune is the help of God, which Christ promised would always be available to us if we ask for it in impassioned and urgent prayers".²⁶ Erasmus then adduces two parables used by Christ to show how God will hear our prayers, one of the irreligious judge who succumbs to a widow's persistence (Luke 18:2-8), and the other of the man who yields to his importunate friend's request for bread in the middle of the night (Luke 11:5-8). The same two parables are also used by Origen to illustrate why we should always pray (X.2). However, since Christ himself uses these parables to show that God will respond to those who constantly pray, it would not be surprising if both Erasmus and Origen adduced them independently when discussing the need for constant prayer. Moreover, Augustine too invokes these same parables in his letter to the widow Proba (*Epistolae* 130.15; *PL* 33, 500), and if Erasmus drew from any

²⁵ "Ideo fere preces omnes diriguntur ad Patrem, quia palam et crebro legunt apostolos admonitos ut Patrem coelestem orarent, sed in nomine Filii. Et Filius in euangeliiis frequenter orans Patrem alloquitur, Spiritum Sanctum promittit, non orat" (ASD V-1, p. 145, lines 839-42).

²⁶ "Certissimum autem in malis praesidium est auxilium Dei, quod ille nobis semper paratum fore pollicitus est, si votis ardentibus ac instantibus flagitemus" (ASD V-1, p. 127, lines 227-9).

earlier work at this point the source was probably Augustine's letter, since there are clear indications that he knew it and used it in other parts of the *Modus orandi Deum*.²⁷

Erasmus and Origen share another similarity in their interpretations of the injunctions "to pray always," "never to cease from prayer," and "to pray unremittingly" (cf. Luke 18:1 and 1 Thessalonians 5:17). Erasmus explains them in the following way: "to long for, during the whole of one's life, that greatest blessing of all, promised to us in the next world. When righteous persons direct all that they do in this life to that goal, whether eating or drinking or sleeping, their whole life is certainly like a never-ending prayer".²⁸ Erasmus cites in support of this view Tobit 12:12 ("While you prayed tearfully and buried the dead, when you abandoned your meal and concealed a corpse during the day in your home, it was I who brought your prayers before the Lord"), and goes on to say that "clearly, each of Tobit's actions was a form of prayer".²⁹ A very similar sentiment is expressed by Origen at XII.2: "The man who links together his prayer with deeds of duty and fits seemly actions with his prayer is the man who prays without ceasing, for his virtuous deeds or the commandments he has fulfilled are taken up as a part of his prayer. For only in this way can we take the saying 'Pray without ceasing' as being possible, if we can say that the whole life of the saint is one mighty integrated prayer".³⁰ But again such a sentiment is by no

²⁷ After a brief discussion of the Lord's Prayer, Erasmus suggests using prayers from Scripture as substitutes for it since they often reflect its sentiments (ASD V-1, pp. 159-61, lines 1329-78). He gives eighteen examples, mostly from Psalms. In the letter to Proba Augustine also illustrates, much more briefly, how many of the prayers in the Psalms express the same idea as part of the Lord's Prayer (*Epistolae* 130.22; *PL* 33, 503). Four of them (Ecclesiasticus 36:4; Psalm 119:133; Proverbs 30:8; Psalm 132:1) are also used by Erasmus in the *Modus orandi Deum*.

²⁸ "Per omnem vitam desiderare summum illud bonum, quod nobis in futuro saeculo promittitur. Ad hunc scopum, quum homines pii dirigant quicquid agunt interim in hac vita, sive comedunt, sive bibunt, sive dormiunt, nimirum tota illorum vita perpetua quaedam est deprecatio" (ASD V-1, p. 138, lines 602-5).

²⁹ "Nimirum, totum hoc quod agebat erat oratio" (ASD V-1, p. 138, line 608). This is of some interest since Tobit 12:12 is one of the few scriptural quotations that are common to the *De oratione* and the *Modus orandi Deum* (see below, note 39), but Origen quotes it (XI.1) to show that angels assist human prayers. Erasmus also refers to it for the same purpose (ASD V-1, p. 139, lines 626-7).

³⁰ "Ἀδιαλείπτως" δὲ προσεύχεται, καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἀρετῆς ἢ τῶν ἐντολῶν τῶν ἐπιτελουμένων εἰς εὐχῆς ἀναλαμβάνομένων μέρος, ὃ συνάπτων τοῖς δέουσιν ἔργοις τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ τῇ εὐχῇ τὰς προεπούσας πράξεις. οὕτω γὰρ μόνως τὸ "ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε" ἐκδέξασθαι δυνάμεθα ὡς δυνατόν ὃν εἰρημένον, εἰ πάντα τὸν βίον τοῦ ἁγίου μίαν συναπτομένην μεγάλην εἴποιμεν εὐχὴν.

means unique to Origen and Erasmus. Hilary, whose *Lucubrationes* were edited by Erasmus in 1523, says much the same: "We pray unremittingly when, through deeds that are pleasing to God and are always done for his glory, the whole life of every righteous man is prayer".³¹ Augustine too interprets Paul's admonition in a non-literal sense. In the letter to Proba he says that "To pray unremittingly" is nothing other than to long unremittingly for the blessed life from him who alone can give it.³² Something similar can be found in a homily on prayer, ascribed erroneously to Chrysostom. There the explanation of 1 Thessalonians 5:17 ("sine intermissione orate") is that just as we turn our minds to God when actually praying, we should do the same thing when occupied in other tasks.³³ The implication is that these other activities are a form of prayer. Compare too Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* VII.7.49: "In every place... but not ostensibly and visibly to the multitude, he [the Gnostic] will pray. But while engaged in walking, in conversation, while in silence, while engaged in reading and in works according to reason he in every mood prays".³⁴ Erasmus probably was not familiar with these last two examples, but they serve to show that the interpretation of "praying unremittingly" common to Erasmus and Origen is not a striking or unusual one.

Both Erasmus and Origen discuss the intercessory power of the saints and whether they should be invoked in prayer. The topic is treated at greater length in the *Modus orandi Deum*, not surprisingly, since we learn from Erasmus himself that one of his aims in writing the essay was

³¹ "Per hoc enim efficitur ut sine intermissione oremus cum per opera Deo placita et in gloriam eius semper exercita sancti cuiusque viri vita omnis oratio sit" (Hilary, *Tractatus in Psalmum I*; PL 9, 254; *Corpus christianorum, series Latina* 61, p. 27, lines 19-21).

³² "Quid est [sine intermissione orate] aliud quam beatam vitam quae nulla nisi aeterna est ab eo qui eam solus dare potest sine intermissione desiderate" (*Epistolae* 130.18; PL 33, 501). Cf. too Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum* 37,14 (on verse 10): "est alia interior sine intermissione oratio quae est desiderium. Quidquid aliud agas, si desideras illud sabbatum, non intermittis orare... continuum desiderium continua vox tua est" (PL 36, 404).

³³ Οὐ γὰρ χρὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπιόντα δξέως ἀπάγειν τὸν λογισμὸν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τινὰς ἀσχολούμενον χρεῖας, ἢ περὶ κηδεμονίαν πασχῶν ἢ περὶ φροντίδας ἐτέρας (*Homilia* 6, *De precatione*; PG 64, 461).

³⁴ Ἐν παντὶ τοίνυν τόπῳ οὐκ ἄντικρυς δὲ οὐδὲ ἐμφανῶς τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐξεται. δὲ καὶ περιπάτῳ χρώμενος καὶ ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἀναγνώσει καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς κατὰ λόγον κατὰ πάντα τρόπον εὐχεται. The translation is from *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Peabody, Mass., 1994), vol. 2, p. 537. Cf. also *Stromateis* VII.7.40: "the Gnostic prays throughout his whole life" (ὁ γνωστικὸς παρὰ ὅλον εὐχεται τὸν βίον).

to defend, against Luther, the validity and efficacy of praying to the saints.³⁵ One of his arguments is that since the saints in their earthly life prayed for their brethren, even though they themselves were not free of sin, “we should all the more believe that these same persons, having cast off their mortality and now free of the contagion of this life, can have some influence with God, especially when we must believe that they have not lost their love for their fellow humans and their devotion to us along with the loss of their lives”.³⁶ Origen voices similar thoughts, in the context of showing that angels and saints assist men’s prayers. Since, he says, the supreme virtue is to love one’s neighbour, the departed saints must love those who are still in this life, and do so to a far greater extent than the living love and help their weaker brothers (XI.2). Despite the similarity, however, Erasmus here is drawing, not from Origen, but from the *Contra Vigilantium* of Jerome, as he explicitly states: “Nec mihi videtur leve argumentum quod Hieronymus adfert, pugnans adversus Vigilantium”.³⁷ The argument of Jerome to which Erasmus is referring is as follows: “If the apostles and martyrs in their earthly body can pray for all others when they ought to be still concerned about themselves, how much more do they do so after they have won their crowns, their victories and triumphs”.³⁸

These are the best examples of similarities in thought and content to be found in Origen’s *De oratione* and Erasmus’ *Modus orandi Deum*, other than those adduced by Bakhuizen van den Brink.³⁹ They show

³⁵ At the end of Epistle 1559, written to John of Lorraine on 22 March 1525, he says that he will send him a copy of the *Modus orandi Deum* “in quo adversus eundem [Lutherum] asserimus invocationem Sanctorum”, Epistle 1559 Allen, lines 120-1 (*Opus epistolarum*, VI, p. 55). Erasmus concedes that there is no scriptural authority for this practice but appeals to the consensus of the church from early times. He points out that there is also no scriptural basis for the perpetual virginity of Mary, but the Lutherans did not question this.

³⁶ “Quanto magis credendum est eosdem iam exuta mortalitate omnique vitae huius contagio liberos posse aliquid apud Deum, praesertim cum neque fraternam charitatem neque nostri studium cum vita posuisse credendum sit” (ASD V-1, p. 148, lines 941-4).

³⁷ ASD V-1, p.148, lines 938-9.

³⁸ “Si apostoli et martyres adhuc in corpore constituti possunt orare pro ceteris quando per se adhuc debent esse solliciti, quanto magis post coronas, victorias et triumphos?” (Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium* 7; *PL* 23, 359). In his note at this point Bakhuizen van den Brink relates the reference to Jerome in a general way to what Erasmus has just written about the antiquity of a practice that has the approval of the consensus of the church. The reference, however, relates to what immediately follows (cited in n. 36, above).

³⁹ It is possible to find other similarities but these are even less convincing for postulating a direct link between the *Modus orandi Deum* and the *De oratione*. For example,

nothing that Erasmus could not have drawn from other earlier writers on prayer.

The Precatio dominica and Origen's De oratione

What of André Godin's suggestion that Erasmus might have been inspired by Origen's *De oratione* to write the *Precatio dominica*, composed in 1523? He thinks it "assez probable", given certain similarities to be found in Origen's and Erasmus' discussion of the fourth element of the Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread": "aux considérations d'Or. sur le pain 'supersubstantiel' (épiousios) qui rend fils de Dieu... correspondent des énoncés d'Er.: la grande largesse de Dieu, ce n'est pas le pain matériel... ni même l'Eucharistie à laquelle Er. (comme Or.) ne fait que de lointaines allusions... mais le pain de la 'vérité évangélique'".⁴⁰ Certainly, Erasmus regards the bread as spiritual and heavenly rather than physical, and describes it as "your all-powerful Word... which you [God] deigned to send to us from heaven", as "the body of your only begotten Son", and as "the truth of the Gospel".⁴¹ Most of the early Christian Latin writers interpret the bread of the petition to signify either the food we need for nourishment or the Eucharist, or both of these.⁴² As Godin says, in both Erasmus and Origen there are

both refer to the view that God's foreknowledge renders prayer unnecessary in light of God's foreknowledge. Origen, however, deals with this (and predestination) at *De oratione* V-VI in a systematic way while Erasmus brings in the question peripherally in his discussion of why we should pray *constantly* (ASD V-1, pp. 138-9, lines 574-84). It is also a topic that is quite commonplace; see, for example, Jerome on Matthew 6:8 (*PL* 26, 42); Augustine, *De sermone Domini in monte* II.3.14 (*PL* 34, 1275; *Corpus christianorum, series Latina* 35, pp. 103-4, lines 281-5), *Epistolae* 130.15 (*PL* 33, 500).

A further point is that Origen's *De oratione* has just over twenty of the nearly two hundred biblical quotations that are to be found in the *Modus orandi Deum*, and most of these would be expected to be used in any treatise on Christian prayer.

⁴⁰ Godin, *Erasme*, p. 626, n. 31. Here, Godin seems to show some awareness of the chronological issues, without, however, pursuing them.

⁴¹ "Is [panis] est sermo tuus omnipotens... quem nobis de coelo mittere dignatus es" (LB 1225B), "corpus unigeniti tui panis est" (1225C), "veritas Euangelica panis est" (1225C). Here, I think that Erasmus must mean by "sermo tuus" the Word of God, incarnate in Christ. See James McConica, *Erasmus* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 64-5.

⁴² For a very useful survey of the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer in early Christian writers see C. Vona, "La quarta petitio dell' oratio dominica nell' interpretazione di antichi scrittori cristiani", in *Convivium Dominicum* (Catania, 1959), pp. 215-55. For a more comprehensive review of the different interpretations of the bread from antiquity up till the time of Erasmus see J. Carmignac, *Recherches sur le "Notre Père"*, (Paris, 1969), pp. 144-66.

only hints at connecting the bread of the Lord's Prayer with the Eucharist. Erasmus emphasises instead a spiritual interpretation of the bread as "the truth of the Gospel", and in his much lengthier discussion of this part of the Lord's Prayer, Origen affirms strongly that the bread requested is not material bread, but rather Christ himself, whom he also describes as the Word of God.⁴³

One cannot assume, however, from the similarities between Erasmus and Origen in their interpretation of the bread in the fourth petition that Erasmus was drawing from Origen. For even among the Latin Fathers we find a similar interpretation. St Augustine, whom Erasmus obviously knew well, says that there are three views of the meaning of bread in the Lord's Prayer. It may signify the material things required for our earthly life or it may refer to the Eucharist or it may mean spiritual food. While admitting that it is possible to understand the bread in all three ways taken together, he himself gives strong preference to the third interpretation. "Restat igitur ut quotidianum panem accipiamus spiritualem, praecepta scilicet divina, quae quotidie oportet meditari et operari".⁴⁴ The divine precepts to which he refers are obviously the Scriptures. The same three-fold interpretation is found also in Thomas Aquinas; the bread can be the material necessities of life, the Eucharist, and the Word of God.⁴⁵ There is no need, then, to believe that Erasmus drew on Origen for his explanation of the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer.⁴⁶

⁴³ Origen does not specifically refer to the Eucharist, but there are suggestions at points in his discussion that he has it in mind. For example, "And the Word was made flesh. And whenever we eat and drink him, then he dwells among us; and as often as it is distributed, then are fulfilled the words 'We beheld his glory'" (XXVII.4).

⁴⁴ Augustine, *De sermone Domini in monte* II.7.27 (PL 34, 1280; *Corpus christianorum, series Latina* 35, p. 115, lines 557-9). In his Paraphrase on Matthew 6:11 Erasmus describes the bread as God's bread of heavenly teaching, "doctrinae coelestis" (LB VII.379).

⁴⁵ Aquinas, *Expositio devotissima orationis dominicae videlicet Pater noster*, in *Opuscula omnia*, ed. P. Mandonnet (Paris, 1927), vol. 4, pp. 403-4. See Pabel, *Conversing with God*, p. 138.

⁴⁶ At the end of the dedicatory letter of the *Precatio dominica*, written to Jost Ludwig Dietz (Epistle 1393), Erasmus says that he has divided the prayer into seven parts as Dietz requested. He adds, "Yet I think it as wrong to separate the last two clauses, 'And lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil', as it would be to divide 'And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those that trespass against us'". It is possible that Erasmus is drawing here from Augustine, who usually accepts the traditional division into seven parts but sometimes advocates a division into six parts since the last two petitions form one concept: cf. *Sermones* 56.13.18-14,19 (PL 38, 386); *Sermones* 59.5.8 (PL 38, 401-22); *Enchiridion* 116 (PL 40, 286; *Corpus christianorum, series Latina* 46, 111). See Vona (above, n. 42), p. 231. But other Christian fathers also advocate the division into six parts: see Carmignac, *Recherches*, pp. 312-3; Pabel, *Conversing with God*, pp. 148-9.

The conclusion must be that the similarities between Origen's work on prayer and Erasmus' *Modus orandi Deum* and *Precatio dominica* are not striking enough to support the view that Erasmus drew on Origen's essay when he composed these two works. There is no reason to believe, therefore, that he must have had access to another manuscript containing Origen's *De oratione* before he came into possession of the manuscript from Ladenburg in 1527.

This raises another question that is more difficult to answer. Did Erasmus ever read Origen's *De oratione*? Did he ever, as Godin says, have direct knowledge of the work? We know that he had read and translated the part of Origen's commentary on Matthew in the manuscript that now constitutes the first part of Trinity College 194 (B.8.10). Had the *De oratione* already been bound with the Matthew commentary when Erasmus was working on the latter in the spring of 1527? If so, we must impute Erasmus' complete silence about the treatise and its absence from his edition of Origen, with no reference to it in the introduction, which deals in part with the lost works of Origen, either to a lapse of memory (most unlikely) or to a failure to recognise the essay for what it was. Since the work as it now stands in the Trinity College manuscript has no mention of title or author on its first page, the latter is a distinct possibility, particularly if Erasmus had only a limited time to work on the manuscript before returning it. Wolfgang of Affenstein had stipulated in his letter to Erasmus that the manuscripts given to Froben had to be returned. At the end of the prefatory letter of the Matthew commentary Erasmus says that he has communicated the source of his translation in order that anyone who wished might check the accuracy of his work.⁴⁷ This suggests that at the time of writing the letter (6 July 1527) the manuscript had been or was about to be returned to Ladenburg. Yet, it is difficult to accept that he would not have examined, at least cursorily, a second work in the manuscript, when the first was by Origen. If he had looked near the beginning or almost at the very end he would have seen that one of the addressees of the work was Ambrosius, Origen's well-known friend and patron, and this should have been enough to indicate Origen as the author.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ "Ut... siquis interpretis fidem explorare velit norit unde petat exemplar" (Epistle 1844 Allen, lines 98-100, *Opus epistolarum*, VII, p. 103).

⁴⁸ The other addressee was Tatiana, whose identity is unclear. In his *Origeniana* (III.3.7) Pierre-Daniel Huet writes that the identity of the author as Origen was apparent from the addressee, Ambrosius, at the very end of the work (PG 17, 1260). The name

The crucial question is whether in fact the two works were bound together before 1527 and thus were both in the possession of Erasmus when he was working on the Matthew commentary in that year. The current binding dates from the mid-eighteenth century.⁴⁹ From Pierre-Daniel Huet's account of the history of the manuscript we know that the two works were together in the seventeenth century, and, indeed, in the gutter between the two sections of the manuscript old and abandoned sewing stations match up. Huet, who visited Sweden in 1652, reports that he had come upon a manuscript containing Origen's commentary on Matthew and his *De oratione* in the royal library.⁵⁰ The manuscript had been brought to Stockholm, to Queen Christina, by Isaac Vossius,⁵¹ with whom Huet later corresponded to find out where he had obtained it and what had happened to it. Vossius informed Huet that he had procured it in the Hague about twenty years previously (presumably before the date of his reply to Huet) from a doctor in the service of Elizabeth of Bohemia. This individual, named Rumf, had bought it cheaply from soldiers after the plundering of the library of Worms and brought it from Germany. Vossius had taken it to Sweden. On the abdication of Queen Christina it had come to Antwerp with the rest of her library. Christina had readily granted Vossius' request that the manuscript, along with some others, be returned to him. According to Vossius the manuscript was at the time of writing to Huet in the possession of Herbert Thorndike, to whom it had been lent some years before ("usura... concessa"). The loan apparently turned into a gift, as on the recto of the fly-leaf there is written (in addition to a reference to Huet) "Donavit Herberto Thorndicio Isaacus Vossius". On the verso we read "Ex dono Reverendi clarissimique viri Herberti Thorndike Huiusce Collegii quondam Socii Anno Domini 1670". The assumption must be that the two works were already bound together when it came into the possession of Vossius and when it had been plundered from Worms by soldiers, presum-

occurs in the fourth-last line of the final page as well as at the eighth-last line of the first page.

⁴⁹ I am extremely grateful to Dr David McKitterick, Librarian of Trinity College, for information, by letter, both on the binding and on the quire signatures. I examined the manuscript myself in a brief visit to the library in May 1997.

⁵⁰ Huet published an edition of some of the works of Origen, including the Matthew commentary in 1668. Koetschau (*op. cit.*, lxxxiii-iv) quotes Huet's account of the history of the manuscript.

⁵¹ Vossius was in Stockholm from 1648 to 1654, the year in which Christina abdicated.

ably some time during the Thirty Years War.⁵² More research might produce a more exact date of when Rumf obtained the manuscript, but for my purposes it is enough to know that the two works were bound together a century or so after Erasmus saw the Matthew commentary in 1527.⁵³

Since the *De oratione* was copied at a later date than the Matthew section they were almost certainly not always bound in the same volume.⁵⁴ But when did they come together? The quire signatures in the manuscript are interesting, if, in the final analysis, inconclusive. In his description of the manuscript in the printed catalogue of Trinity College manuscripts James mentions only the Greek sequence. The first twenty-six quires in the Matthew commentary are numbered consecutively, the Greek number appearing on the verso of the last leaf of each quire at the bottom of the page, with the exception of the second quire, where the number appears on the recto of the first leaf. Since the last quire is incomplete, the text ending on the sixth leaf (214), no number is found on the twenty-seventh quire. The Greek enumeration is continued in the part of the manuscript containing *De oratione*, which begins on folio 215.⁵⁵ On leaves 223, 231, 239 and 247 can be read, *always on the recto*, the Greek numbers for 29, 30, 31, and 32 respectively.⁵⁶ These numbers appear, therefore, at the beginning of each quire, not on the final leaf of quires, the practice, with one exception, in the Matthew commentary, and they are very crudely written. The quire signatures in the Matthew commentary are certainly much earlier and may have been done when the manuscript was originally being copied.

⁵² For an account of the Ladenburg library and its dispersal see P. Lehmann, *Johannes Sichardus und die von ihm benutzten Bibliotheken und Handschriften* (Munich, 1911), pp. 123-33. Some of the collection was in the Collegium Sapientiae in Heidelberg in the early 1620's (see Lehmann, pp. 127-28). Vossius' account of the manuscript's source suggests that other parts of the collection may have been in Worms rather than in Ladenburg at about the same time.

⁵³ Elizabeth of Bohemia was in exile in the Netherlands from 1621. We do not know when Rumf entered Elizabeth's service or how long he possessed the manuscript before passing it on to Vossius. If Huet wrote to Vossius shortly before his edition of 1668, Vossius may have obtained the manuscript from Rumf in the mid 1640's.

⁵⁴ James dates the *De oratione* to the fifteenth century, the Matthew commentary to the fourteenth. Koetschau (*op. cit.*, lxxxiii) concurs in the earlier date of the copying of the Matthew section, but dates the *De oratione* to "saec. ca. XIV".

⁵⁵ Between the two works there are the inner margins of two leaves, ignored in the modern enumeration.

⁵⁶ The first quire of the *De oratione* (leaves 215-222) should have the Greek number for 28, but there is no sign of it.

There is also a Roman system of enumeration (a, a2, a3, a4; b, b2, b2 b4, etc.) in the Matthew commentary, which, like the Greek system, is continued in the *De oratione*. These signatures are written close under the last words of the last line of text, and usually only on the first four rectos of each quire. In the Matthew commentary there are some irregularities. On the first three quires a different hand has numbered the last four leaves of each quire (a5, a6, a7, a8, etc.). On leaf 24, the last leaf of the third quire, we find not "c8" but simply "8", and the fourth and fifth quires (leaves 25 to 40) have simply arabic numerals (9 to 24). The original system of the first two quires resumes, correctly, in the sixth quire (f, f2, f3, f4), although the sequence of arabic numerals continues as well until leaf 54, which has the number 38. Another anomaly is that there are two z-quires. The signatures on the final quire of the Matthew commentary are cc, cc2, cc3, cc4. The system continues in the *De oratione*, the first four leaves of its first quire being numbered dd, dd2, dd3, dd4, and the final quire being numbered hh, hh2, hh3, hh4. The letter forms in the signatures in the Matthew commentary are Gothic, and many of them resemble the forms current in the fifteenth century,⁵⁷ although the limited nature of the material makes it dangerous to exclude a later date in the sixteenth century. There is little scope for comparison of the letter forms in the two parts of the manuscript, since what should have been enumerated as quires d and e in the Matthew commentary are numbered 9 to 24. This leaves only three letters (f, g, and h) for comparison. The letter "g" in the fourth quire of the *De oratione*, however, is strikingly different in form from the same letter in the seventh quire in the Matthew commentary. All that can be said is that the numbering of the quires in the *De oratione* must be later than that in the commentary on Matthew, but how much later is difficult to surmise.

If all the Roman-style quire signatures belong to a date after Erasmus saw the Matthew commentary, we have no evidence from the enumeration that the two works were bound together when Erasmus worked on the Matthew commentary. Even if, as seems possible, the Roman enumeration in the Matthew commentary may have already been present in the Ladenburg manuscript when Erasmus was working on his translation in 1527, it does not follow, however, that the *De oratione* was bound with the Matthew commentary at that time, even though the enumeration of its quires correctly continues, in the same manner and in the same

⁵⁷ See P.A. Grun, *Leseschlüssel zu unserer alten Schrift* (Görlitz, 1938) pp. 17 ff.

position on the page, the numbering of the Matthew commentary. As happened with the Greek enumeration, someone could have adopted and continued the Roman style of enumeration in the Matthew commentary at a later date, after the *De oratione* was bound with the Matthew commentary. As has been pointed out, we can only be sure that the manuscript assumed the form that it now has more than a hundred years after Erasmus worked on Origen's commentary on Matthew in 1527, and, in light of Wolfgang's description of the contents of the Ladenburg library, the re-binding of volumes may well have been part of his programme of refurbishing it.

To sum up, there is no evidence that Erasmus knew of Origen's *De oratione* prior to 1527. The only evidence that he ever saw the work or had any knowledge of it is the fact that by the seventeenth century a manuscript of the tract had been bound with a manuscript of Origen's commentary on Matthew, a manuscript that Erasmus definitely used. When these works were bound together, however, cannot be determined. Given Erasmus' interest in prayer, it is difficult to believe that he would have passed over the opportunity of publishing a translation of Origen's treatise on the subject. In addition, he never mentions the existence of the work, not even in the introduction of his edition of Origen in 1536. The reason, I believe, is that he had never seen it. Absolute certainty is not possible. Even Homer nods. How ironic it would be if Erasmus, eager for manuscript copies of lost works, actually had in his hands Origen's *De oratione* and failed to recognise it for what it was. The irony increases when one reads the prefatory letter to Nicholas of Diesbach in the 1527 edition of the translation of the Matthew commentary. There Erasmus emphasises the value in recovering ancient works ("in veteribus restituendis"). For it is by such activity, he says, that one is better able to understand writers such as Chrysostom and Jerome by recognising their sources.⁵⁸

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⁵⁸ Restoring old texts is valuable, says Erasmus, "quod Chrysostomum, Hieronymum et horum similes, illis admodum priscis recentiores, rectius intellegimus, agnoscentes quid ex quorum fontibus hauserint" (Epistle 1844 Allen, lines 10-12, *Opus epistolarum*, VII, p. 101).

John R. C. MARTYN

JANUS SECUNDUS: POEMS FROM TRIP TO SCRIPT

During his journeys from Mechlin to Bourges and back, and to Spain, Janus Secundus composed several Latin poems, while resting in the evenings, it seems, to suit the occasion. These can be seen in their original Latin and in my English version in my quite recent article 'The Three Journeys of Secundus', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 42, (1993), 160-251.¹ In the case of all but two of them, there are some or many changes. In this article, I shall examine these, to see what they tell us about Secundus' approach to poetry, when he was given sufficient time to revise his earlier compositions.²

By far the longest poem (106 vv.) eulogises the tomb of Louis XII in the Church of St. Denis, and was probably revised and reprinted by Secundus during his last stay in Mechlin.³ In his *Opera*, it appears as *Elegiarum Liber Tertius*, Elegy 17, with the title: *De Statuis et Sepulchris in Templo Urbis S. Dionysii spectandis prope Luteciam*. In revising this poem, Secundus added a couplet at the start and another after v. 215, and four more at the end, totalling 118 vv, and he emended the text in over 22 vv. The changes are as follows (a few correct printing errors, or are orthographical variants):

¹ For v. 42, D. Sacré noted an error of mine in the published article, on p. 191, line 219: it should have been: 'all over your hill, Quirinus'.

² Arguments for Secundus having revised several of his poems can be seen in A. M. M. Dekker *Janus Secundus (1511-1536) De Tekstoverlevering van het Tijdens zijn Leven Gepubliceerde Werk* (Nieuwkoop, 1986), chs II-VII, and P. Tuynman, 'De handschriften en overige bronnen', in J. P. Guépin, *De Kunst van Janus Secundus. De 'Kussen' en andere gedichten* (Amsterdam, 1991), pp. 199-267. The poet had plenty of time after each trip to extract these poems and make the changes necessitated by their loss of context; he also made a few other minor 'improvements', while adding suitable titles, as was only natural. It is most unlikely that this was all done by his brothers when editing his works. Secundus was not proud of his Spring poem (n.7); but Marius and Grudius would have included it, surely, if making the excerpts themselves.

³ See my article in *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 42 (1993), 118-195.

Original text**1541 text***Ante 1 add.*

*Proxima Parrhysiae iacet urbs Dionysia valli
heroum tumulis relligiosa virum.*

2	tremebat	timebat
5	confusaque fragmina terrae	fluidoque natantia tabo
8	celsa caterva rogat	marmore clausa rogant
9	regalem.. vincat p. umbram	regales.. iuvet ut p. umbras
16	intemerata	post sua fata
20	et facitis ne iam sit mihi	atque aliquid fati demitis
	triste mori	imperio
26	canit	canet
27	Britones ut quondam	Britonas ut forteis

Post 28 add.

*Utque trahens gelidas idem sua signa per Alpeis,
terror concussae venerit Ausoniae,*

31	sepulchrum	sepulchum
32	Ludovicus	Lodovicus
33	postremum	supremum
35	Hos	Hoc
37	Mentoreasque	Phidiasque
38	spumantes	spiranteis
39	amplis	altis
47	corporea r. superabat mole	nervorum r. vincit compage
50	ne premat	neu premat
66	qui bene	quod bene
71	in fata	sine lege
86	Scilicet hanc caelo...rapi	Eripere hanc praedam...polo
94	leto	laeto
99	exilesque manus	exileis nareis
104	peregrinum n. sibi poscit opem	peregrino n. eget auxilio
106	non didicere	dedidicere

Post 106 add.

*Marmora felici multum debentia coelo
marmora iam vitae reddita, iamque neci,
qua vos nata manu, sic nos eludere dicam,
sensibus ut credam vix satis ipse meis?
Nimirum digiti vos expoliare Latini,
talìa Barbaricae non potuere manus.
Vivite dum Cnydiae simulacrum fama Diones
Praxitelis rarum sera loquetur opus.*

The other originals are: *Epigr. 72 In Arcem Reginae Albae, Parisiis*, and *Epigr. 59 In laudem Andreae Alciati, quom Vrbem Bitturicensem procul adveniens primum adspiceret* and *Funera 22 Epitaphium Lucii Tabellarii, in via ab Latronibus occisi*.

In the first of these, *Epigr. 72*, the main variants are as following:⁴

1	Vidimus et flavas ubi	Cernite, flaveis ubi
5	et imbre	et imbri
6	queruntur	querantur
9	qua Styx,... et plurima	Qua strix,... qua plurima
11	aeternum generosae	aeternum numerosae
13	Labuntur, longis	Labuntur, lentis
18	et quod... sequi.	et quis... sequi?

In *Epigr. 59*, the only difference is the title in the 1541 text.⁵

For *Funera 22*, the same applies (except for *nuncius* for *nuntius*).⁶

In his journey to Spain, Secundus included no original poems, although he quoted couplets from Ovid (adapted), Tibullus, Seneca and Propertius. At the start of his first journey, he included his only other original poem, an eight verse poem on Spring, which was included in the printed text under *Fragmenta quaedam inter chartas Autoris inventa*, with no alterations. Secundus did not seem to think it worth including in his own collection of poems.⁷

The only changes of interest, therefore, are in *Elegies* III. 17 and *Epigr. 72*. It seems that the shorter poems were well and truly revised by the time Secundus included them in his manuscript of the first two *Itinera*, whereas the two long ones (106 and 20 verses respectively) were almost a first draft when first included. But were all the emendations for the best? Stylistic judgements may be suspect, but for such a skilful artist as Secundus, they should be made. I shall start with the poem on the infamous Castle of Nesles.

The change in line 1 merely alters the personal memory "We also saw where" to an appeal to the readers "See where"; the adjective *flavas*

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-7.

⁵ For the original, and translation, *ibid.* pp. 198-9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-7. He comments that it would be less tedious if he simply said "We began our journey to France at the beginning of March". In fact the poem has some personal interest, after a very conventional opening. The sounds of the birds and sweetly-flowing Loire give it a pleasant pastoral flavour, and it seems wrong for him to have excluded it.

and participle *flaventeis* both mean “golden”, the latter used to absorb the *et* (“also”). In 5, the usual ablative is *imbre*, but *imbri* is often found, and its long beat better suits the almost spondaic line. The subjunctive in *querantur* (“let them lament”) would be appropriate from verse 9 on, but seems out of place here, being paired with *habitatur*. But *strix* (“screech-owl”) is better than *Styx* (“death”), although either suits *Furiae*. A flying river may have worried Secundus. The anaphora of *qua* is effective. In 11, the *generosae* (“noble”) death well suits Philippe, whereas *numerosae* (“numerous”) is colourless and awkward with the singular *mortis*. In 13, however, *longis* (“long”) is colourless compared with *lentis* (“tenacious/ long-lasting”). In 18, the question with *quis* (“who?”) is more vivid than the *quod* (“because”). Overall, Secundus has given more life to his poem, but he would have done better to leave the verb in 9 and adjective in 11.

In the poem on Louis XII’s tomb, there are many more major changes, which seem to reveal Secundus’ poetic ideals. First, the added couplets:

The first couplet sets the scene, already described in the first journey’s narrative:

Close to the valley of Paris lies the town of St Denis,
a place holy with the tombs of noble men.

After verse 28, he included another couplet, which adds to the heroism of Charles VIII, rightly describing his Italian triumphs:

And how dragging his standards through snowy Alps,
he also came as a terror to trembling Italy.

After the final verse, Secundus added four more couplets on the marble carved by the Juste family for Louis and his wife, again mostly discussed already in the narrative that followed:

Marbles which owe so much to a fortunate Heaven,
marbles now restored to life, now to death,
created by which hand, shall I say that you deceive me,
so that I can barely trust my own senses?
To be sure, Italian fingers gave you your gleam, since
foreign hands could not have made such things.
Live on, as long as later talk will praise the statue of
Cnidian Venus, the rare work of Praxiteles.⁸

⁸ Secundus wishes the fame of this tomb to last as long as that of Praxiteles’ Venus. This famous marble statue in the Doric city in Caria, Cnidos, was carved by the greatest

It can be seen that these additions were all necessary, the first and last to make up for the prose narrative, and the couplet after 28 to do justice to the French King's other main achievements in Italy (Naples especially). They are composed with skill and imagination, and some lines are most successful. As in the first couplet, with *heroum tumultis religiosa virum*, where the heavy beginning and triple -um and the emotive five-syllable *religiosa*, make it an apt and a very powerful line, and the same is true in the couplet after 28, where the rhyme of -ae and the spondaic start and again just four words give plenty of force to the pentameter. The anaphora of *marmora* after 106, and the contrast of *vitae* and *neci* are effective, as is the hyperbole in the last couplet, where the most famous of all marble statues from Greece pales into insignificance beside the sepulchral tomb of Louis XII and his wife.

It remains for me to discuss the changes made to the original lines, most of them a word or two only.

In 2, *timebat* ("feared") is less colourful than *tremebat* ("trembled at"), but in 5, *fluido natantia tabo* ("overflowing with runny gore") makes a more powerful (and macabre) contrast to purple couches than "confused fragments of earth". In 8, the *marmore clausa* ("enclosed in marble") is effective, and avoids the ambiguity of a "high crowd".⁹ In 9, the plural *regales* is grammatically better, and *iuvet* ("help") is better than the rather odd use of *vincat* ("save" here), while in 16, *intemerata* ("inviolate") is better than the banal *post sua fata* ("after their deaths/fates"). In 20, the change is quite striking, as the original ("and ensure that it is not sad for me to die now") suggests Secundus' concern over his own death, but the replacement is impersonal and a general prayer ("and you remove something from the control of death/fate"). In 26, either tense was possible; the sense of time in *quondam* ("once") is effective, but the *fortes* ("brave") goes well with *victrici*. *Britones* was a misprint, as was *sepulchum* (31) and *Lodovicus* (32), a common variant. In 33, *supremum* ("greatest") seems better than the original *postremum* ("last"), but in 35, "this" suits *opus*, but not the two Kings (Charles VIII and Louis XII). In 37, Phidias, famous for his marble sculptures on the Parthenon, is better than the metal-work expert, Mentor, but

of the Greek sculptors, the Athenian Praxiteles (c. 364 BC). Dione was the sky-goddess, ousted by Hera from Zeus' bed, and the mother of Aphrodite (Venus), and often Aphrodite herself, as here.

⁹ See Tuynman, 'De handschriften', pp. 224-225.

“spraying lather” is far more picturesque than “breathing” (38 *spirantes*). In 39, there is not much to choose between “wide/ample” and *altis* (“lofty”). In 47, the present in *vincit* is very awkward with the imperfects all around it, and with *vincere* in 48, and her “massive body” is preferable to “structure of her muscles”. The double *neu* in 50, and “because” in 66 (rather than “who”) are possibly better, but the *sine lege* (“lawlessly”) in 71 seems inapposite, *in fata* “to their deaths” being preferable. In 86, the *scilicet hanc* as in 84 is quite an effective repetition, rather than two of *hanc praedam*; although the *solo/polo* endings are quite neat. In 94, *laeto* is a common variant for *leto*, but in 99, *naresque* “thin nose” improves on the unwanted repetition of *manus*.¹⁰ In 104, the sense is the same, but in printing *auxilio*, Secundus breaks his usual custom of ending with a two-syllable word, and this four-syllable one is not all that exciting; a long proper name would have been more acceptable.¹¹ Finally, in 106, the *dedidicere* (“have forgotten”) suits the dead a bit better than *non didicere* (“have not learnt”).

As can be deduced from the analysis of the two poems above, out of the 33 or so changes, 4 are much the same, 16 are improvements and 13 are much or slightly less appropriate than in the original. The changes suggest that quite often Secundus would have done better to leave the original reading, as in *Epigr.* 72, lines 6 and 11, and in *Eleg.* 17, lines 27, 35, 38, 47, 71 and 86. In line 20, the less personal nature of the change is of interest, reflecting the poet’s sickness, and in line 104, the choice of *auxilio* to end the line was a poor one. He shows more learning, with Phidias rather than Mentor in 37, and improves the sense in *Epigr.* 72 with *strix* in 9, *lentis* in 13 and *quis* in 18, and in *Eleg.* 17, with *fluido... tabo* in 5, *marmore clausa* in 8, *iuvet* in 9, *supremum* in 33, and *dedidicere* in 106. Less fortunate changes (in my opinion, at any rate) are his *post sua fata* in 16, *spirantes* in 38, *nervorum... compage* in 47. The last two relate to his artistic eye. As an excellent engraver, perhaps Secundus was right in both of these cases!

The additions and revisions made by Secundus himself (as we think) before they appeared in his first printed editions can tell us quite a lot about this very talented poet, and to judge from the large number of alterations, he must have been a perfectionist, always searching for the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 223-224.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 225; Tuynman accepts *auxilio*.

best word or phrase. But as often happens, his first choice was quite often the best one. It is very likely that he had much more time, with plenty of input from his poetic brother, Marius, during the journey to Bourges, and while studying Law there under Alciati, than he had when back in Louvain, with many other literary projects, his father dead and a journey to Spain to organise.

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UN POÈME INCONNU DE PIETER GILLIS
SUR LES VILLES DU BRABANT (1531/33)*

L'humaniste anversois Pieter Gillis (Pierre Gilles; en latin: Petrus Aegidius, 1486-1533) doit sa notoriété non pas tant à ses propres activités qu'à ses amitiés avec d'autres humanistes plus célèbres et plus productifs sur le plan littéraire. S'il n'avait figuré comme interlocuteur dans l'*Utopie* de Thomas More (1516) et si le peintre Quinten Metsys ne lui avait consacré ainsi qu'à Erasme un diptyque superbe comme cadeau des deux hommes à l'humaniste anglais (1517), Gillis serait peut-être tombé dans l'oubli relatif où se trouvent tant d'humanistes des anciens Pays-Bas, évoqués seulement de temps en temps par quelques spécialistes dans leurs travaux sur l'histoire de la Renaissance.

La propre production littéraire de Gillis fut modeste. Dans son bel essai bio-bibliographique récemment dédié à l'Anversois, Marcus de Schepper affirme que les activités éditoriales de Gillis furent plus impressionnantes que ses propres écrits, limités à quelques poésies d'occasion et à des lettres.¹ En outre, De Schepper mentionne l'*Enchiridion de officio principis ac magistratus christiani*, paru en 1541 en annexe à (non pas: comme partie de) la *Historia Batavica* de Gerard Geldenhower de Nimègue (1482-1542). L'*Enchiridion* fit l'objet d'une édition critique préparée par nos soins pour cette revue en 1991, où l'ouvrage fut traité comme texte de Geldenhower.² De Schepper nous a reproché de ne pas avoir approfondi la question de la paternité de l'ouvrage, que

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¹ M. de Schepper, 'Pieter Gillis (1486-1533), Antwerps humanist en vriend van Erasmus', dans *Erasmus ab Anderlaco. Miscellanea Jean-Pierre Vanden Branden*, Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, Numéro spécial, 49 (Bruxelles, 1995), pp. 283-295, notamment 289-290. Pour la littérature récente sur Gillis voir les notes de l'article en question.

² I. P. Bejczy, 'Gerard Geldenhower of Nijmegen, *Epistola de officio christiani principis* (1538), *Enchiridion principis ac magistratus christiani* (1539)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 40 (1991), 168-205.

Geldenhouwer aurait expressément attribué à ses amis Pieter Gillis et Cornelius Scribonius (Graphaeus, Cornelis de Schrijver).³

On ne peut blâmer De Schepper pour sa tendance à revendiquer pour son héros autant d'honneur que possible. Précisons pourtant que Geldenhouwer explique clairement dans sa lettre d'introduction (datée du 7 avril 1539) comment il a composé sa propre version de l'*Enchiridion*. Ayant relu les matériaux assemblés par Gillis et Scribonius (en majorité des citations d'auteurs grecs), il avait décidé de les publier, mais: "Dans certains cas j'ai changé l'ordre; j'ai supprimé ce qui était hors de propos; j'ai ajouté certaines observations, exposées en quelques mots, comme semblait l'exiger la commodité de l'argumentation".⁴ Immédiatement après il présente l'ouvrage comme étant le fruit de ses propres soins.⁵ Geldenhouwer offre donc son adaptation à lui du texte, fondée sur le travail de ses amis. Si ceci est une injustice, c'est à Geldenhouwer qu'il faut en vouloir; nous croyons avoir eu raison de traiter l'*Enchiridion* tel qu'on le retrouve dans la *Historia Batavica* de 1541 comme ouvrage de l'humaniste de Nimègue.

Toutefois Geldenhouwer ne s'est pas toujours approprié le travail d'autres humanistes. Après sa mort (le 10 janvier 1542) parut son dernier ouvrage, la *Germanicarum historiarum illustratio*, un recueil de textes composés par lui et par d'autres auteurs de son époque et portant sur l'histoire et la géographie des anciens Pays-Bas. On y retrouve, entre autres, un poème par... Pieter Gillis.⁶ Dans ce cas on n'a aucune raison de douter de l'identité de l'auteur: Geldenhouwer présente ce poème de dix distiques comme écrit authentique de Gillis, conformément à la promesse faite dans sa préface de respecter la paternité des ouvrages inclus dans sa collection.⁷ Nous soupçonnons néanmoins que le titre du poème,

³ De Schepper, 'Pieter Gillis', p. 290 avec n. 19.

⁴ Geldenhouwer, *Enchiridion*, ed. Bejczy, p. 194: "Ordinem in quibusdam mutavi; quae ad rem parum facerent, expunxi; quaedam vero paucis digesta, ut argumenti commoditas exigere videbatur, addidi".

⁵ Ibid.: "Hunc meum qualemqualem laborem, oro ut clementia tua hilari animo excipiat".

⁶ Le poème, absent de la liste de De Schepper, et sa publication par Geldenhouwer ont été mentionnés par J. Prinsen J. Lz., *Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus. Bijdrage tot de kennis van zijn leven en werken* (La Haye, 1898), pp. 130-131; H. De Vocht, *Litterae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium 1522-1528*, Humanistica Lovaniensia 1 (Louvain, 1928), pp. 439-440 §e.

⁷ Geldenhouwer, *Germanicarum historiarum illustratio* (Marburg, Christian Egenolf, 1542), fol. A7r: "Damus autem tibi nunc legenda quaedam, quae ad Germaniae nostrae laudem pertinent, certo ordine ex probatissimis autoribus collecta, multa etiam hactenus nusquam excusa. Potuisssem quidem paucis immutatis quasi mea haec lectoribus obtru-

Celebrium Brabantiae oppidorum descriptio per Petrum Aegidium, est sorti de la plume de Geldenhouwer. Ce titre est en effet mal choisi si on considère le poème en soi. Les vers de Gillis ne décrivent pas, ils louent; la qualification *Encomium* aurait été plus appropriée.⁸ Dans l'ensemble de la *Germanicarum historiarum illustratio*, par contre, le titre semble convenir. Les textes rassemblés par Geldenhouwer servent tous à renseigner le lecteur. Une *descriptio* rentre sans doute mieux dans ce cadre qu'un *encomium*.⁹ En revanche, les mots *Celebrium... oppidorum* sont justifiés. Il est remarquable que Gillis loue exclusivement quelques villes plus ou moins célèbres de son duché — en évoquant tantôt leur histoire souvent légendaire, tantôt l'actualité quotidienne — sans mentionner la campagne une seule fois.

Si l'on exclut le nom de l'auteur, Geldenhouwer ne donne aucun renseignement sur la provenance du poème. Sans doute le texte fait-il partie de ceux qu'il dit publier pour la première fois.¹⁰ Nous croyons pourtant disposer d'une clef pour la datation dans les lignes dédiées par Gillis à la ville de Malines. Gillis ne loue cette ville ni comme résidence des Habsbourgs, ni comme siège du Grand Conseil des Pays-Bas, mais comme endroit qui "se vante de ses filles douces, / Des yeux desquelles Amor tire des flèches" (l. 5-6) — de loin le passage le plus lyrique et le plus gai du poème. Il ne s'agit probablement pas d'une attestation personnelle; en tout cas, Gillis ne s'est pas inspiré de l'amour pour une de ses trois épouses.¹¹ Ainsi que nous l'a suggéré le Prof. IJsewijn, les

dere, sed nolui viros doctissimos sua laude fraudare et malui mutuam, ut ille inquit, redere, quam in furto deprehendi". Nous suivons ici le texte de notre édition préparée en collaboration avec Saskia Stegeman et Michel Verweij. Cette édition comprendra l'oeuvre historique de Geldenhouwer (avec une traduction néerlandaise) qu'on retrouve, à part l'*Illustratio*, dans *Lucubrationcula de Batavorum insula, Historia Batavica et Germaniae Inferioris historiae*. Voir aussi I. P. Bejczy, 'Drie humanisten en een mythe. De betekenis van Erasmus, Aurelius en Geldenhouwer voor de Bataafse kwestie', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 109 (1996), 467-84.

⁸ Gillis est en effet l'auteur d'un *Encomion urbis Lyranae et Henrici Afinei...*, contenu dans Henricus Afineus, *Questiones tres (medica, astronomica, metaphysica)* (Anvers, Willem Vorsterman, 1517). Il existe par ailleurs quelques parallèles entre le poème de Gillis et Henricus de Oesterwijck, *Carmen in laudem Brabantiae*, ed. J. IJsewijn, 'Henricus de Oesterwijck, the First Latin Poet of the University of Louvain (ca. 1430)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 18 (1969), 7-23.

⁹ Cf. par contre la citation ci-dessus (n. 7) de Geldenhouwer: "Damus autem tibi nunc legenda quaedam, quae ad Germaniae nostrae laudem pertinent..."

¹⁰ Voir le passage dans la même citation: "Damus autem tibi nunc legenda quaedam... ex probatissimis autoribus collecta, multa etiam hactenus nusquam excusa".

¹¹ La première, Cornelia Sandrien (ca. 1496-1526), venait d'Anvers; la deuxième, Maria Denys (morte en 1529/30), n'était pas une jeune fille au moment du mariage, mais

lignes font plutôt allusion à la poésie de Jean Second (1511-1536). Installé à Malines depuis 1528, Janus y commença en 1531 la composition de ses élégies vouées à une courtisane locale nommée Julia. Ces élégies établirent définitivement sa réputation de poète; grâce à elles, il connut un grand succès à la cour de Bruxelles au cours de la même année.¹² La ligne de Gillis: “Ex oculis quarum spicula torquet Amor” (l. 6) semble même directement inspirée d’un passage des élégies: “Sed dum te uideo, et propius tua lumina specto,... Ferre negant oculi iaculantem spicula uultum”.¹³ Par conséquent, Gillis doit avoir composé son poème entre 1531 et 1533, l’année de sa mort.

Nous publions ici le texte du poème, suivi d’une traduction française et de quelques notes explicatives, et précédé par une description de la *Germanicarum historiarum illustratio*. Dans le texte latin nous avons transcrit les abréviations dans leur intégralité; la ponctuation a été légèrement adaptée. Nous avons respecté le format des distiques, en ajoutant une numérotation des lignes.

Description de la *Germanicarum historiarum illustratio*

GERMANI / CARVM HISTO= / RIARVM ILLVSTRA- / tio nunc primum excusa. / AVTORVM NOMINA / versa pagella indicabit. / CVM GRATIA ET PRI= / uilegio Imperiali. / MARPVRGI IN / officina Christiani Egenolphi.

fol. 1v/A1v: liste des auteurs inclus

fol. 2r/A2r-8r/A8r: préface de Geldenhouwer

fol. 8v/A8v-12r/B4r: lettre de Charles d’Egmond, duc de Gueldre, à l’empereur Frédéric III, 1492

fol. 12v/B4v-20v/C4v: Joachim von Watt (Vadianus), *Germaniae descriptio*

une veuve; la même chose est vraie pour la troisième, Katheline Draeckx, veuve d’Adriaan Pot, échevin d’Anvers dans les années 1509 et 1510. Voir P. G. Bietenholz et Th. B. Deutscher, eds., *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols. (Toronto, 1985-1987), s.vv. Gillis, Sandrien, Denys; G. Degueldre, ‘Een dubbele identiteit: Pieter Gillis, griffier en humanist, heer van “De Biecorf” en Pieter Gillis, meerssenier, heer van “De Spiegel”’, *Bulletin Antwerpse Vereniging voor Bodem- en Grotonderzoek* (1988), 1-22.

¹² Voir A. M. M. Dekker, *Janus Secundus (1511-1536). De tekstoverlevering van het tijdens zijn leven gepubliceerde werk* (Nieuwkoop, 1986), pp. 36-37, 45.

¹³ *Elegia* I.vi, l. 13-15, d’après Joannes Secundus, *Opera nunc primum in lucem edita. Facsimile of the Edition Utrecht 1541* (Nieuwkoop, 1969), fol. [A8r].

- fol. 20v/C4v-21v/C5v: Jakob Ziegler, *Germaniae encomia*
 fol. 21v/C5v-22r/C6r: Geldenhouwer, *De Germanorum fortitudine*
 fol. 22r/C6r-23r/C7r: Petrus Montanus, observations concernant l'histoire de la Germanie
 fol. 23r/C7r-24v/C8v: Erasme, *Auris Batava*
 fol. 24v/C8v-27r/D3r: Gerardus Listrius, *Descriptio Ultraiectinae regionis*
 fol. 27r/D3r: Geldenhouwer, *Noviomagi... encomium, ex Satyris*
 fol. 27v/D3v: Pieter Gillis, *Celebrium Brabantiae oppidorum descriptio*
 fol. 28r/D4r-29[=39]v/E7v: Geldenhouwer, *Historia et catalogus episcoporum Ultraiectinorum*
 fol. 30[=40]r/E8r-55[=65]r/I1r: Henricus Bomelius, *Bellum Traiectinum*
 fol. 55[=65]v/I1v-59[=69]v/I5v: lettre de l'empereur Maximilien I aux Etats de la Flandre, le 22 juillet 1488
 fol. 60[=70]r/I6r-77[=87]v/L7v: Philalethes, réponse à la lettre de Maximilien
 fol. 77[=87]v/L7v-78[=88]r/L8r: Geldenhouwer, *Classica adversus Turcas*; liste d'errata
 Expl.: MARPVRGI / An. 1542.
 8°, 176 pages. Numérotation des cahiers et des feuilles. Dernière page blanche.
 A-L(8).

Nous avons consulté l'exemplaire conservé dans la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek à Munich.

Texte

Celebrium Brabantiae oppidorum descriptio per Petrum Aegidium

- Gymnasio pollet veneranda Lovania docto,
 Et Bruxella potens nobilitate tumet.
 Classifero attollit cristas Antverpia portu,
 Et, quo vix mundo clarius, emporio.
 5 Vindicat ipsa sibi dulces Machlina puellas,
 Ex oculis quarum spicula torquet Amor.
 Moenia Silvaducis iactat munita, celebrem
 Bergae mercatum, Breda sodalicium.
 Non modo Gertrudis phano, verum alma Nivella
 10 Heroinarum nobilitata choro est.
 Quid veteris memorem nunc diruta moenia Landae,

- Arx ubi Carlorum Francigenumque fuit?
 Hannutum taceo, Tilmondam, Geldoniamque
 Quaeque nitent sacro Gemblaca coenobio,
 15 Helmondam, Villam fortem, Montesque petrosos,
 Et Magii Latiis moenia nota viris,
 Atque Lynam, hanc licet exornet Gummarus avito
 Stemmata, virtute, religione, fide,
 Ut sileam reliquas urbes, quas terra Brabontis
 20 Continet, haud ulla est, quae bonitate vacat.

Traduction

Description des villes célèbres du Brabant par Pieter Gillis

- La vénérable Louvain puise sa vigueur dans son école savante,
 Et la ville puissante de Bruxelles regorge de noblesse.
 Anvers se procure des panaches avec son port abritant une flotte,
 Et avec son centre de commerce dont on ne peut guère trouver de plus
 fameux sur la terre.
- 5 Malines elle-même se vante de ses filles douces,
 Des yeux desquelles Amor tire des flèches.
 Bois-le-Duc fait parade de ses fortes murailles, Bergen op Zoom
 De son marché célèbre, Breda de sa société.
 Non seulement par la lumière de Gertrude, mais aussi par un chœur
 10 D'héroïnes, la ville nourrice de Nivelles est ennoblie.
 Pourquoi mentionnerais-je les murailles, aujourd'hui détruites, de l'an-
 cienne Landen,
 Où se trouvait la citadelle des Carolingiens et des Francs?
 Je tais Hannut, Tirlemont et Jodoigne,
 Et les trésors qui brillent dans le cloître sacré à Gembloux,
- 15 Helmond, Vilvorde et Steenbergem,
 Et les murailles de Megen, connues des hommes latins,
 Ainsi que Lierre, que Gummarus embellit avec une généalogie
 Ancestrale, avec la vertu, la religion et la foi,
 Pour passer sous silence les autres villes, que contient la terre
 20 De Brabon, presque aucune n'est dépourvue de bien-être.

Commentaire

1. **Gymnasio.** L'université, fondée en 1425. Les humanistes évitent les dénominations médiévales *universitas* (estimée trop prétentieuse) et *studium (generale)*. Depuis le XVe siècle ils utilisent parfois le terme *gymnasium*; voir R. Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden etc., 1994), s.v. Le terme *academia* est cependant plus courant chez eux.
2. **nobilitate.** Allusion à la vie politique dans la capitale, dominée par les nobles.
3. **Classifero.** Terme inexistant dans l'Antiquité et probablement très rare à la Renaissance.
5. **Machlina.** Formellement la ville de Malines et ses alentours ne faisaient pas partie du duché de Brabant, mais constituaient une seigneurie en soi parmi les possessions des Habsbourgs.
8. **mercatum.** Pour les marchés effectivement célèbres de Bergen op Zoom voir C. J. F. Sloomans, *Paas- en koudemarkten te Bergen op Zoom 1365-1565*, Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het zuiden van Nederland, 64-66, 3 vols. (Tilburg, 1985).
sodalitium. Terme qui s'applique à toutes sortes de société. Gillis se réfère sans doute à la cour des Nassau, les nobles les plus puissants des anciens Pays-Bas. Pour l'histoire de Breda au début du XVIe siècle voir F. F. X. Cerutti e.a., *Geschiedenis van Breda*, vol. 1: *De middeleeuwen* (Tilburg, 1952; réimp. Schiedam, 1976).
9. **Gertrudis.** Sainte Gertrude de Nivelles (ca. 626-659), fille de Pépin l'Ancien dit de Landen, fut la première abbesse (plus tard seulement supérieure des religieuses) du monastère double fondé à Nivelles par sa mère Sainte Ita (Idalberga, Idaburga). Elle était l'objet d'une vénération intensive, aussi hors du Brabant.
10. **Heroinarum.** Sans doute les religieuses (dès le IXe siècle: les chanoinesses; dès le XIIe siècle: les quarante chanoinesses nobles) de Nivelles.
11. **Landae.** Pépin l'Ancien dit de Landen, mort en 639/40, majordome de l'Austrasie, est le père de la dynastie carolingienne. Ses liens avec Landen sont plutôt légendaires, même s'il est sûr que Landen était déjà habitée au VIIe siècle. La source la plus ancienne qui situe Pépin à Landen est la *Genealogia ducum Brabantiae* de 1271; l'idée a été soutenue jusqu'à nos jours. Il existe à Landen une colline artificielle, considérée dès le XIVe siècle comme site de Pépin et appelée aujourd'hui 'Tombe van Pepijn van Landen'. Il ne s'agit cependant pas d'un tumulus, mais d'une citadelle des Xe ou XIe siècles. Voir M. Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum in frühkarolingischer Zeit. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer karolingischen Stammlandschaft*, Veröffentlichungen des Max Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 62 (Göttingen, 1980), pp. 342-354.
13. **Hannutum.** Hannut ou Hannuit, en Hesbaye, aujourd'hui dans la province de Liège.
Tilmondam. Nom peu courant pour Tirlemont. On trouve plus souvent les noms *Thenae (mons)* ou *Thenis (mons)* (cf. le néerlandais 'Tienen').
14. **Gemblaca.** L'abbaye bénédictine de Gembloux, aujourd'hui dans la province de Namur, fut fondée au Xe siècle.

16. **Magii.** La ville de Megen, aujourd'hui dans la province du Brabant Septentrional, constituait avec ses environs un petit comté semi-indépendant, qui s'était placé plus ou moins sous la tutelle du Brabant pour se protéger contre la Gueldre voisine qui réclamait son territoire.

Latiis... viris. Au premier abord, cette ligne suggère que la ville de Megen a pu résister à un siège par une armée italienne. On ne sait cependant rien sur un tel siège à l'époque de Gillis. La ville ne souffrait que d'attaques régulières par la Gueldre; en effet, elle fut prise et brûlée par des troupes gueldroises en 1512 et en 1528. Les "hommes latins" sont sans doute les humanistes, familiers avec la ville à cause de Petrus Magius (Pieter Meghen, 1466-1540), copiste et messenger d'Erasme dans les années 1510 et qui rendit plusieurs fois visite à Gillis au nom de son maître (je dois la suggestion au Prof. IJsewijn). En écrivant *Magius* au lieu de *Magus* (comme le faisait, par exemple, Geldenhouwer lui-même), Gillis fait clairement allusion au nom de l'assistant d'Erasme. En outre, Megen joue un rôle dans la *Historia Batavica* de Geldenhouwer, dont la première édition (Strasbourg, Christian Egenolf, 1530) parut un peu antérieurement à la composition du poème de Gillis. Dans la *Historia Batavica* la citadelle de Megen est le lieu où Bato, le père des Bataves, rencontre son beau-père Menapius, roi des Tongres, après la sécession de Bato des Chatti en Hesse; par la suite, Menapius donne à Bato le pays entre la Meuse et le Waal pour y créer l'état batave (fol. A2v de l'édition mentionnée). Par ailleurs, il semble également possible de prendre "Latiis viris" pour un ablatif, de sorte qu'il faudrait traduire: "connue pour ses hommes latins" (suggestion du Prof. Gilbert Tournoy).

17. **Gummarus.** Ce saint, mort vers 775, aurait érigé une chapelle pour Saint Pierre dans l'îlot de Nivesdonck, l'origine de la ville de Lierre. On ne sait qui sont ses parents, mais vu que ceux-ci avaient confié leur fils à Pépin le Bref pour qu'il reçoive une éducation militaire, ils appartenaient sans doute à l'aristocratie. Voir T. Paaps, *De Heilige Gummarus in de literatuur, de liturgie en de volksverering. Critische studie* (Anvers, 1944).
19. **Brabontis.** Le chevalier du cygne Brabon (en latin: Brabo) ou Brabon Silvius est le père légendaire de l'ancienne dynastie brabantonne. Voir J. F. D. Blöte, *Das Aufkommen der Sage von Brabon Silvius, dem brabantischen Schwanritter*, Koninklijke Nederlandsche Academie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, V.4 (Amsterdam, 1904).

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LA PRO ALBERTO PIO, PRINCIPE CARPENSIS, ANTAPOLOGIA IN
ERASMUM ROTERODAMUM DE JUAN GINÉS DE SEPÚLVEDA:
TESTIMONIO DE UNA SINGULAR ASIMILACIÓN CULTURAL Y
RETRATO DE UN HUMANISTA¹

1. Introducción

Por fortuna — la de haber contado con investigadores pioneros en los estudios sepulvedianos como A. Losada,² primero, y E. Rodríguez Peregrina, después³ — cuando se trae a colación la figura de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, sea en las aulas universitarias, sea en congresos académicos, sea en publicaciones de este u otro tipo, no resulta ya necesario dedicar unas palabras a introducir la vida de este destacado autor del siglo XVI, español y andaluz por nacimiento, español e italiano por formación, ni tampoco a enumerar su ingente producción, en tanto que autor de obras históricas, jurídicas, filosóficas, teológicas, de traducción y exégesis y, finalmente, de controversia, como es el caso que nos ocupa.⁴

¹ El presente artículo es un extracto reelaborado de la Memoria de Licenciatura “Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Pro Alberto Pio, principe Carpensi, Antapologia in Erasmum Roterodamum*. Introducción, texto y traducción”, dirigida por la Dra. Dña. Elena Rodríguez Peregrina de la Universidad de Granada y defendida en dicha universidad en el año académico 1994-95. Este trabajo fue también *inter alia* el resultado de una estancia investigadora de tres años como doctorando en el *Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae* de la Universidad Católica neerlandófona de Lovaina bajo la dirección del Prof. Dr. D. Jozef IJsewijn. A tan honorable profesor y tan preeminente investigador, en reconocimiento y en agradecimiento profundos por los medios que puso a nuestra disposición, por la atención que nos dispensó, por lo que con sus lecciones nos instruyó, va dedicado el presente artículo.

² A. Losada, *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda a través de su “Epistolario” y nuevos documentos* (Madrid, 1973 =1949).

³ E. Rodríguez Peregrina, *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. De rebus gestis Caroli V: Libros I-X*. Introducción, edición crítica y traducción, 2 vols., Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. *Obras Completas*. I-II (Pozoblanco, 1995-1996).

⁴ Esta obra ha sido objeto de estudio hasta el momento por parte de J. Solana Pujalte, *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. Antiapología en defensa de Alberto Pío frente a Erasmo*. Traducción, introducción y notas (Córdoba, 1991) y de J. J. Sánchez Gázquez, *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. Pro Alberto Pio, principe Carpensi, Antapologia in Erasmum Roterodamum*.

La *Antapologia*, en efecto, fue concebida y escrita por Sepúlveda en defensa de su gran protector en Italia, Alberto Pío, príncipe de Carpi, quien durante seis años sostuvo una acerba polémica con Erasmo, una polémica que resultó inconclusa, ya que la muerte alcanzó al Príncipe siendo éste aún de mediana edad. Sin embargo, era tal el cariz y el tono que para entonces había adquirido la disputa, que Erasmo no dejó de contestar. Éste fue el motivo principal por el que Sepúlveda se decidió a tomar cartas en el asunto y a salir en defensa del difunto mecenas, en su opinión, tan injustamente agraviado.

Nos proponemos hacer dos reflexiones acerca de la *Antapologia*, una desde el contenido y otra desde la forma o aspecto formal que es soporte de su contenido. La primera nos llevará a saber cuál fue el posicionamiento de Sepúlveda en la Italia del primer tercio del siglo XVI respecto a Erasmo y, llamémoslo así, la cuestión erasmiana. La segunda nos acercará a su posicionamiento respecto al fenómeno literario.

2. Reflexión acerca del contenido de la obra

Antes de reflexionar sobre este aspecto principal de la *Antapologia*, resulta necesario conocer el contexto que lo determinó. La *Antapologia* es, en primer lugar, una defensa de su difunto protector, Alberto Pío, príncipe de Carpi, lo cual ya queda en la obra bien explicitado y ampliamente justificado, es un contenido inmediato y agota, por tanto, en sí mismo — a este primer nivel — su principio de reflexión. Ahora bien, esta defensa no se puede entender del todo sin concebirla como parte integrante de una defensa más general de la iglesia católica — un segundo nivel — ni se puede entender ésta sin conocer el *status quaestionis* a que dio lugar la relación entre Erasmo e Italia entre los años que van de 1520 a 1535 — un tercer nivel — ni, finalmente, tampoco se podría entender en su integridad el sentido de dicho “diálogo” entre Erasmo e Italia sin conocer la naturaleza de un debate importante e inherente al movimiento humanístico — un cuarto nivel — esto es, el debate humanístico-escolástico, lo cual ya no son contenidos tan inmediatos, no constan literalmente en la obra, aunque no por ello son menos determinantes y efectivos. Veamos resumidamente cada uno de ellos:

a. Defensa de la iglesia católica

No sólo de la atmósfera implícita de la *Antapologia* se desprende el contexto general de preocupación por la Iglesia en el que Sepúlveda, como tantos otros italianos de su tiempo, vivió inmerso, sino que de hecho se encuentra el lector a lo largo de la obra con reiteradas manifestaciones de dicha preocupación. Huelga insistir a este respecto.⁵

b. Status quaestionis a que da lugar la relación Erasmo e Italia entre 1520-35: la idea de “Erasmo luterano”

Como tan bien estudió Seidel Menchi,⁶ la idea de “Erasmo luterano”, que ya hizo su aparición en la fase inicial de la Reforma, reflejaba un juicio acerca del humanista de Rotterdam que iba a conocer un desarrollo inusitado en toda la cultura del siglo XVI. Así se manifestaría, por ejemplo, en los escritos antierasmianos de un Diego López de Zúñiga, en el parecer de los teólogos de Lovaina y en la condena que de sus obras hicieron algunos teólogos de tan reputada institución como la Sorbona. Sin embargo, será en Italia, entre los años 1520 y 1535 aproximadamente, donde dicho fenómeno adquirirá unos perfiles muy particulares, que lo diferenciarán tanto por su dimensión espacial como temporal de los demás países: mientras que fuera de Italia el “grito de alarma” procede de ambientes bien determinados, aunque no por ello carentes de prestigio, así como de críticos particulares, en Italia se da una especie de movilización general contra Erasmo, que, partiendo de la Academia Romana, tendrá después repercusión a nivel general, por tanto también en sectores muy distintos a ésta; mientras que en la mayor parte de las áreas europeas, exceptuado el caso de la Península Ibérica,⁷ la asocia-

⁵ Cf. O. A. von Looz-Corswarem, *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda* (Göttingen, 1931), p. 50, “Auch die ‘*Antapologia pro Alberto Pio contra Erasmus*’ erhält ihre tiefere Bedeutung aus der Sorge um die Kirche, die Sepúlveda durch Erasmus’ Schriften bedroht sieht”, cf. Losada, *Sepúlveda*, p. 306, “El folleto, pues, no es más que el último acto de la controversia literaria entre Alberto y el humanista de <sic> Roterdam, aunque, eso sí, es hijo de la acuciante preocupación de Juan Ginés por la Iglesia, a la que considera amenazada por la nueva doctrina erasmiana”.

⁶ S. Seidel Menchi, *Erasmo in Italia. 1520-1580* (Torino, 1987).

⁷ Vid. S. Seidel Menchi, ‘La fortuna di Erasmo in Italia. Confronto metodologico con la ricerca di Marcel Bataillon’, in AA.VV., *El erasmismo en España*, eds. Manuel Revuelta Sañudo et Ciriaco Morón Arroyo (Santander, 1986), pp. 21-39, sugere artículo cuya autora dio a la luz como preludeo al libro citado en la nota anterior, en el que, partiendo del caso italiano, llegaba al hispano e ineluctablemente a la admirable obra para éste del insigne hispanista francés. Se concluye con la idea de que el caso hispano no

ción de Erasmo con Lutero se da sólo durante algunos años, hasta el momento en que el movimiento reformador se canalizó en iglesias organizadas y dotadas de ortodoxia propia, en Italia continúa como mínimo hasta mitad de siglo (aún en 1568 está atestiguado el uso de la fórmula “Erasmo luterano”). ¿Qué sucedió, pues, en el caso de Italia para que así fuese?

Los términos “luterano” y “erasmiano” parecían haber adquirido entre los italianos un significado particular, quienes en un primer momento lo aplicaban casi sin distinción a todas y a cada una de las variantes doctrinales de la Reforma, no ignorantes, al menos los que habían tenido conocimiento directo de ella, de la realidad de los hechos, sino primando las analogías sobre las diferencias y considerando unas veces a Lutero, otras a Erasmo, como los principales promotores y responsables. Sin embargo, de tal vaguedad debió ser en ese momento la situación inicial, que incluso durante algunos años se utilizaron casi indistintamente las fórmulas “Lutero erasmiano” y “Erasmo luterano”. Por tanto, cuando primeramente aplicaban el adjetivo “luterano” a Erasmo, incluían sin más sus escritos en toda esa producción de carácter evangélico-reformador.

Ahora bien, la primera de las fórmulas estaba destinada a ceder en poco tiempo ante la segunda, en la medida en que la Reforma, y Lutero en primer lugar a su cabeza, se organizaba y tomaba cuerpo institucionalmente. Así que a partir de 1530 la una cayó casi en desuso, con lo cual debemos pensar que el proceso de debilitamiento ya se había iniciado mucho antes, la otra, sin embargo, estaba adquiriendo cada vez con mayor fuerza carta de entrada y, no azarosamente, sino por una serie de razones bien determinadas, que tan sólo esbozaremos, entre los referidos años 1520 y 1535 dicha fórmula, “Erasmo luterano”, se consolida definitivamente en Italia, adquiriendo unos perfiles mucho más precisos y una significación mucho más llena que no había conocido antes,⁸ cuando se usaba indistintamente “Erasmo luterano” y “Lutero erasmiano”, y se muestra con una radicalidad como en ningún otro lugar de Europa, hasta tal punto que dicha fórmula, que tanto antes como ahora designaba no tanto a la persona de Erasmo cuanto a sus escritos, puede

debió ser en realidad tan diferente del italiano, como empero se puede desprender de la lectura de la aludida obra de Bataillon.

⁸ Recuérdese simplemente el “*monachatus non est pietas, sed vitae genus pro suo cuique corporis ingeniique habitu vel utile vel inutile*” y repárese en que, formulado mucho antes por Erasmo, hasta ahora no había tenido repercusión alguna.

y debe considerarse una creación genuinamente italiana. Ahora hay que preguntarse: ¿por qué?

Esta fórmula, esta concepción, esta lectura que Italia hace de Erasmo queda justificada por todo un acervo de tratados, invectivas, escritos exegéticos, cartas y demás composiciones elaboradas en su mayor parte en Italia, en menor fuera de ella en ambientes de fuerte influjo italiano, que contienen en sí propias la interpretación que aquella hizo de éste y dan así razón de ser al “Erasmo luterano”,⁹ idea motriz que vertebrará el vasto elenco de producción italiana antierasmiana. Pese a que algunas obras, las menos, se caracterizaron más por su intencionalidad polémica y sus efectos retoricistas que por responder a un razonado plan argumental, de éstas últimas, las más, aun dentro del variado carácter de los escritos que es de necesidad suponer, se pueden extraer los motivos principales que, apareciendo de forma recurrente, fundamentaron el “diálogo”. Hé aquí los principales:

- La teología de lo cotidiano: la concentración de la atención en las implicaciones concretas, prácticas y cotidianas de la teología evangélico-luterana, dejando de lado los principios que ésta consideraba fundamentales. La doctrina del libre y servil albedrío, por ejemplo, cuando no la soslayaban, la relegaban al margen de la argumentación, mientras que toda la atención la centraban en temas como la confesión, las indulgencias, la excomunión, la devoción a santos particulares, las peregrinaciones, las promesas, las prescripciones respecto al alimento y muchos otros de índole similar. No es difícil entender que esta organización de la materia teológica implicase una subversión del orden de las prioridades en materia de fe, de forma que lo que era el centro de la teología luterana venía a ser casi anecdótico para los italianos, mientras que los elementos periféricos o secundarios de aquella adquirirían una importancia inusitada para éstos.¹⁰ Tal subversión de las prioridades sí que ponía las bases

⁹ Entre ellas la dilatada polémica que Alberto Pío sostuvo con Erasmo, que es la razón de ser de la *Antapologia*, constituye, sin duda, uno de los ejemplos más significativos.

¹⁰ Postura respecto a la cual Alberto Pío fue, sin duda, uno de los más eximios representantes: en los dos tratados que el Príncipe escribió contra el roterodamense los temas principales de su argumentación son, de un lado, ceremonias y tradiciones eclesásticas, con especial énfasis en las prescripciones en torno al alimento y en el ornato de las iglesias, del otro, culto de los santos, veneración de las imágenes y promesas y, finalmente, primado pontificio, autoridad de obispos y sacerdotes, celibato sacerdotal, monacato y castidad monástica, mientras que cuestiones como la del efecto que el pecado original tuviese en la naturaleza humana, la fe frente a las obras o la del libre frente al servil

necesarias y sí que posibilitaba la vinculación objetiva de Erasmo a Lutero.¹¹

- La llamada “elocuencia de los herejes”: desde la perspectiva italiana, la de los teólogos italianos detractores de los *studia humanitatis*, tanto Erasmo como Lutero daban la impresión de haberse puesto de acuerdo en hacer un uso del lenguaje que, valiéndose de los recursos de la retórica clásica, parecía encaminado a despertar el goce, el deleite, el placer, de manera tal que estratos sociales hasta ahora marginados por la cultura religiosa tradicional comenzaban a sentirse atraídos por las nuevas fórmulas y, por consiguiente, a través de ellas a poder acercarse a cuestiones de orden teológico que hasta entonces les habían estado vetadas. Así los teólogos italianos vieron en la Reforma todo un movimiento de subversión socio-cultural y no resulta extraño, por ejemplo, que denunciasen la gramática como instrumento de subversión religiosa o que el mismo Erasmo hubiese sido condenado, especialmente por la Sorbona, en calidad de “gramático”. No podían tolerar que las Sagradas Escrituras, en las que reconocían una especie de extraterritorialidad filológica tanto en la versión original como en la autorizadísima Vulgata, fuesen sometidas al mismo proceso de disección que cualesquiera otros textos, esto es, que el “gramático” se resolviera con toda libertad a descubrir errores, detectar interpolaciones, sugerir enmiendas al texto sagrado e incluso, como el mismo Alberto Pío hizo constar en su obra póstuma contra el roterodamense, dar así clases de retórica al Espíritu Santo.¹²

albedrío quedan claramente relegadas a un lugar muy secundario. Ahora bien, una escéptica observación de Erasmo sobre las indulgencias o el poder pontificio era motivo más que suficiente para hacer montar en cólera a Alberto Pío e imprimir una inusitada vitalidad a su prosa. Sin embargo, cf. Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus*, p. 49, “A questa opera del Pio, che l’editore italiano raccomandava ai lettori come una confutazione “quasi integrale” del dogma luterano, il teologo sistematico di oggi sarebbe difficilmente disposto a riconoscere una connessione diretta con la teologia di Lutero, a eccezione forse delle parti che riguardano l’ecclesiologia”. Y es que, cf. Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus*, p. 50, “Raramente la documentazione italiana di questo periodo e dei decenni successivi rispecchia la teologia riformatrice nella profondità delle sue intuizioni e nella genialità delle sue costruzioni <...> Da questo punto di vista la controversia antierasmiana del quindicennio 1520-35 preannuncia una tendenza generale del movimento riformatore in Italia”.

¹¹ Cf. Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus*, p. 51, “In effetti l’integrazione di Erasmo nel patrimonio ideologico del protestantesimo fu, in Italia, un fenomeno duraturo anche perché l’approccio degli italiani alla Riforma avvenne perlopiù a livello concreto e particolare. Su forme concrete e particolari della vita religiosa <...> e anche sulla pratica della confessione, le opere di Erasmo si prestavano a una lettura in senso protestante”.

¹² *Alberti Pii Carporum illustrissimi et viri longe doctissimi praeter praefationem et operis conclusionem tres et viginti libri in locos lucubrationum variarum D. Erasmi*

- La defensa de Italia fue otro de los motivos, no de carácter doctrinal o formal, sino étnico, que apareció recurrentemente en la polémica. Los italianos vieron el movimiento reformador a la luz de sus seculares diferencias y enfrentamientos con los pueblos germánicos y lo interpretaron como la manifestación última de la envidia que a éstos les producía la superioridad cultural de Italia y el primado de Roma. El notable nivel que en los últimos tiempos habían alcanzado los pueblos germánicos contribuyó en esta ocasión a acentuar decisivamente la gravedad de la polémica. Así pues, el que los germanos, en general, se atribuyesen la superioridad cultural que los italianos creían por derecho propio merecer y el que Erasmo, en particular, se jactase de haber despojado a Grecia y a Italia de uno de sus más hermosos patrimonios, el literario, llevándoselo a suelo nórdico e intentando privar a esta última de la que entendían su más legítima primacía en el magisterio de la lengua latina, así clamaba Battista Casali en su *Invectiva in Erasmus Roterodamum*,¹³ era algo que no estaban dispuestos a aceptar. Erasmo, el “sole degli studi”, “sole della Germania” o “sole della Batavia” — así le llamaban con no poca dosis de envidia —¹⁴ era considerado la mayor encarnación de tal intento de transposición cultural. Ante estas circunstancias se dio una oleada general de xenofobia contra los países transalpinos,¹⁵ así como una movilización general de la cultura italiana contra el

Roterodami quos censet ab eo recognoscendos atque retractandos, f. 4r, “Illud tamen inter omnes convenit, non licuisse tibi eo genere dicendi uti in ea materia, ne agere praeceptorem eloquentiae Spiritus Sancti videreris”. Alberio Pio es de nuevo uno de los mejores ejemplos que ilustran el caso italiano, como se lee en Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus*, pp. 53-54, “Anche ad Alberto Pio, che certo concepì i suoi scritti antierasmiani in stretto contatto con Girolamo Aleandro, il movimento riformatore appariva come un’eresia di letteratucoli e grammaticuzzi. Ammaestrati da Erasmo, gli eretici tedeschi si erano appropriati della cultura retorico-letteraria, trasformandola in un efficacissimo strumento di comunicazione popolare e di sedizione sociale <...> Questo sviluppo delle cose segnava, secondo Alberto Pio, non solo il tramonto della cultura elitaria e gelosa, che ai suoi occhi rappresentava la vera cultura, ma anche la fine della riverenza per la Sacra Scrittura. Egli prevedeva che gli imperiti, nella loro sconfinata arroganza, si sarebbero sentiti autorizzati a interpretare la Scrittura ognuno a proprio modo. Ben presto chicchessia avrebbe preteso di fare il teologo. L’eresia dei grammatici e dei retori diventava così, nell’analisi di Alberto Pio, l’eresia dei calzalai e dei cuochi”.

¹³ Battista Casali, cf. L. d’Ascia, *Erasmus e l’Umanesimo romano* (Firenze, 1991), p. 20, “... condanna anzitutto il prosatore “barbaro” perché anticiceroniano, e in secondo luogo il pensatore eterodoso”.

¹⁴ Cf. Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus*, p. 57.

¹⁵ Cuyas diferencias étnico-culturales quedaron muy reducidas desde la perspectiva italiana; en torno a 1580 incluso la catolicísima Lovaina era religiosamente sospechosa.

roterodamense en defensa de la patria amenazada tanto en su superioridad cultural como en su mayor orgullo institucional: la iglesia de Roma.

c. El debate humanístico-escolástico: sublimación del debate e identificación de Humanismo y Reforma

El movimiento humanístico contuvo desde su propio origen el germen y, por consiguiente, implicó a lo largo de toda su evolución el desarrollo de un debate importante e inherente a sí mismo, sin el cual, aunque sus frutos parezcan más evidentes en las etapas posteriores, no es posible concebirlo, a saber, el debate humanístico-escolástico,¹⁶ debate así desde el que únicamente puede entenderse de forma más esencial o en su razón más originaria de ser el “diálogo” entre Erasmo e Italia y las características tan particulares que lo definieron entre los años 1520 y 1535, como queda expuesto.

Desde su etapa más inicial, en los elegantes y refinados círculos literarios de la Italia de la segunda mitad del *Trecento*, hasta su última y más consumada fase, en que confluye con el fenómeno de la Reforma en la Europa centro-nórdica de la primera mitad del siglo XVI, se asiste a un movimiento general de controversia, de raíces múltiples y complejas, que se desarrolla con gran coherencia interna a lo largo de unos aproximadamente doscientos años.

Desde su primera etapa, en que dicho debate no estaba aún focalizado, en que tanto los defensores de los estudios humanísticos como los de los escolásticos no conformaban aún un grupo uniforme, consciente y definido, en que no había, por tanto, un enemigo objetivable, en que, pese a que aquéllos hacían notar a éstos su adicción a Aristóteles, su latín bárbaro y su obscurantismo y éstos a aquéllos su hueco esteticismo y una admiración por la civilización antigua que bordeaba el paganismo, unos y otros gustaban de argumentar desde ambos puntos de vista, en que el autor dejaba así tan sólo insinuadas sus preferencias y se distanciaba de su objeto — recurría, verbigracia, a la tercera persona para evitar formas inadornadas — en que, si bien no es privativo de la etapa más inicial, el desarrollo de las cualidades retóricas de aquellos diletantes de salón, al modo, dijérase, del elegante y erudito intercambio epistolar entre un Ermolao Barbaro y un Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, tenía en ese

¹⁶ Cf. E. Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and the Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), tan valiosa aportación al respecto.

momento un papel claramente preponderante, etcétera, y a través de su evolución, en que el centro de la controversia se desplaza a finales del *Quattrocento* desde los círculos literarios italianos a las aulas académicas de las universidades del Norte, en que se asiste a una progresiva focalización del debate, en que aquellos partidarios tanto de los estudios humanísticos, como de los escolásticos adquieren una conciencia de grupo cada vez mayor en razón de un movimiento sensible de delimitación de las preferencias intelectuales, de forma que los unos muestran un creciente interés por aplicar sus capacidades y habilidades a los textos sagrados, entrando así en un área hasta ahora reservada exclusivamente a la competencia de los teólogos, y los otros se muestran reacios a toda innovación, acusando a los humanistas de entrometerse en terreno ajeno y de pretender así mejorar su *status* mediante su injerencia en la teología, a la que atribuyen una primacía absoluta sobre todas las demás disciplinas ancilares — no pocos humanistas estaban dispuestos a reconocer esto último, pero también la necesidad de aplicar a los estudios y enseñanzas teológicas los nuevos métodos filológicos, punto neurálgico de discrepancia — en que ya sí empieza a surgir un enemigo específico e individualizado a quien dirigir una obra determinada, en que, aunque se mantienen algunos de los temas primeros del debate, como el método, el estilo y el lugar de la literatura pagana en una formación cristiana, adquieren carta de entrada otros como la primacía autosuficiente y excluyente de los estudios teológicos sobre los demás, la titulación académica y la competencia de los humanistas en cuestiones teológicas, en que el autor, que ya no se concibe como un diletante sino como un profesional, de quien se espera un método riguroso y pruebas textuales para justificar su argumentación, hace constar claramente sus preferencias — el no decantarse se considera indecisión e hipocresía — y no se distancia mediante artificio alguno del objeto de su discurso, en que las cuestiones de forma quedan relegadas a un lugar muy secundario frente a las de contenido, esto es, se substituye la estética por la ideología como *leitmotiv* primordial del debate, en que se pasa del intercambio de opiniones a las afirmaciones y asertos más contundentes con una fuerte tendencia a dogmatizar, de elocuentes composiciones a agresivas polémicas desprovistas de todo artificio, de cartas y diálogos literarios a apologías, sátiras y groseras invectivas, etcétera, llega éste a su fase última.

Es entonces cuando los humanistas, movidos por el deseo de depurar el mensaje evangélico y devolverle la pureza y frescura originales de que carecía, no cejan en su empeño por aplicar al texto bíblico en sus

versiones originales, hebreas y griegas, el método filológico de crítica textual y por que los teólogos escolásticos lo adoptasen, en que éstos, en su firme convicción de que la verdad estaba inspirada y de que, por tanto, no necesitaba adorno alguno, no cejan en el suyo por rechazarlo contundentemente y por acusarles de que lo que realmente hacían no era sino minar con arrogante y atrevida presunción no sólo las legítimas costumbres y tradiciones de la Iglesia, sino incluso el mensaje mismo de Cristo, es entonces cuando el debate se connota a todo respecto más negativa que positivamente y se prolonga hasta alcanzar cronológicamente la Reforma, a la que casi tras dos centurias de evolución llegó en un estado de madurez tan avanzado que semejante confluencia posibilitó la identificación, que en buena medida se dio, de la causa de los humanistas con la causa de los reformadores — fue el momento de la sublimación del debate, al entrar éste en la esfera de la disputa doctrinal, pasarse de cuestiones como cualificación y competencia académicas a las de vocación y magisterio y comenzar a vigilarse seriamente y a ponerse en tela de juicio frecuentemente la ortodoxia misma de no pocos humanistas — identificación fruto no sólo de la confusión, a la sazón comprensible, de algunos no tanto de los reformadores,¹⁷ cuanto de los mismos humanistas,¹⁸ sino también, y sobre todo, del interés de buena parte de los teólogos escolásticos por aprovechar la coyuntura tan favorable que les permitió sin gran margen aparente de error identificar ambos movimientos¹⁹ y hacer ver como unos y los mismos, si bien en

¹⁷ Como fueron los casos de un Bucer o de un Zwinglio, al vincular las figuras de Erasmo y Lutero, aunque sus referencias a Erasmo no se hacen en tanto que humanista, sino en tanto que teólogo — con independencia de su mayor o menor acierto, establecen un paralelo entre las posiciones teológicas del uno y del otro — por lo que esta vinculación no implica necesariamente identificación y confusión entre Humanismo y Reforma.

¹⁸ Como fueron los casos de un Willibald Pirckheimer, al vincular las figuras de Jacques Lefèvre y Lutero, de un Hermann Buschius, al identificar el papel que desempeñó Edward Lee como portavoz de los teólogos lovanienses en su campaña contra Erasmo con el de Ortvinus Gratius en la Universidad de Colonia respecto al asunto Reuchlin, de un Ulrich von Hutten, al no poder concebir la condena de Lutero sin la de Erasmo, de un Ulrich Zasius, al encomiar la erudición clásica y cristiana de Erasmo y Lutero en términos como si de uno mismo se tratara, o de un Albrecht Dürer, al vincular la obra de Erasmo y Lutero.

¹⁹ Cf. Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, p. 126, "In his classic article on the relationship between humanism and the Reformation, Bernd Moeller speaks of a "constructive misunderstanding" through which the cause of the humanists was identified with that of the reformers", cf. Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, p. 128, "Thus the "misunderstanding" of which Moeller speaks, may have served an agenda in the scholastic camp. It was in the interest of the theologians to promote confusion. They eagerly seized on certain humanistic elements in Luther's program — his call *ad fontes*, his support

muy determinados y breves momentos históricos de funcionamiento no incompatible, el origen, la naturaleza y los propósitos de dos fenómenos históricos por origen, por naturaleza y por propósitos esencialmente diferentes.²⁰

Sic rebus stantibus no parece acertado incluir la *Antapologia* sin ningún tipo de restricción ni matización, como hace Seidel Menchi,²¹ dentro de todo el conjunto de diatribas y libelos antierasmianos que se producen en Italia o en ambientes de fuerte influjo italiano entre 1520 y 1535,²² ya que ésta no es una obra antierasmiana a la italiana, ya que Sepúlveda no fue un antierasmiano a la italiana. Aunque Sepúlveda pasó una parte muy importante de su vida en Italia y durante muchos años se desenvolvió en ambientes italianos marcadamente antierasmistas, no lo es menos que no se dejó determinar por el carácter de las circunstancias — hubiese sido la postura más cómoda o menos comprometida — hasta el punto de renunciar al criterio propio.

for language studies, his denunciation of scholastic Aristotelianism — to blur the distinctions and kill two birds with one stone: suppress the “heretic” and saddle the humanistic upstarts at the universities with a reputation for supporting heresy. In the event, many humanists did abandon the established Church, but to postulate a simple cause-and-event relationship between their studies and their religious affiliation was a piece of scholastic propaganda”.

²⁰ El Humanismo nunca fue un movimiento que postulase una revolución teológica y doctrinal, como sí lo fue la Reforma, sino tan sólo una renovación metodológica. Es cierto que ambos movimientos combinaron muy de cerca sus fuerzas durante la primera, y sólo la primera, generación del siglo XVI, cf. Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, p. 195, “For a few years at the beginning of the sixteenth century Europe saw an alignment between the forces of humanism and the Reformation” — ya se ha aludido a la confusión entre algunos de los mismos humanistas y reformadores y a la identificación tan verosímil que a partir de esos años pudieron hacer no pocos de los teólogos escolásticos — pero tal unión no pudo por menos que mostrarse pronto inestable y facticia — y forzada la identificación que los teólogos italianos hicieron — de suerte que los humanistas tuvieron que definir también pronto sus posturas, bien por el lado católico, como fue el caso más representativo de Erasmo, cf. Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, p. 137, “Deference to the Church and its institutions forms a steady theme in Erasmus’ writings from 1520 on”, bien por el reformado, como fue el de Melancthon, cf. Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, p. 145, “Melancthon’s official pronouncements suggest that he effortlessly combined humanism with the Reformation and fused the tasks of the humanist and reformed theologian in himself, but there are indications that even Melancthon was unable to overcome completely the tensions between the two movements”, lo cual corrobora significativamente la distinta y en esencia incompatible naturaleza de los dos movimientos. No hay, empero, que precipitarse en las conclusiones, ya que el *status quaestionis* reciente de la investigación sobre la relación entre Humanismo y Reforma no permite aún llegar a respuestas rápidas ni satisfactorias dados el variado posicionamiento que los humanistas adoptaron ante la Reforma y la necesidad de métodos adecuados para abordar con rigor esta cuestión.

²¹ Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus*, p. 45.

²² Esto ya quedó apuntado en Solana Pujalte, *Sepúlveda*, p. 30.

Un estudio general de la obra muestra que, si bien es cierto que Sepúlveda fue un teólogo que se desenvolvió en ambientes antierasmistas y su protector, el príncipe de Carpi, uno de los ejemplos más ilustrativos de antierasmistas italianos,²³ no lo es menos que el pozbense no llegó a compartir a la manera italiana — esto hubiera sido lo de esperar después de unos veinte años de permanencia en Italia y no pocos de ellos frecuentando los círculos aristocráticos del Príncipe, a quien tan de cerca trató — los presupuestos que conformaron el denominador común de la mayor parte de las obras antierasmianas que se produjeron en Italia entre 1520 y 1535, justamente los años en que Sepúlveda desarrolló su labor más productiva en este país:

- Respecto a la teología de lo cotidiano, la impresión general a que parece llevar la lectura de la *Antapologia* es que también Sepúlveda — en tanto que él mismo, no en tanto que portavoz de la opinión de su difunto mecenas a quien defiende — comparte la postura de éste y de otros tantos italianos antierasmistas, a saber, la centralización de la atención y de su discurso en las implicaciones más prácticas y cotidianas de la teología evangélico-luterana, soslayando cuestiones más centrales.²⁴ Aunque no conociésemos el contenido de su obra contra Lutero,²⁵ el hecho solo de que escribiese un *De fato et libero arbitrio*, tema tan poco del gusto de sus contemporáneos italianos, incluyendo al mismo Alberto Pío,²⁶ y, sobre todo, de que dicha obra mereciese el elogio del roterodamense en su *Ciceronianus sive de optimo genere dicendi* habría sido, cuando menos, un indicio fidedigno de que Sepúlveda supo distinguir entre implicaciones concretas y la razón que las motivaba, entre accidentales y esenciales. Y es que dicha obra es prueba de que no compartía tal supuesto con sus contemporáneos, al menos en la misma medida. Creemos que Sepúlveda compartió con su mecenas y con otros muchos italianos el molde escolástico-aristotélico que dio forma y fondo a su pensamiento y a toda su producción, pero dudamos, a la luz de la obra que seis años antes había escrito contra Lutero, de que, si no se hubiese tratado de

²³ Cf. 9n., 10n. et 12n.

²⁴ Como se lee en Solana Pujalte, *Sepúlveda*, p. 31, “Con respecto a las similitudes con los demás autores con los que S. Seidel Menchi pone en relación a Sepúlveda, es innegable que comparte con ellos, como elemento argumentativo central, la “teología de lo cotidiano””.

²⁵ Esta obra es actualmente materia de nuestra tesis doctoral.

²⁶ Cf. 10n.

una defensa pormenorizada de hasta las más nimias afirmaciones de Alberto Pío contrastadas con las de Erasmo, hubiese hecho *sua sponte* un tratamiento similar.

- Respecto a la denominada “elocuencia de los herejes”, la *Antapologia* es una obra de controversia, de naturaleza fundamentalmente doctrinal, no literaria, su fondo, ya lo apuntó Menéndez Pelayo,²⁷ es más teológico que literario. Por tanto, no se pueden extraer de ella ideas concluyentes acerca de la postura de Sepúlveda a este respecto.²⁸
- Respecto a la superioridad cultural de Italia, el autor deja suficientemente claro en la *Antapologia* que nunca compartió semejante idea.²⁹

Un estudio más detallado de la obra, matiza más su postura y su actitud. Si bien es cierto que el ambiente le influyó hasta el punto de decantarse en algunos pasajes de la obra claramente del lado italiano con el objeto de no granjearse así desfavorables enemistades, no lo es menos que no rehusó seguir el consejo de amigos que le pidieron suavizar algunos pasajes que podrían haber molestado a Erasmo³⁰ y que él mismo sin reservas lo manifestó tal cual al roterodamense en la carta que quiso

²⁷ M. Menéndez Pelayo, ‘Apuntes sobre el ciceronianismo en España y sobre la influencia de Cicerón en la prosa latina de los humanistas españoles’, *Bibliografía Hispano-Latina Clásica* (Santander, 1950), III, 255.

²⁸ Cf. J. M. Núñez González, *El ciceronianismo en España* (Valladolid, 1993), p. 57, “Si tuviéramos que juzgar sólo por la *Antapologia* no sabríamos nada acerca de la postura de Sepúlveda”. Sin embargo, conocemos por otra obra, el *De fato et libero arbitrio*, su opinión acerca de los *studia humanitatis*, de la importancia que éstos tuvieron en el surgimiento del fenómeno luterano, opinión empero que, si no se quiere incurrir en conclusiones rápidas y poco maduras, será necesario entender con las debidas precauciones y, sobre todo, en relación con la propia práctica del autor, como haremos en el epígrafe siguiente, vid. 48n.

²⁹ Cf. *Opera*, IV, 549, “Sed, ista, inquis, *malevolorum figmenta sunt*, quis negat? *levique fundamento fabricata*; non eo infitias: *nec ex iudicio, sed a quorundam Italorum invidia profecta*, qui volentes suos in omni genere *literarum excellere*, indignari videntur, si quis ultra montes natus ad rerum doctrinam orationis quoque ornamenta adiecisse putetur. Hoc quoque tibi facile assentiar, qui simili oratione uti soleo ad conatus te sic impetientium reprimendos”. A nuestro parecer no es tan evidente que piense así por ser hispano, ya que a otros respectos también es hispano y está más cerca de posturas características italianas. Por razones de brevedad, el texto de la edición matritense de toda la obra sepulvediana (*Ioannis Genesii Sepulvedae Cordubensis Opera, tum edita, tum inedita, accurante Regia Historiae Academia*, 4 vols. (Matriti, 1780) se citará en adelante como aquí: *Opera*, número romano de volumen, número arábigo de página/s.

³⁰ Con lo que hay que entender que no debió moverse sólo en círculos antierasmistas, como en nuestra opinión bien señaló Solana Pujalte, *Sepúlveda*, p. 31.

enviarle junto con un ejemplar romano corregido de la obra.³¹ Si bien es cierto que Sepúlveda no sintió por Erasmo la clase de admiración que por él sentían muchos de sus adeptos,³² no lo es menos que lo apreció y que nunca deseó zaherir su reputación,³³ como sí muchos de los italianos, con quienes por ello salió discutiendo en su defensa.³⁴

Y es que por lo que a su contenido respecta, así como por el tono que usó para transmitirlo, siempre firme pero respetuoso, es ella misma la mejor prueba de que no degeneró en una diatriba más³⁵ y de que supo mantenerse fiel a su designio primero, a saber, ser la que Sepúlveda entendió como la más legítima defensa de su difunto protector en agradecimiento sincero por todos los servicios prestados y por la admiración que, por encima de cualesquiera diferencias o preferencias, por él sintió, es, en suma, testimonio de una acentuada individualidad y de una gran solidez de criterio, que no le permitieron plegarse ni a la admiración que por Erasmo profesaron muchos intelectuales europeos del momento, incluidos sus compatriotas hispanos,³⁶ ni tampoco, aún dentro de unas

³¹ “Quanquam vno aut altero loco Italarum potius stomacho fuit inseruitum quos iidem mihi, nisi ad eum modum prouisum fuisset, iratos fore denuntiabant”, (Allen, 2637, 13-16 = *Opera*, III, 77), “Sed obstitit huic voluntati meumque institutum retardauit honestissimorum quorundam, et vtriusque nostrum studiosorum, sed nimis cautorum, hominum diligentia, qui cupientes omnes inter nos simultatis causas submouere, lecto libello temperanda aut etiam expungenda verba quaedam censuerunt, quibus ipsi, contra meam sententiam, qui nihil toto in libro quam vt modestissime tecum agerem elaborauim, animum tuum exasperari posse existimabant”, (Allen, 2637, 6-13 = *Opera*, III, 77). Hemos citado el texto de la obra del erudito oxoniense (*Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, eds. P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen et H. W. Garrod, 12 vols. [Oxford, 1906-1958]) como se suele hacer: Allen, número de carta, número de línea/s, preferentemente entre paréntesis y tras su texto.

³² Cf. Looz-Corswarem, *Sepúlveda*, p. 50, “Die ‘Antapologia’ zeigt wieder, daß Sepúlveda Erasmus durchaus nicht blind verehrte”.

³³ Como el autor bien explicita en la obra, con lo que disintimos de opiniones tan poco maduras como la de A. F. G. Bell, *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda* (Oxford, 1925), p. 35, “It is impossible not to infer that the writer of this treatise meant to wound Erasmus”.

³⁴ Cf. *Opera*, IV, 549, “Cum quibus profecto mihi, ut possem magnos viros citare testes, ingens pro te saepe concertatio fuit, cum ferre non possem quorundam fastum, tuique contentum, qui te philosophiae expertem esse dicerent, Luciani magis quam Aristotelis familiarem...”.

³⁵ Cf. M. Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, trad. A. Alatorre (Madrid, 1986³=1966), p. 422, “El libro de Sepúlveda es ciertamente, como pretende serlo, una defensa del Príncipe de Carpi, y no una diatriba en contra de Erasmo”, cf. Núñez González, *El ciceronianismo*, p. 54, “La Antapología de Sepúlveda sabe ser una defensa sin caer en la diatriba”.

³⁶ Como es el caso de Alfonso de Valdés, quien, *erasmicior Erasmo*, como una vez Sepúlveda lo llamó, le había acusado de haberse excedido en la *Antapología* con el roterodamense. Naturalmente Sepúlveda le contestó en carta remitida en 1533, dejando clara

circunstancias que a ello favorecían, al encono que por él mostraron muchos de sus contemporáneos italianos.

3. Reflexión acerca del aspecto formal de la obra

De igual forma que hicimos en el epígrafe anterior, comenzaremos dando el marco adecuado para nuestra reflexión. Es sabido que no se puede entender el nacimiento y el desarrollo del Humanismo concibiéndolo como un fenómeno homogéneo en sus manifestaciones desde el siglo XIV hasta el XVI, ya que hay una distancia sensible entre lo que se puede considerar una primera y una segunda etapa, *grosso modo* los siglos XIV y XV en la Península Itálica, la primera, y parte del siglo XVI en el resto de Europa, la segunda.

Así pues, mientras que durante el *Trecento* y el *Quattrocento* italianos las grandes figuras pioneras³⁷ que dieron origen al Humanismo, transmitiéndonos así el sentido primero y la razón misma de existir del movimiento, entendieron su labor como una recuperación integral de la riqueza y el saber antiguos, los llamados *studia humanitatis*, puestos al servicio y desarrollo de todos los campos del conocimiento — la medicina, la jurisprudencia, la geografía, la religión, la matemática —³⁸

su postura, cf. *Opera*, III, 121-122, “Ceterum ego, qui officii dumtaxat gratia causam egi Alberti Pii, ut amicus admonitor, non ut infensus obrectator in Erasmus scripsi, ut quod idem ex religione dignitateque sua facturus mihi videretur, exponerem, non ut ipsum ad dicendi certamen provocarem. Parebo igitur libenter tuis monitis, nec ulterius, ut ipse admones, nisi me itidem officium etiam atque etiam adhortabitur, progrediar, equidem, ut teneam meam consuetudinem neminem sine causa necessaria, ut injuria repellam, laedendi; non ut ei occurram suspitioni, a qua me tantopere dehortaris, ne gloriae studio voluisse videar cum Erasmo contendere <...> At ego neque ambitioni servio, nec si vel quam maxime serviam, sum adeo ignaviae aut infirmitatis conscius, quod sine arrogantia dictum accipi velim, ut quaerenda mihi esse putem flagitiosa compendia, quo posteris me vixisse testatum relinquam, aut ex tali certamine temere suscepto gloriam posse mihi tantopere contingere, quam ipse putas, qui Erasmus quasi numen par Dianae Minervaeque suspicis, et ejus scripta dictataque velut oracula legis <...> ut intelligas, me Erasmus, ut non contemno, sed potius magni facio, sic non tantopere demirari, ut quemadmodum ipse videris innuere, gloriosum putem cum eo certare”.

³⁷ Un Francesco Petrarca, un Lorenzo Valla, un Guarino Veronese, un Leonardo Bruni, un Leon Battista Alberti, etcétera.

³⁸ A propósito del origen del término “humanista”, cf. J. IJsewijn, ‘Het humanisme, de Nederlanden en Spanje’, in *Luister van Spanje en de Belgische Steden (1500-1700)*, 2 vols (Brussel, 1985), I, 194, “Het moderne woord “humanisme”, gevormd door een Duits geleerde in de 19de eeuw, kenden ze niet. Gevolg hiervan is dat deze term nu in de meest uiteenlopende betekenissen wordt gebruikt in de wetenschappelijke en vulgariserende literatuur en dat zijn inhoud nogal eens ver afstaat van de essentiële bekommernissen van de renaissance-humanisten. Dit is mede te verklaren door de soms diepgaande

implicados así en todas las ramificaciones de la vida colectiva³⁹ y entendidos, por tanto, como medio e instrumento poderoso de influencia, transformación y regeneración sociales, capaces de dar luz a una nueva civilización, desde finales del *Quattrocento* en adelante se asiste, por la misma naturaleza inherente a dichos *studia*, a una concentración de la atención por parte de cada vez mayores especialistas en las diversas materias que durante el *Trecento* y el *Quattrocento* habían venido de su mano, así como sobre todo una difusión a gran escala de los mismos, desde el más o menos anodino maestro de escuela a los profesores universitarios, que arremetían contra aquellos *cultores* primeros del Humanismo en términos despectivos de “grammatici e umanisti”,⁴⁰ estudios que pasaban ya a no ser privativos de la élite intelectual que los había

invloed die de humanisten als taalleraars en als bemiddelaars tussen de antieke en de moderne wetenschap hebben uitgeoefend op vrijwel alle domeinen van onze cultuur; verder ook door het feit dat de meeste humanisten zich niet hebben beperkt tot een beoefening van de *studia humanitatis*, maar ook een actieve belangstelling hebben getoond voor de mathematica, het recht, de theologie, de beeldende kunsten, enz.”. Ello se refleja en todos los campos del conocimiento, “Dit alles blijft natuurlijk niet zonder repercussies op vele andere gebieden zoals de architectuur, de beeldende kunsten, de politieke opvattingen, de wetenschapsbeoefening. Het traktaat van de Romeinse architect Vitruvius wordt, o. m. langs de bewerking van Leon Battista Alberti, de ondergang van de gotische bouwkunst: de kerken worden weer antieke tempels: zie b.v. de Tempio Malatestiano te Rimini. De lektuur van Livius e. a. doet republikeinse idealen herleven in een door wereldlijke en kerkelijke monarchen beheerste samenleving en zal leiden tot soms zeer naïeve samenzweringen te Milaan, Firenze, Rome”, en el curso, inédito, que el profesor IJsewijn impartió en su cátedra de neolatín de la Universidad Católica neerlandófona de Lovaina durante el año académico 1993-94.

³⁹ Cf. F. Rico, *El sueño del humanismo. De Petrarca a Erasmo* (Madrid, 1993), p. 48, “Pero, por definición, el escolasticismo era un paradigma científico que ni toleraba aficionados ni se prestaba a entrar en la vida diaria. El gran reproche que le hacía ya Petrarca era ser estéril, quedarse en datos y especulaciones sin consecuencias prácticas, mientras que a él le importaba que el saber cristalizara ‘in actum’”, cf. Rico, *El sueño*, p. 75, “La auténtica ‘eruditio’ — proclamaba Leonardo Bruni — une las palabras a las cosas: ‘litterarum peritiam cum rerum scientiam coniungit’. Todos suscribían esa convicción, la aplicaban en la dirección que la aplicaran, la pusieran al servicio de unos o de otros intereses, y despreciaban la doctrina que no florecía en obras. Para ellos el saber era necesariamente activo, impregnaba la vida privada y repercutía en la pública”.

⁴⁰ No debe perderse de vista que el motivo que dio origen desde finales del siglo XV al vocablo *umanista* contenía una finalidad claramente despreciativa, primero para designar a los destacados próceres de los *studia humanitatis*, despreciados por los profesores universitarios, y luego al simple profesor de *humanitas* o *umanità* (un conjunto de disciplinas inspiradas en la Antigüedad), una vez que tales estudios se hubieron trivializado, así como que es un vocablo de la jerga académica italiana de clara raigambre medieval (formado a imagen y semejanza de *iurista*, *legista*, etcétera). El vocablo *grammatista*, ajeno del todo a la consideración que tuvo y al prestigio que proporcionó en la Antigüedad, es usado ahora con una finalidad peyorativa.

fundado y de la élite socio-económica que los había hecho posible,⁴¹ lo que condujo a los humanistas⁴² a un comprensible e ineluctable proceso de especialización a razón del cual los *studia humanitatis* se convirtieron en una labor exclusivamente de y para competentes especialistas, replegándose sobre sí mismos y renunciando así a su primer designio y a la razón misma que les dio la existencia,⁴³ momento en que el movimiento humanístico, que iniciaba ya una curva de descenso en Italia tras haber alcanzado su *floruit*, desborda los límites de la Península Itálica y trasciende a gran escala el marco físico en que hasta entonces se había gestado y desarrollado, momento en que en la Europa del joven siglo XVI empiezan a sonar con gran fuerza “los ardorosos lemas del humanismo temprano”⁴⁴ italiano, “con una pasión que allí se había templado

⁴¹ El Humanismo es un movimiento por origen esencialmente elitista y aristocrático que no hubiera dejado de ser, como se lee en Rico, *El sueño*, p. 81, “otra escuela de pensamiento” o “una tendencia intelectual más, sin una auténtica presencia pública”, si no hubiese tenido en las altas esferas, dentro y fuera de Italia, generosos padrinos y poderosos protectores.

⁴² Se hace, por tanto, preciso aprehender la significación más “depurada”, aunque en ninguno de los dos casos históricamente la primera, de los vocablos *Humanismo* y *humanista*. En el primer caso, se trata del Humanismo renacentista tal como ha quedado expuesto, aunque el vocablo es mucho más joven, decimonónico, acuñado por un erudito alemán (cf. 38n.) para designar todo un proyecto educativo de la época y luego aplicado tanto retrospectivamente hacia un Renacimiento entonces no muy bien conocido, como prospectivamente hasta casi nuestros días, en sendos casos en un sentido lato, no desprovisto a menudo de vaguedad e imprecisión. En el segundo caso, se trata de los grandes próceres de dichos *studia humanitatis*, aunque, como queda señalado en 40n., se acuñó a fines del *Quattrocento* con un sentido esencialmente despreciativo.

⁴³ A partir de Poliziano estamos de lleno en esta segunda etapa, cf. Rico, *El sueño*, pp. 87-88, “Pero, al tocar con los *Miscellanea* su cota filológica indisputablemente más alta y conquistar así la disciplina autónoma, la tradición histórica del humanismo italiano se cerraba en sí misma, en una concha profesoral y profesional, y renunciaba así a las estridencias de la plaza pública. Parece duro asociar el nombre de Poliziano a la idea de clausura o ensimismamiento. El humanismo quizá no conoció ningún espíritu más abierto, y pocas sensibilidades más frescas. Pero su infinita curiosidad está puesta al servicio de la filología y <sic> solo por excepción quiere expresarse más allá. Desde las primeras páginas de los *Miscellanea* se subraya que una íntima familiaridad con la filosofía, el derecho, la medicina, la dialéctica y, en suma, con todas las artes de la enciclopedia es condición imprescindible para quien se ponga a explicar a los poetas y hacer cosa de provecho por la latinidad, “rem iuvare Latinam”. En el umbral de las *Elegantiae* se nos aseguraba que el estudio del latín era el único camino “ad omnem sapientiam”. Podrían parecer dos modos de decir una misma cosa. En rigor, bien de otro modo, Poliziano y Valla marchan en direcciones diametralmente opuestas: del latín “ad omnem sapientiam”, de todas las artes al latín”. Aunque como disciplina se consolide más adelante, sin Poliziano resultaría difícil concebir el nacimiento de la Filología Clásica.

⁴⁴ Cf. Rico, *El sueño*, p. 100.

decenios atrás”,⁴⁵ y con la diferencia de que ahora se dispone de los instrumentos filológicos recién forjados en Italia, que serán puestos por los humanistas al servicio de sus diferentes causas, como fue, por ejemplo, la religiosa... pero permanezcamos en Italia. Esos especialistas se dedicarán a conocer y a cultivar la lengua y literatura clásicas, griega y latina fundamentalmente, haciendo un fin en sí mismo de lo que antes era un medio, de tal suerte que la consideración social y la remuneración económica de quienes se dedicaban a los *studia humanitatis*, en abierto contraste con el resto de Europa, era en Italia muy superior a la de otras profesiones liberales.⁴⁶

Ahora bien, en general, en tanto que no afecta a la *Antapologia* menos que al resto de su producción, cabe preguntarse: ¿se sigue de este cambio de perspectiva que Sepúlveda experimentó en Italia el que también adoptase la postura de la mayoría de los humanistas italianos de su tiempo, más interesados por el cultivo de los *studia humanitatis* y por cuestiones formales, de lengua y de estilo, que por cuestiones de contenido y por el cultivo de lo que se denominaban las *graviore disciplinae*? Creemos que no. Si bien es cierto que el pozalbenense dedicó en Italia mucho tiempo a los *studia humanitatis*, tan descuidados en España,⁴⁷ y que fue un eximio cultivador de los mismos, tanto como para haber

⁴⁵ Cf. *Ibidem*, cf. R. J. Schoeck, *Erasmus of Europe*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1990-1993), I, 153, “By 1495 Italian humanism had reached a peak in its own land, though it had by then scarcely reached the Low Countries and northern Europe <...> The rest of Europe was still learning, and would continue to learn, from the diffusion of Italian humanism <...> However, the great burst of intellectual discovery and creativity that marked the period from Petrarch to the death of Ficino at the end of the quattrocento was now over”.

⁴⁶ Sepúlveda marchó a Italia con la intención de doctorarse específicamente en teología, aunque terminaría haciéndolo también en “artes”, los *studia humanitatis* tan cultivados y valorados en Italia a diferencia de otros países, en general, y de España, en particular. Vid. J. M. Núñez González, ‘Bolonía y el ciceronianismo en España: Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda y Antonio Agustín’, in *Estudios sobre los orígenes de las universidades españolas* (Valladolid, 1988), pp. 207-208, en donde se expone el caso análogo de estos dos hispanos.

⁴⁷ En España el conocimiento y cultivo de la lengua griega dejó por no pocos años mucho que desear, cf. L. Gil Fernández, *Panorama social del humanismo español (1500-1800)* (Madrid, 1981), p. 211, “Un azar ajeno al campo de nuestros estudios, el debate en torno a la publicación del *Demócrates* entre Ginés de Sepúlveda y los teólogos de Alcalá y Salamanca, depara a nuestro humanista la ocasión de hacer la más firme defensa española de la lengua griega que se oyera en todo el siglo XVI”, e incluso el uso literario del latín no obstó para el desarrollo de la lengua vernácula en la misma medida en que lo hizo en otros países, cf. IJsewijn, ‘Het humanisme’, p. 199, “Het letterkundig gebruik van het Latijn is er voor de volkstaal nooit in dezelfde mate een concurrent geweest als in Italië, Frankrijk, Duitsland of de Nederlanden”.

recibido merecidamente el calificativo de ciceroniano, fue siempre de la convicción de que una dedicación excesiva a dichos *studia*, un cultivo de las lenguas antiguas como fin en sí mismo, es pernicioso en tanto que causa del descuido de las *graviiores disciplinae* y fuente de males mayores,⁴⁸ por lo que no comparte la concepción italiana del fenómeno literario como fin estético en sí mismo y por lo que lo vemos alejarse a este respecto de la que fue la postura predominante entre los humanistas italianos del *Cinquecento*. Nos encontramos, pues, ante un caso de singular asimilación espiritual. El mismo Rivero García,⁴⁹ autor del único estudio lingüístico hecho hasta el momento acerca de una obra de Sepúlveda y, por tanto, punto obligado de referencia, así lo expresó: “1º. Sepúlveda no responde al estereotipo de humanista español, y ello por el simple hecho de haber gozado en Italia de una esmerada educación que le permite escribir un latín que causa admiración entre los que conocen su

⁴⁸ Como en su opinión les ocurrió a los germanos, así lo dejó testimoniando en su *De fato et libero arbitrio*, cf. *Opera*, IV, 470, “... quod mirum cuiquam fortasse videbitur, studium eloquentiae humaniorumque litterarum Germanis, hanc perniciosissimam pestem invexisse... Quamdiu enim Germania more patrio gravioribus disciplinis intenta, rebus rerumque solidae cognitioni, non verborum inani garrulitati ac sermonis lenociniis studebat, proveniebant in ea acutissimi mathematici, perspicaces philosophi, theologi gravissimi, honestissimi, religiosissimi: ut non modo sana doctrina, sed etiam optimis moribus ac exemplis ad homines instituendos, et vera religione imbuendos essent instructi. Postea vero quam his optimis disciplinis relictis, coeptum est a leviculis quibusdam hominibus Latini Graecique sermonis cognitioni, ac dicendi facultati accuratius indulgeri, provenire malo pravoque ingenio quidam, qui maledicorum impiorumque scriptorum commercio facile omnem impietatem caninamque maledicentiam imbibere, seque ad morum pessima quaeque vitia multo etiam magis, quam ad eloquentiae virtutes dociles exhiberent...”. Ahora bien, su epistolario es rico en testimonios que dan muestra, en primer lugar, que dichos *studia* en sí no son perniciosos, sino sólo si se abusa o se hace mal uso de ellos — es decir, no considera dichos *studia* perniciosos en sí ni los desacredita, como muchos de sus teólogos italianos contemporáneos — y, en segundo lugar, de que él mismo desde su juventud se dedicó con ahínco al cultivo de los mismos con el objeto de que en su madurez éstos no fuesen un fin en sí, sino un medio privilegiado para acceder a otros estudios y a otra dedicación, que consideró superiores, las *graviiores disciplinae*, que constituyeron, pese a y en medio de numerosas obligaciones contraídas, su vocación principal. Valga a modo ilustrativo la carta que en Diciembre de 1547 envió a Melchor Cano, cf. *Opera*, III, 13, “Erras, mi Cane, et rationem meorum studiorum ignoras, si me tali ludibrio opportunum esse judicasti; qui maximam aetatis partem in gravissimis Theologiae ac Philosophiae studiis consumsi. Nam litteras humaniores sic a teneris annis Latine et Graece colere coepi, quam potui diligentissime, ut tamen aetate adultior numquam eas paterer in meis studiis principem locum obtinere; sed easdem mihi adjumento semper esse volui ad severiores doctrinas, quibus me totum ab adolescentia tradidi, cognoscendas atque tractandas”. De esta manera es como hay que entender la postura de Sepúlveda respecto a los *studia humanitatis*, vid. 28n.

⁴⁹ L. Rivero García, *El latín del “De Orbe Novo” de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda* (Sevilla, 1993), p. 47.

obra, así como dominar profundamente el griego. 2°. No nos hallamos tampoco ante un humanista plenamente italiano. En el cordobés pesó de por vida un arraigado sentimiento religioso, de “piedad sincera”, en palabras de Menéndez Pelayo, que le hizo rechazar el “paganismo” de los italianos y el cultivo de las letras como fin en sí mismo, con lo que acerca su posicionamiento significativamente a Erasmo y el “Humanismo intimista” del norte de Europa”. Este hecho no pudo por menos que repercutir de una forma o de otra en su praxis literaria.

Así pues, en particular, si bien desde el punto de vista formal pocos dudarán en considerar la *Antapologia* de un clasicismo muy ciceroniano, al parecer tan en consonancia con el estilo de las demás obras del autor, también tenido por uno de los más bellos logros en la persecución de aquel ideal que fue para no pocos humanistas la prosa del Arpinate, dechado de pulcritud y de elegancia — una aproximación a este aspecto de la *Antapologia* nos muestra, en efecto, una obra de estilo elegantemente ciceroniano — llegados a este punto, se hace preciso reconocer nuestras actuales limitaciones de conocimiento respecto tanto al ciceronianismo de Sepúlveda, en particular, como al fenómeno mismo, en general, puesto que, primero, el único conocimiento que poseemos acerca del aspecto formal de la *Antapologia*, al igual que de las demás obras del autor con la sola excepción del caso arriba indicado, es el que proporciona la lectura directa de la misma, ya que hasta el momento la ingente producción sepulvediana no ha conocido estudio monográfico detenido alguno acerca de su lengua y de su estilo, segundo, puesto que un estudio responsable de la prosa de Sepúlveda y una delimitación de su ciceronianismo no puede prescindir del estudio de los demás autores renacentistas latinos, al menos de los principales, que aún distamos de tener — es más, en sentido riguroso no podremos saber con certeza lo ciceroniano que fue Sepúlveda, si no sabemos con la misma certeza lo que lo fueron los demás — y, tercero, puesto que sólo el estudio detallado y el conocimiento efectivo de la praxis literaria de, por lo menos, los principales autores de la latinidad humanístico-renacentista nos pondría en condiciones de tener un conocimiento más preciso del que ahora tenemos de la praxis literaria denominada “ciceronianismo” y de saber con mayor precisión que ahora a qué nos referimos exactamente cuando hablamos de “ciceronianismo” y cuando aplicamos a un autor el calificativo de “ciceroniano”.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ L. Rivero García, ‘Aspectos de la latinidad de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda’, in *Actas del Congreso Internacional V Centenario del Nacimiento del Dr. Juan Ginés de*

No obstante estas limitaciones, tanto las opiniones que distintos estudiosos han dado sobre la praxis literaria de Sepúlveda, como la lectura directa de su obra, apuntan, por así decirlo, en un mismo sentido. Veamos dichas opiniones en el mismo orden en que fueron apareciendo.

En primer lugar, Menéndez Pelayo parangona a Sepúlveda con los más ciceronianos de los italianos y dice que fue posiblemente el primer hispano en merecer del todo tal calificativo,⁵¹ pero sostiene poco después que no toda su obra se puede considerar igualmente ciceroniana y la divide en tres partes: traducciones y anotaciones de varias obras de Aristóteles, en las que quiere mostrarse más aristotélico que ciceroniano, composiciones históricas, en las que imita el estilo de Tito Livio, y obras de controversia teológica, filosófica y política, en que se muestra plenamente ciceroniano.⁵²

En segundo lugar, Losada, ilustrándonos con las cartas que Sepúlveda envió a Oliván y a Lucena, bien recaba en que estamos ante un “caso curioso de asimilación espiritual”,⁵³ ya que si, de una parte, su espíritu hispano, más inclinado por naturaleza a la gravedad de pensamiento que al preciosismo formal, le impedía renunciar a las cuestiones de fondo, a las *graviores disciplinae*, asemejándose no poco al Humanismo nórdico y a las tendencias erasmistas, por otra parte, su exquisita formación italiana, que determinó la admirable elegancia y pureza de estilo que, como no pocos italianos, forjó en los talleres ciceronianos, lo acercaba considerablemente al Humanismo del otro lado de los Alpes. Divide así también su obra en tres partes: traducciones y comentarios de los filósofos griegos, que se caracterizan por su elegancia y sencillez frente a la rudeza del estilo escolástico, tratados de controversia teológica, filosófica, jurídica y política, en donde se muestra del todo ciceroniano, y sus obras históricas, en las que imita sobre todo el estilo de Tito Livio,

Sepúlveda (Pozoblanco, 13-16 de Febrero de 1991) (Córdoba, 1993), p. 195, “Quizá Sepúlveda, quien sabe si como recompensa a siglos de olvido, sea el primer autor renacentista cuyo latín está mereciendo un análisis minucioso, pero no debemos por ello cometer una nueva injusticia al juzgarle con el mismo criterio que a otros humanistas de cuyo latín sabemos aún bastante poco. El latín del Renacimiento no será suficientemente comprendido en tanto no se haya analizado con seriedad la lengua de todos los que lo escribieron, desde Longolio a Campanella. En el caso de la prosa, esta necesaria tarea de indagación nos llevará a una comprensión más cabal de los límites del ciceronianismo y sus tendencias alternativas, así como al sentido mismo de cada una de ellas”.

⁵¹ Menéndez Pelayo, ‘Apuntes’, p. 251.

⁵² Menéndez Pelayo, ‘Apuntes’, pp. 256-262.

⁵³ Losada, *Sepúlveda*, p. 323.

aunque en el *De rebus gestis Philippi II* se advierten influencias de César por gusto de dar una prueba más de su polifacético estilo literario.⁵⁴

En tercer lugar, Carrera de la Red, a partir de varios testimonios de sus *Epistolarum libri septem*, adscribe a Sepúlveda al ciceronianismo, señala que en sus traducciones del Estagirita se caracteriza por un estilo claro y sencillo, así como que en sus obras históricas refleja la *lactea ubertas* de Tito Livio.⁵⁵

En cuarto lugar, Núñez González adscribe a Sepúlveda al ciceronianismo y añade finalmente: “En conclusión, Sepúlveda que parece declararse en favor del programa ciceroniano, está proponiendo en realidad algo muy similar a lo que proponía Pierre de la Ramée: imitar a Cicerón, pero sin llegar a enmudecer por el temor a utilizar léxico no ciceroniano”.⁵⁶

Finalmente, Rivero García en su trabajo acerca del latín de Sepúlveda en el *De Orbe Novo*⁵⁷ ha hecho un replanteamiento de la cuestión y ha arrojado luz sobre este punto, llevando a cabo en un caso de género historiográfico el estudio detenido que necesitarían las demás obras del mismo, así como las de los otros géneros. Atendiendo, pues, a las consideraciones generales de los capítulos introductorios — creemos que el resto del estudio no procede aquí pues las conclusiones a que se llega para el género historiográfico no son extensibles a los demás géneros que conforman su ingente producción — y si tenemos en cuenta la clasificación que en ellos da de las distintas tendencias prosísticas del Renacimiento latino,⁵⁸ no es difícil percatarse de que considerar a Sepúl-

⁵⁴ Losada, *Sepúlveda*, p. 327.

⁵⁵ A. Carrera de la Red, *El “problema de la lengua” en el Humanismo renacentista español* (Valladolid, 1988), pp. 102-104.

⁵⁶ Núñez González, *El ciceronianismo*, p. 61.

⁵⁷ Nos referimos a Rivero García, *El latín*, que se complementa con dos pequeños artículos, a saber, Rivero García, ‘Aspectos’, pp. 185-195 y, sobre todo, L. Rivero García, ‘Notas al latín del *De Orbe Novo* de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda’, *Humanistica Lovanien-sia*, 48 (1994), 220-30.

⁵⁸ Rivero García, *El latín*, pp. 25-38. Al final concluye, cf. Rivero García, *El latín*, pp. 36-37, “Recapitulando, para proceder al análisis lingüístico de una obra neolatina en prosa debemos, pues, tener en cuenta la variedad de tipos e incluso la evolución diacrónica interna de la prosa latina en la segunda parte del Renacimiento: partimos de un modelo germinal, purista, polarizado en torno al concepto de la *imitatio* y a la figura de Cicerón; en el polo opuesto, nos encontramos con un latín nórdico centrado en el concepto de “funcionalidad”; en medio de ambos se sitúa una variante, la ecléctica, que intenta hacer compatible el sueño de la elevación estética del Humanismo con la operatividad necesaria para que una lengua pueda servir de vehículo de comunicación en una

veda un ciceroniano entre los que más parece ser a la luz del conocimiento que actualmente tenemos de su prosa y del fenómeno mismo una desvirtualización de la realidad de los hechos.⁵⁹ De un lado, el humanista pozalbenso reconoce su admiración por Cicerón, y también por los contemporáneos de éste, así como su deseo de tenerlos por modelos indiscutibles,⁶⁰ de otro lado, lo apuntaba Rivero García, Sepúlveda fue de una convicción tal que nunca llegó a comulgar con el posicionamiento italiano frente al fenómeno literario como fin estético en sí mismo y ello no pudo por menos que determinar el que se alejase del ciceronianismo a la italiana.⁶¹ En las traducciones y exégesis del Estagirita Sepúlveda no tiene reparos en apartarse de Cicerón, de hecho así lo hace si necesita crear algún neologismo o usar ciertas expresiones que le permitan ser más fiel al pensamiento y concepto originales, aunque dañasen sus oídos de fino humanista — criterio que prima — y en su obra historiográfica sigue a Cicerón, pero no menos a Tito Livio e incluso recuerda a César en su *De rebus gestis Philippi II* y no sacrifica la claridad expositiva a la estética — de nuevo el mismo criterio — por lo que lo vemos adoptar una actitud más cercana a los que dicho estudioso denomina “eclecticos”,⁶² ya que “ciceroniano” implicaría cerrarse a diversas tendencias,

sociedad tan dinámica y exigente como la de la Europa de aquellos siglos; la modalidad apuleyana, por último, ha de situarse, por su modo de concebir la lengua latina como imitación casi exclusiva de un modelo, al lado del tipo ciceroniano, oponiéndose ambos justamente en la medida en que oponen sus respectivos modelos”. El autor oportunamente especifica a pie de página que el ciceronianismo no es diacrónicamente el primer tipo de prosa humanística, sino que le precedió otro, como el de Petrarca, comprometido con los autores clásicos, no con solo Cicerón, estilo que se dio más o menos hasta la primera mitad del *Quattrocento* y que Sabbadini califica de “original” frente al ciceroniano propiamente dicho que denomina de “imitación”.

⁵⁹ Ya por el peso de lo que llegara a convertirse en tradición, ya por el prurito de encomiar la indudable prestancia de su prosa a veces se ha insistido de manera tal en su ciceronianismo. Cf. Rivero García, *El latín*, p. 44, “Mucho ha pesado además en la catalogación de Sepúlveda como ciceroniano la opinión de Menéndez Pelayo, que ha arrastrado en bloque al resto de los estudiosos de este humanista”.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Opera*, III, 167-8, “Quod scribis, tibi esse in animo meis monitis parere, qui te peramanter hortatus sum, ut in studiis litterarum stilique ratione tibi optimum quemque, id est, Ciceronem Ciceronisque aequales ad imitandum proponeres, consilium tuum, cum ex meo manet, non possum non probare”, le decía a Sebastián León en carta remitida en 1546.

⁶¹ Cf. Rivero García, *El latín*, pp. 44-45, “... y así hay algo en Sepúlveda que lo aparta del ciceronianismo a la italiana, algo que está relacionado con las objeciones que el cordobés hacía a una literatura de vocación básica y aún principalmente estética”.

⁶² Rivero García, *El latín*, pp. 46-47, “Hemos de partir, por tanto, de la base de que Sepúlveda *tiende* a seguir los pasos de Cicerón, pero que jamás se siente tan comprometido con la estética como para sacrificar la claridad o fidelidad de lo que escribe. De aquí a la postura ecléctica, como veremos, apenas hay un paso”.

que de cualesquiera otros o — úsese la nomenclatura que se quiera, ya que las clasificaciones no agotan la realidad y son a veces puramente metodológicas — no comprometido ni con la estética de Cicerón — gustó de Cicerón, admiró a Cicerón, se propuso como modelo a Cicerón pero ni sacrificó en momento alguno la fidelidad y la claridad de su mensaje, como sí hicieron otros, por Cicerón ni, cuando se apartó de Cicerón, lo hizo, como sí hicieron otros, por necesidades técnicas como ausencia de léxico, sino por voluntad propia — ni con la de ningún otro autor o corriente contemporáneos hasta el punto de renunciar a la suya propia.

Y es que, por lo que a su aspecto formal se refiere, la obra sepulvedaiana es una muestra de la acentuada individualidad y solidez de criterio de su autor.

4. Conclusión

A través de estas dos reflexiones acerca de la *Antapologia* constatamos que Sepúlveda, por una parte, en materia religioso-doctrinal es un teólogo escolástico. Sin embargo, esto no implicó que adoptase la postura antierasmiana tan poco condescendiente y a menudo intransigente que, por las razones ya expuestas, adoptó la mayoría de sus contemporáneos italianos, como fue el caso de su propio mecenas, el príncipe de Carpi. Por otra parte, en materia estético-literaria, pese a su procedencia hispana, fue un consumado cultivador de los *studia humanitatis*. Sin embargo, esto tampoco hizo que adoptase la postura que, por las razones también expuestas, adoptó la mayoría de los italianos de su época respecto al fenómeno literario. Y es que en el primer tercio del siglo XVI italiano, nos encontramos con teólogos escolásticos poco partidarios del cultivo de los *studia humanitatis* y con humanistas que en estos estudios profesaron su más fervorosa fe. No son frecuentes, sin embargo, casos como el de Sepúlveda.

En efecto, la *Antapologia* es testimonio de una acentuada individualidad y de una sorprendente solidez de criterio, es testimonio de una singular asimilación cultural, pero es también testimonio de algo aún mucho más importante, en tanto que, creemos, trasciende con mucho la obra, a saber, es testimonio del consumado humanismo del autor, pese a estar inserto en unas coordenadas espacio-temporales que no correspondían ya al más puro Humanismo renacentista, tal como hemos expuesto su desarrollo desde el siglo XIV en Italia hasta el XVI fuera de

ella: porque Sepúlveda, primero, se apropió de los instrumentos filológicos que el Humanismo había producido en Italia — ¡lo mismo que hicieron los más preclaros humanistas del XVI, empezando por el mismo Erasmo! — y, segundo, usándolos como medio, los puso al servicio de las necesidades de su tiempo y sus circunstancias — ¡lo mismo que hizo Erasmo, “príncipe”,⁶³ “rey”,⁶⁴ “quintaesencia”⁶⁵ de los humanistas, si bien desde una postura menos astrictiva! — como constituyen una buena prueba su correspondencia científica con Erasmo y con otros tantos humanistas, su obra contra Lutero, su obra a propósito del divorcio de Enrique VIII, etcétera.

De esta manera concluimos nuestra reflexión sobre la *Antapologia*. Nos gustaría, no obstante, dejar apuntada una idea última: Sepúlveda, además de ser teólogo, no quiso dejar de lado los *studia humanitatis* y cultivar la faceta de humanista. Así lo hizo con notable prestancia. Sin embargo, razones varias, que no han lugar aquí, nos inducen a pensar que debió experimentar las distintas tensiones, que no siempre fueron fáciles de encajar, a que la faceta de teólogo y la faceta de humanista exponían, de manera, en esencia, igual a como fue desde la postura reformadora el caso de un Melanchthon, también teólogo y también humanista, como en su lugar quedó apuntado, pero esto es sólo un punto de partida para ulteriores estudios y ulteriores reflexiones... o, tal vez, un punto de llegada.

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⁶³ Cf. Schoeck, *Erasmus*, II (1993).

⁶⁴ Cf. J. Sperna Weiland e. a., *Erasmus. De actualiteit van zijn denken* (Amsterdam, 1986), p. 7.

⁶⁵ Cf. Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, p. 13.

Meta DE VRIES

DE LUCTUOSA FRISIAE OCCIDUAE ORIENTALISQUE
ET TOTIUS PENE BELGII
INUNDATIONE, ANNO M.D.LXX. CALEND. NOVEMB.
by Nanning van Foreest.
Edition of the Text with Introduction and Commentary

1. Introduction*

This article contains an edition of a short epic poem written in Latin by Nanning van Foreest ('Forestus', 1519-1592) about the flood of the 1st of November 1570 and titled: *De luctuosa Frisiae occiduae orientalisque et totius pene Belgii inundatione, anno M.D.LXX. Calend. Novemb. Carmen exhortatorium ad Frisios, Batavos, ac reliquos Belgas, ut quisque serio se ad poenitentiam comparet, atque iram Dei minantis graviora avertat.*

Before passing to the Latin text I will give some information about the author, his Latin school, the All Saints' flood of 1570 and the poem.

A short biography of Forestus

Nanning van Foreest was born in 1519 in Alkmaar into nobility¹. Here he went to the Latin School, whose rector was Petrus Nannius (perhaps a brother of his mother, Margaretha Nannings Beyers). He studied in Louvain, where Nannius at that time held a professorship, and he graduated as a doctor of law.

Around 1565 he became Secretary of Alkmaar. He adhered to the Reformed faith (one of his sisters was married to Cornelis Cooltuyn, an apostate priest) and belonged to a group of apostates who in 1566 made

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¹ For example: J. C. Kobus and W. de Rivecourt, *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland* (Arnhem-Nijmegen, 1886), 1, 545- 6.

a request to be allowed to practice the Reformed faith in the church of the Minorites. In 1568 he was banished by Alva because of his faith; his possessions were confiscated. He emigrated to Emden in northern Germany, where he stayed at the time of the inundation of 1570. As a consequence of this event he published his short epic in 1571. A part of it is purely descriptive while the main part is moralistic and protreptic. The political situation is an item of importance: the Reformed are in exile, wherefore the Spanish are called into account. As he tells us in his preface, the author after the disaster spent his time of leisure 'mihi uni versiculos aliquot ludere'. He decided to publish his poem to prevent posterity from getting a wrong idea of the disaster and to stimulate his contemporaries to be more pious.

In 1572 he returned from exile and was appointed Pensionary of Alkmaar. There he wrote a diary in Latin of the events during the Spanish siege in 1573. After elaborating his notes, he published them in 1574. This story was very much appreciated because of its exactness and credibility. A Dutch translation appeared in the same year². After the relief of Alkmaar he became active in politics. Among other things he contributed to the realization of the union between Holland and Utrecht and was a deputy of the States General in Brussels, Antwerp and Delft. Since 1581 he was in the employment of William of Orange and in 1582 he was appointed a member of the Supreme Court where he held office until his death in 1592.

He was married twice, the first time to Christina Queeckel, the second to Maria van Hattem. From these marriages he had four daughters and three sons. The famous surgeon Petrus Forestus (Pieter van Foreest) was his brother.

The Latin School

Forestus went to the Latin School in Alkmaar³. Here Antonius Liber from Soest was probably the first humanistic rector at the beginning of the 16th century (till 1506 or 1507). The instruction of Greek was

² Nannius Forestus Alcmarianus, *Brevis narratio de obsidione Alcmariana, quam post hebdomades septem, Anno 1573, Hispanus cum magno suo damno atque ignominia dimittere coactus est* (Delft, 1574); *Een cort verhael vande strenghe belegheringhe ende aftreck der Spangiaerden van de Stadt Alckmaer, gheleghen in Hollandt...wt het Latyn int Duytsch overgeset* (Delft, 1574).

³ See A. Visser, *Gedenkboek van het Murmellius Gymnasium, 1381-1954* (Alkmaar, 1954), pp. 12-42; P. N. M. Bot, *Humanisme en onderwijs in Nederland* (Utrecht, 1955).

introduced early, probably by Bartholomeus Coloniensis, who was rector from 1511 till 1513⁴. A certainty is that Rutger Rescius was appointed master of Greek in 1515. Between 1513 and 1517 the school flourished under the rectorship of Johannes Murmellius. He was famous as a writer of textbooks and pedagogical works and he published texts of classical and Christian writers and of Italian humanistic poets which were used in schools. Especially his *Pappa puerorum*⁵, destined for the first lessons in Latin, was frequently used. In his *Enchiridion*⁶ he gives an explanation of his pedagogical ideas. He published, among other things, works of Persius and Boethius.

As children attended the Latin School between the ages of 7 and 15, Nanning studied there under the rectorship of Petrus Nannius (1522? - 1535?) who would later hold a professorship at the university of Louvain. The time of prosperity had already passed. In 1517 Alkmaar had endured an invasion by the Guelders and in 1531 by the Danes⁷. This could be the reason why there are no archives about the school during this period. As a result the curriculum is not known.

Murmellius tells us in his *Scoparius*⁸ that he reads Terence and Vergil with his pupils, and also works from ancient and Neo-Latin Christian writers like Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Cyprianus, Lactantius, Boethius, Prudentius, Juvenius, Sedulius, Prosper, Leo, Arator, Ludovicus Bigus, Franciscus Picus, Baptista Mantuanus and Erasmus. It is reasonable to assume that these authors were found in the curriculum of Alkmaar.

In the curricula of other Latin Schools in the Netherlands one can find⁹ Terence (especially the *Andria*), Cicero (letters, orations, *De Officiis*, *De Senectute*), Vergil (*Bucolica*, *Georgica* and *Aeneis*), Horace, Ovid (*Metamorphoses*; *Heroides*; *Tristia*), *Disticha Catonis* (often used for the lessons in the lower classes) and Aesop (a translation in Latin).

⁴ Alexander Hegius, rector of the Latin School in Deventer (1483-1498), was the first in the Netherlands to introduce the teaching of Greek. Bartholomeus Coloniensis probably was a teacher in Deventer under Hegius.

⁵ In full: *Pappa puerorum esui atque usui percocta*; first edition in 1513.

⁶ In full: *Opusculum de discipulorum officiis, quod Enchiridium scholasticorum inscribitur*; published in 1505.

⁷ See for example: J. A. van Houtte c.s. ed., *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden* IV (Utrecht, 1952), p. 84 and 98, and Visser, *Gedenkboek*, p. 38.

⁸ The title '*Scoparius*' (broom) alludes to removing the 'barbarous' textbooks of the middle ages like the '*Doctrinale*' by Alexander de Villa Dei.

⁹ See: Bot, *Humanisme en onderwijs in Nederland*, pp. 153-159.

Moreover, at times Sallust, Plautus, Tibullus, Caesar and Plutarch (in a translation of Erasmus) were read. Popular Christian authors were Lactantius, Boethius and Prudentius, in addition to the 'modern' authors Erasmus and Baptista Mantuanus. It is remarkable that Ovid was considerably less popular than Vergil.

Versification was exercised with the aid of *Prosodia* by Cornelius Valerius¹⁰; *De duplici copia* by Erasmus was used to enlarge the 'copia verborum' and 'copia rerum'. The pupils at the higher levels were trained by working out a weekly theme in prose (epistolography) or in verse.

Actual textbooks for learning rhetorics are not mentioned. Instead *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *Partitiones Oratoriae* of Cicero were used. The teacher gave an extensive analysis of an oration (Cicero, Isocrates, Demosthenes) during the class reading.

As for Greek, the pupils read Hippocrates (*Aphorismi*), Aristotle (*Politica*), Xenophon (*Oeconomica*), Hesiod and Homer (to get acquainted with mythology), Isocrates, Demosthenes, Plutarch, John Chrysostome, St. Basil and the Holy Scriptures (New Testament). In some cases Theocritus, Lucian, Plato, Aesop, Phocylides and Euripides were also read. Aristophanes' plays were performed (in a Latin translation).

The All Saints' flood of 1570

In his poem Forestus describes the All Saints' flood of November 1st 1570. Together with the St. Elisabeth's flood on the 18th or 19th of November 1421, it is one of the most notorious floods in the history of the Netherlands. The flood was one of many. By reading the work of Elisabeth Gottschalk¹¹ one can readily see how much the Netherlands had to endure from floods caused by storms and rivers throughout the ages. The poem in question describes a very big disaster. The dikes and the dunes along the coasts of the North Sea from Flanders to as far north as Germany broke, as did the dikes of the Zuyder Zee, of the big lakes in North Holland and of many polders, causing inundations¹². The

¹⁰ Cornelius Valerius (Cornelis Wouters; 1512-1578) was a teacher of rhetorics in Utrecht under Macropedius. In 1557 he became a professor of Latin in Louvain.

¹¹ M. K. E. Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden en rivieroverstromingen in Nederland* I, II and III (Assen, 1975); for the All Saints' flood: pp. 624-696.

¹² *Resolutiën van de Staten van Holland; Registers van Holland en Westvriesland*. In the resolution of November 18th 1570 is spoken of 'de inundatie van bijna geheel Holland' ('the inundation of nearly all Holland'); Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 627.

Spanish believed that this event was a punishment from God for the iconoclastic fury of 1566¹³.

As for inundations, the entire year 1570 was disastrous. In the last days of January nearly all rivers had flooded their banks and drift ice had broken many dikes¹⁴. On the 10th of March a storm caused a small flood; accordingly the dikes were already in a weakened state¹⁵. After the disaster of November 1st, Friesland was flooded again on the 19th or 20th¹⁶ and the southwest of the Netherlands on the 28th or 29th of November¹⁷. To make matters worse a severe winter set in which continued till the second half of February¹⁸.

There are many sources containing information about this calamity, for example the diaries of contemporaries¹⁹; an account of a journey made by Gerard Vremdt, a merchant from Culemborg²⁰; a story in the form of a poem of J. Fruytiers²¹; letters²²; chronicles²³; a 'kerckeboek' (church book) from Eembrugge²⁴; petitions to and decrees and ordinances from Philip II and the Duke of Alva; notarial acts and reports²⁵, documents of urban and provincial magistrates²⁶ etc.

¹³ J. H. Been, *De Allerheiligenvloed van het jaar 1570* (The Hague, 1911), p. 38.

¹⁴ Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 697.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 622-4. Also: G. J. Fruytiers, *Corte beschrijvinghe van den ellendighen ende seer beclaghelicken watervloet...1 nov. 1570 etc.* (Leiden, 1614). Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 668f.: The dike near Spaarndam, south of the IJ, was repaired after the incurred damage; as a consequence it did not break in November.

¹⁶ Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 696; Fruytiers, *Corte beschrijvinghe*.

¹⁷ Just as on the 1st of November it was spring tide. Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 687.

¹⁸ Fruytiers, *Corte beschrijvinghe*: after the setting in of the thaw many corpses were still found, a big number of them unidentifiable.

¹⁹ For the diaries of Jean de Pottre, Philip van Campene and Egbert Alting: Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 839. For biographies: *Ibidem*, pp. 827-838.

²⁰ P. J. W. Beltjens, 'Geschiedkundige aantekeningen van Gerard Vremdt', *Bijdragen en mededelingen Gelre*, 44 (1941), 149-72.

²¹ Fruytiers was an eye witness: at the time of the calamity he was in East Friesland and he went to Holland shortly afterwards.

²² For example, a letter of Andries van der Goes, steward general of South Holland, to his brother-in-law (November 13th 1570). See Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 625.

²³ For example, *Kroniekje van Middelburg* (*Ibidem*, p. 642) and the chronicles of Valcooch, Velius and Rengers van ten Post (*Ibidem*, pp. 845-848).

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 679.

²⁵ For example, a report to Alva by B. Ernst, recorder at the Court of Holland (*Ibidem*, p. 654).

²⁶ For example, *Resolutiën van de Staten van Holland d.d. 13 December 1570*; petitions by Alkmaar, Huisduinen, Callantsoog and the northern part of the Schermer. See also: Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 671.

A spring tide occurred on the 1st of November 1570, two days after the new moon set in²⁷. The violent storm lasted for three days. Initially coming from the southwest, the wind later turned to the northwest²⁸. Since the time of high tide and low tide at the shores of Flanders and Groningen differs some eight hours and the water surges according to the geographical situation, high tide on the shores of Flanders and Zeeland occurred late in the afternoon²⁹ while on the shores of Friesland and Groningen late in the evening. Still later were the tides on the shores of the Zuyder Zee³⁰. Thus in the northern parts, people were taken by surprise in their sleep and had to escape in the dark. This fact explains the very large number of victims in Friesland and Groningen. Here the number of the dead amounted to a few thousand versus several hundred in North Holland³¹. In the south the number of drownings was relatively small.

The mean level of the water was calculated at about 4 m above N.A.P. (New Amsterdam watermark)³². Between Sneek and Kuinder it was possible to navigate everywhere with ships having a draught of about 8 feet (2,5 m)³³. Luckily the water in the rivers was not high; had this been the case the calamity still would have been much vaster³⁴. Apart from a few polders in Zeeland, land was not permanently lost.

²⁷ Two days after new moon and two days after full moon it is spring tide. H. Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Hannover, 1941).

²⁸ For example, Jean de Pottre (Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 625); Rengers van ten Post (Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 693); Gerard Vremdt (Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 636).

²⁹ The '*Kroniekje van Middelburg*' says that the water came into town late in the afternoon of the 1st of November. See also Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 839-43.

³⁰ Rengers van ten Post (*Ibidem*, p. 693) says that spring tide occurred in the night of the 1st to the 2nd of November; Velius remarks that in Hoorn the flood was highest at four o'clock in the morning (*Ibidem*, p. 677).

³¹ Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 625 and 681ff.: Andries van der Goes says in his letter he has heard that in Friesland the number of the dead was so large that they were thrown into a well by threes and fours as it was not possible to give them a decent burial. Forestus speaks in his foreword of twenty thousand dead in Friesland and seven thousand in Groningen; so his numbers are comparable to those of Fruytiers that are probably very exaggerated.

³² *Ibidem*, pp. 705-707. At Scheveningen the highest water level amounted to 4.15 m. above N. A. P.; to compare: during the flood of 1953 the highest water level was 3.72 m. above N.A.P.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 688: Winsemius.

³⁴ Andries van der Goes says about the level of the water in his residence Dordrecht: '...maer hier omtrent nyet al uyt so hooge, so wij geen opperwaeter (Godt heb loff) en hadden' ('...but not so high over here, as we had (thank God) no high water').

Much cattle drowned and the material damage was considerable. Of many villages in the dunes, like Callantsoog, Egmond-aan-Zee and Scheveningen, large parts were swept away³⁵. In Antwerp the cellars overflowed, and the losses of such goods as spices, sugar, butter, cheese, wine and rape seed oil were enormous³⁶. In a letter from the Bishop of Leeuwarden to Alva sea robbery is mentioned³⁷.

Many abandoned their brackish land; some of them should have become 'watergeuzen' (sea beggars)³⁸.

Many strange stories circulated. Houses floated away with their foundations³⁹; in Sneek and in Groningen a cradle with a child (in Sneek a cat was sitting on the cradle!) came floating by⁴⁰. It is reported that pieces of peat moor (Dutch: veen) floated from Friesland to the Sticht Utrecht where they formed hills, as is the case near Maarsseveen⁴¹.

Generally speaking the damages were repaired quickly. The long and severe winter that set in after the disaster was the most important cause of delay. In many cases a point of controversy was the question who should pay the costs; thus in Friesland the repair of some dikes was delayed for more than three and a half years. Many petitions were sent to Philip II for tax reductions or simply for help. Contemporaries mention services of prayer and processions asking for a rich harvest of seaweed to be used for the repair of the dikes⁴².

Some remarks about the poem

As it appears from the text Forestus was not a very gifted poet. Like many Neo-Latin poems, his work consists of a series of borrowings from the classics, the Vulgate, and works from Christian, medieval and probably also contemporary writers. In this way, the Latin Schools taught their pupils to compose poems; on finishing school one was at least a

³⁵ Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, II, 665: Andries van der Goes speaks about Scheveningen. The inhabitants of Callantsoog built a new village on a height (*Ibidem*, p. 675f.).

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 637: Fruytiers; p. 636: Jean de Pottre, Gerard Vremdt.

³⁷ Perhaps the 'watergeuzen' (water beggars).

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 627: Fockema Andreae.

³⁹ For example, Rengers van ten Post; *Ibidem*, p. 693.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 688: Winsemius. *Ibidem*, p. 73: one can find the story of the cradle in a letter written about 1514 by one Chrysostomus Neapolitanus. He also mentions that a ship sailed over land where was plowed and where carts used to drive in former days (compare Forestus, vs. 36vv.).

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 680: de Vries.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 676 and 677, note 1: Junius and Vierlingh.

tolerable versificator. Accordingly the prosody of Forestus' verses is quite good; the quantity of the vowels is right. Notice however the many expletives like 'et' and '-que' to complete the hexameters.

The many borrowings mostly refer to fragments of verses of two or three words that are used in quite a new context. There are also examples of use in a situation comparable to that in the original work. This is for instance the case in the verses 12-15 which nearly entirely consist of imitations and which tell us that the calamity took place at night. On one occasion an entire verse with the exception of one word has been copied (vs 14). There are also more extensive parts, the contents of which refer to a fragment of a classical text; for example vs 23-120 (cf. Ovid., *Met.* 1,283-312) and vs 422-426, a scene that describes the felling of trees. Many images are derived from the Holy Bible like the Flood (vs 246), the march through the Red Sea (vs 357v.), the parable of the wise and the foolish maidens (vs 258 and 432) and the dogs that swallow their own vomit (vs 283). Also borrowings from the ancient Christian writers occur and word combinations of medieval authors are probably used in a few cases. As far as poets like Juvenecus, Paulinus Nolanus or Prudentius are concerned, one can be almost certain that Forestus knew their works. However, that is not the case with a medieval author like Christianus Campililiensis (vs 373).

Mostly the work of Vergil and Ovid is imitated, but there are also borrowings from Lucan, such as vs 107: 'fluidae contagia pestis'. Further can be mentioned: Horace, Juvenal, Statius and Silicus Italicus and of the Christian authors: Augustine, Jerome, Juvenecus, Paulinus Nolanus, Prudentius and Arator. In the latter case however, the word combinations in question also occur in older poets who are better known, as is also the case with Baptista Mantuanus. To quote another example, Jacobus Locher is the only one to have 'nitidus' as an epithet for 'Olympus' (vs 341). Does that mean that Forestus knew the work of Locher, or did he 'translate' Homer (*Il.* 1,532; *Od.* 20,103)?

In spite of the many borrowings, one can point out much that is of Forestus' own invention. For example: the behaviour of the desperate people (vs 50-90), especially the scene with the burning ship (vs 80-90). Such a scene could be found nowhere else, just as the scene in which the children see the blood running out of the nose of their father (vs 113; similar scenes occur in Lucan's epic poem). The religious moralistic part (from vs 120 on) also contains original episodes, for example the short summary of the most important points of Calvinism (vs 142-154) and

the passage concerning the unfaithful (vs 186-194). Verse 168 is a 'sententia' that could not be found anywhere else ('namque sibi vivit locuples, sua curat, agitique') whereas words like 'holcas' (vs 235) or 'serere' (vs 235), at least with the signification it has here, do not occur frequently.

The poem's subdivision is clear. This surely is a consequence of the intensive teaching of rhetorics at the Latin Schools. The different subdivisions, sometimes distinctly subdivided in their turn, are stated in the margin:

- vs 1 - 11: Argumentum: invocation of Frisia; a short description of the contents.
- vs 12 - 22: The causes of the disaster: the darkness, the spring tide, the storm from the wrong direction.
- vs 23 - 120: The breaking of the dike and its consequences for people, goods and cattle.
- vs 121 - 271: Apostrophe to Frisia.
- vs 272 - 284: To the impious exiles.
- vs 285 - 321: To the exiles who do not adhere to the true faith.
- vs 322 - 341: To the pious exiles.
- vs 342 - 370: To the Spaniard.
- vs 371 - 411: To the impious who remain in their native country.
- vs 412 - end: Epilogue; from vs 440 on the Church speaks to Christ, as appears from the text in the margin.

The very long 'Apostrophe ad Frisiam' is marked by the use of the same words in the verses at its beginning and its end (vs 121v.: *celebranda...Frisia...toto...mundo*; vs 271: *Frisia...toto...celebraberis orbe*).

A note on the edition of 1571 and on the present edition:

- *edition 1571*: The title page of the poem contains the title and subtitle, the year of edition (1571), and the name of the author ('Nannio Forestio Alcmariano viro Nobili, Religionis ergo exulante auctore'). The name of the printer and the place where the work was edited are missing; there is no colophon. A small poem of four lines, in which the year and the date of the flood are mentioned, has been added:

Mille ac quingentos Christi numerabat ab ortu
Septenos Mundus deciesque his iunxerat Annos:
Sanctorum celebri festo, cum rumpitur agger
Friso tuus, latos et fluctus adobruit agros.

Fols. A2r/v and A3r/v contain the author's preface, followed by the poem on fols. A4r -C2r; there is no page numbering.

Apart from this poem the booklet contains four short poems (C2v - C3v), entitled: 'Dialogismus hospitis et poetae, de Belgico pardon', 'Inquisitorum exitus', 'De futura monachorum unitate' and 'Hispanorum cum pontificiis in Belgio societas'.

It is not known how many copies were printed; I have found two surviving copies, one in the Royal Library at The Hague and one in the Provincial Library of Friesland at Leeuwarden. The copy of the Royal Library was used for this edition.

- *present edition*: the spelling of the 1571 edition (there are no printing errors) was altered a little for the convenience of the reader; ligatures and abbreviations were expanded, u and v were distinguished and ij was written as ii. Some capitals were replaced by lower case characters. Also some characters were replaced or removed: b→v (deferbuit), c→t (e.g. concio), t→c (e.g. solatia), ch→c, y→i (e.g. lachrymis), ph→f (prophanis), th→t, ae→e (e.g. vaecordia), e→ae (tetra), oe→e; mulcta → multa; tanquam → tamquam. The punctuation was adapted in order to facilitate the reading of the text.

2. Text

Candido Lectori.

1. Quum ad pangendum istuc carmen primum accederem, nihil minus in animo erat, amice Lector, quam in manus hominum emittere quod ab arescentis venae meae lacunis manarat. Nam cum procul a domicilio fatalis iste cataclysmus Embdae me apprehendisset, transactis quae prae manibus erant negotiis familiaribus, ut in tam tristi tamque lacrimabili rerum omnium facie aliqua etiam vacui temporis atque otii ratio mihi constaret, coeperam mihi uni versiculos aliquot ludere, quibus origo seriesque huius calamitatis obiter annotaretur simul et paulo altius repeterentur causae propter quas universum paene Belgium tam luculenta inundationis clade Deus videtur involvisse. Atque id eo potissimum consilio tum parabam, cum ut recentis mali recordatione me meosque ad sanctioris vitae frugem excitarem, tum etiam ut lautioris ingenii poetis occasionem praeberem argumentum istud fusius pleniusque persequendi. Sed quum pii aliquot nec minus eruditi homines iudicarent in isto diluvio illustre admodum divinae ultionis exemplum

mundo proponi, cuius memoriam posteritati quoque proditam oportuit, rogantibus item ac cohortantibus amicis, malui informem meum foetum potius in publicum dare quam historiae huius qualibuscumque monumentis fraudare posteros. 2. Etsi enim exceperam meum istud rude et incultum poema suavitate modulorum ac nervis orationis deficere nec iustum in contexendo carmine ordinem ac rationem observare, nonnihil tamen ad corrigendos hominum mores energiae atque momenti habiturum sperabant, quod mirabilis iste fluctus in illum ipsum diem incidisset, quo Pontifex amplissimas suas peccatorum condonationes Batavis Frisiisque clauserat. Nam hactenus Matris, ut vocant, Ecclesiae gremium ad obtinendam admissi omnis veniam patere cuculli nostri vociferabantur, in posterum omnem gratiae spem praeclusam fore. Nec vero dubium, quin vatum istorum praedictiones infelix quorundam et inopinatus exitus ratas fuisse comprobarit, quoniam multis, qui suscepto nuper Christi Evangelio impuri Papatus confessionem praetulerant, dies ille supremus fuit, ne tantillo quidem temporis spatio ipsis relicto, ut tam nefariae defectionis culpam deprecari potuerint. Ceteri autem, quibus exaestuantis oceani incursus bona ac facultates abstulit, reliquit vitam, strage ista propius admonentur, ne dum Papae genibus proni advolvuntur, indulgentias eius avidae complexi in ista hypocrisi suarum rerum stabilimentum situm esse putent. Siquidem ut maxime sectorum rapacitatem sua perfidia evaserint, docuit tamen eventus declinatis etiam Hispanorum insidiis longe plures adhuc Deo vias ac rationes superesse, quibus pervicaces istos idololatrias fortunulis suis semel exuat. 3. Nam in occidua Frisia hominum viginti, in agro Groningano septem, pecorum vero septuaginta milia fluctus extinxisse dicitur, nec multo minus in re pecuaria damnum orientalis Frisia sustinuit; homines inibi ad tria milia aquis demersi consumptique creduntur. Quia vero novis quotidie flagris ac verberibus coercitum a Deo populum videmus de morum suorum foeditate nihil admodum remittere, sed potius obstinate malum ac paenitere nescium veluti obdurescere ad plagas, dum alia aliis scelera superadduntur, pertinacia ista atque improbitas adegit me, ut in cuiusvis ordinis ac conditionis homines styllum peculiariter converterem, pro re nata hortatus omnes, ut illucescentem passim Evangelii veritatem iusta vitae sanctimonia ornent. Ecclesiae administros, qui functionis suae partes pari et fide et diligentia obeunt qua decet laude ac reverentia prosequor ac omnino votis expetendum censeo, ut monitis ipsorum ac castigatissimis moribus reliqui omnes respondeant. Porro in eos, qui in Ecclesiae societatem recepti mox a primo confessionis zelo atque ardore desciscunt ad torporem et

ignaviam vel ad eiurati Papatus execrandas abominationes foede relabuntur, qua par est vehementia atque acrimonia verborum invehimur, quod hi sua praevaricatione quam plurimos a retinendo purioris doctrinae studio avertant ad consimilem rerum divinarum profanationem, illi vero praetermittendae religionis atque etiam contemnendae aliis autores sint. Magistratum vero, qui et ipse in officio sit, modeste admonuimus, ut subeuntibus pedetentim malis tempori occurrat, futurum alioqui ut quorundam impietas et consceleratio insignem aliquam in rempublicam cladem sit illatura. 4. Quem enim alium quaeso finem et exitum recoctae suae nequitiae facient athei quidam, schismatici, fures, usurarii ac reliqua immunditiae colluvies, quibus pro ludo est omnis virtutis ac religionis nervos incidere, quam qui cum totius gentis ruina erit coniunctus? Furum ea pervicacia est, ut ne in ipso quidem iniustitiae rapinaeque caelesti supplicio ab alieno abstineant. Imo unde depraedandi licentia omnis cohiberi debuit, dum vident sua et aliorum facinora atrocissime a Deo puniri, inde tamquam oblata occasione ad diripiendas proximorum opes exstimulantur. Norunt virginum stupratores, norunt et moechi propositam libidinibus suis ac flagitiis impunitatem, quod legis Iuliae rigor vel pecuniaria multa commutatus sit vel e politica gubernatione prorsum sublatus. Et profecto solutis ita legum ac civilis disciplinae vinculis, dum publicorum iudiciorum severitas poenarumque animadversio magis atque magis laxatur, quid obsecro aliud in rebus publicis expectamus, quam immanem brevi barbariem ac vastitatem? 5. Sed et eos, qui ob professionem veritatis volunt videri patria pulsi, carminis nostri mucro petit, quoniam in iis sint, qui non decus aliquod atque ornamentum amplissimo civitatis ordini concilient, sed calumniis odiosaque criminatione ignominiam inurant ac probrum, non Ecclesiam cohonestent vitae innocentia atque integritate, sed quae secum domo extulerunt vitia in sanctam civitatem infundant, vel eo etiam nomine in suam gentem iniurii, quod ab ipsorum turpitudine et infamia reliquorum etiam vita aestimetur. 6. Ad ultimum nec eos a censura ac Musae meae notis exemi, qui Hispanis in Belgio ancillantur vel perfidiosa Christi abnegatione vel subministrato ipsis vectigali, quod in necem sanctorum iampridem imperarunt. Quos certe, ut Hispanorum impuritati se studiose conformant, eadem cum ipsis poenae atrocitas quandoque manet. Nam si a domo sua castigatio- nis ac vindictae exordium Deus facit, dum electos suos novis subinde flagellis aerumnisque duriuscule accipit, quis ambigit quaeso, quin in istos hypocritas, quibus carius est veteratorium illud diaboli mancipium quam servator Iesus Christus, omnem omnino iram sit effusus?

Extremum enim calicis, in quo furoris sui vinum miscuit, illis tandem ebibendum asservatur. 7. Ceterum nemo existimet me aut odio cuiusquam aut maledicentiae et procacitatis libidine ad hanc reprehensionis acerbitatem devenisse. Equidem Deum testor me in isto carminis genere deducendo hunc praecipue finem ac scopum habuisse praestitutum, ut quos longius a recto voluptatis ac senescentis mundi delirium abduxisset quam primum ab istis malorum illecebris se extricando redirent in viam, positoque ob oculos memorabili isto caelestis irae documento quasi ultima Dei ipsius admonitione ad Ecclesiae saepta sese mature reciperent, quos aut inscitia et error aut malignitas atque contumacia a sanctorum communione exterminaverat. Ita fiet, ut qui iram Domini sua transgressione in se provocarunt emendationis vitae instituto gratiam eius consequantur. Quod si quis sanis consiliis in totum aures suas obserandas duxerit, ut est inveterata et inexpiabilis quorundam malitia, age illum sinamus in suis sordibus magis magisque obbrutescere, quantisper Deo visum fuerit aut ipsum furoris sui aestu protinus convellere, aut mentem illi dare meliorem. 8. Orabimus autem Deum, ut in quibus vindictae suae virga nihil hactenus profecit, eos novis potius beneficiis ac paterna clementia ad resipiscentiam verumque numinis sui timorem flectat, quo tandem patriae suisque redditu miserrimi exules et pietatis ergo profugum cum pacatae mentis longe suavissimo testimonio per omnem vitam ipsi serviant a quo et vitam se habere agnoscunt et caelestis immortalitatis beatitudinem in Christo Iesu Domino nostro. Amen. Vale longum in Domino.

DE INUNDATIONE anni M.D.LXX.

Argumentum huius opusculi.

- 1 Frisia, quas passa es clades ac tristia mecum fata canas, memoraque tuis quae fluctus in agris damna dedit, pecorumque greges armentaque mersit, consumpsitque tuos ad millia multa colonos.
- 5 Asper ut incubuit Boreas, atque impete magno irrumpens trepidas fecit nutare per urbes tecta, mari cellas et aquis implevit adauctis, disiecitque rates rupitque tenacia lina illisique vado tumidis et fluctibus hausit.
- 10 Perdidit et merces avidus mercator ab Indis quas retulit magnoque vigil cumularat acervo.

Diluvii
causae.

- Tempus erat cum languentes sopor irrigat artus
 corporaque alterna reparantur fessa quiete,
 quum silet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres
 15 concubiaeque aegri mortales nocte recumbunt.
 Iam vires Amasus refluo aquaesiverat aestu
 Oceani tumidusque novis increverat undis,
 et quae crescendo reparabat cornua Phoebe
 turbarat pelagus, nigris ac marmora ponti
 20 fluctibus ad saevi Boreae spiramina movit.
 Autumnusque freto, subeuntis et horrida brumae
 asperitas ventis vim conciliaverat auctis.
 Ergo maris crebro pulsatus verberare tandem
 dissilit et magno molimine rumpitur agger,
 25 nequicquam posito tutatur et obice terras.
 Invenit unda viam maris et retinacula vasti
 transcendit victrix subitoque fragore per omnes
 diffundit sese campos, agrisque receptus
 Neptunus primum valles fossasque patentes
 30 implet aquis, deinceps invadit et herbida prata
 nec sinit innocuo pecori sua pascua; colles
 vallibus exaequat rapidis complanat et undis.
 Cuncta maris praebent speciem, sunt omnia pontus.
 Nil nisi caeruleum videas mare. Totus inundat
 35 campus et insuetas reddit pro gramine lymphas.
 Et quod iter pedibus fuerat, qua vectaque nuper
 plaustra via, naves nunc unda volubilis unctas
 accipit, et — quod mireris — fit semita magnis
 holcadibus celeresque palam vehit apta carinas.
 40 Iam natat in campis pecus atque immergitur alto
 discurrentque boves miseri multoque boatu
 auxilium implorant frustra: perit ipse bubulcus
 ac nivei custos gregis et delectus equiso,
 Sternunturque casae, nec pauperis arcta tuguri
 45 tecta manent humilesque ruunt a culmine villae.
 Augescitque magis superatque cacumina fluctus
 victor et evertit muros et diruit aedes.
 Ignarosque mali complures caeca ruina
 opprimit involvitque simul mergitque sub undis.
 50 Nititur ille suos in tuto ponere natos

Effectus
et eventa
eius.

- conscenditque domum; mediis conatibus undae
 mole sua raptum perimunt, frustra parentem
 inclamat soboles. Alibi quae matris in ulnis
 ridet adhuc proles subito divellitur et se
 55 extingui nescit; gelidis in fluctibus unam
 spectat adhuc matrem vagitu et poscit inani.
 Illic e cunis excussus volvitur infans
 materno et pro lacte miser salsum imbibit amnem.
 Est etiam patri palmas qui tendit utrasque,
 60 dumque vadum laetus sentit — miserabile visu —
 deiicitur ventis et aquis mox oppetit haustus.
 Pignoribusque orbata suis spe gentis et omni
 haeret in amplexu coniunx multoque maritum
 ploratu retinet, lacrimis et murmura miscet
 65 osculaque ingeminat moriensque novissima dicit
 verba: 'Vale, vir, vive meae pars altera vitae
 coniugiique memor nostri partaeque salutis
 in Christo, donec tua te quoque fata vocabunt.'
 Dixerat. Abreptam vortex resonantibus undis
 70 involvit rapidus frustra retinente marito.
 Conscendunt alii disiectae culmina villae
 consilii inopes credunt se fluctibus alto
 iactanturque mari, mediaque in morte salutis
 spem retinent mediis nec adhuc moriuntur in undis.
 75 Illum avulsa vehunt lapsi tabulata tuguri
 incolumemque aliquo sistunt in colle, sed illic
 undique dum stagnum cingit notaeque paludes
 carpit dura fames ac frigoris aura diurni
 extinguntque inopi sensim ieiunia victu.
 80 Sunt et qui navem scandunt vivaque favilla
 asportant ignes ac lumina noctis opacae.
 Dumque Aquilo premit ac puppis latus urget in unum
 flamma vorax tabulas piceamque improvida lambit
 consumitque ratem. Miseri iam puppe vagantur,
 85 iam prora fatumque student vitare propinquum
 dum licet. At postquam latebras omnesque recessus
 ignis edax rapuit totamque incendia navem
 depascunt, inopes desperataque salute
 in mare praecipites se dant mortemque sub undis

90 quam fugere prius facilem iam optare videntur.

Gurgite iactantur merces, operosa supellex,
culcitra, pulvini, sellae, cum vestibus uda
stragula, cum mensis orbes, mantilia, mappae,
quicquid et in rigidae seponit tempora brumae
95 oeconomus natisque parens pro frigore condit
immersum fluitat liquidis ac volvitur undis.
Illic haeret equus vaccaeque feruntur adaucto
flumine, nec quicquam praeter sua tergora reddunt
calcifici; marcent sanie iam viscera putri.

100 Grex ovium raptus vehitur, cum matribus agni,
uvida pastori referunt et vellera maesto.
Iamque freto videas proiecta cadavera toto
et campis, veteri postquam se condidit alveo
flumen, et insolito tellus iam libera fluctu
105 exeruit sese tumulos nudataque priscos
extulit. Inde gravi suavis vitatur odore
aër et exhalat fluidae contagia pestis.

Extinctos numerare viros matresque nurusque
quis queat? Enectum gestant praesepia partum,
110 patris et heic lateri consumptus filius haeret.
Atque alibi carae genitricis ab ubere pulsus
exanimis rapitur mediis in fluctibus infans.
Defunctique patris taetrum fudere cruorem
admotis nares natis — mirabile dictu.

115 Hacque nota sobolem mater iam lumine cassam
agnoscit misera et lacrimis irrorat obortis.
Expulsamque salo servatus forte maritus
invenit uxorem complexu et tollit inani,
condit et effosso iam lurida membra sepulcro
120 defunctaeque pius supremum solvit honorem.

Apostrophe
ad Frisiam.

At tu quae sacris Vatum celebranda Camenis
Frisia, quam toto facit inclarescere mundo
relligio reliquis et eo te nomine praefers,
quamque olim a populis seiungunt sacra profanis:
125 ne, precor, insultes aliis quos proxima tecum
involvit clades ac iusti numinis ira.
Iudicis ad Christi nec te subsellia iactes
ac si prae reliquis pietas tua sanctaque morum

- luceat integritas. Repetas qui frugibus olim
 130 protinus absumptis te divexarit egestas
 quaeque tuis fuerit praedura penuria tectis,
 et quae iam totos octo grassata per annos
 pestis erat multosque lue confecerat atra;
 denique quod nuper bellum vicinus et hostis
 135 inque tuis gessit victricia proelia campis,
 degeneri cladem populo exitiumque minatus
 civibus attonitis urbique novissima fata.
 An non ista Dei ferulam iustumque loquuntur
 iudicium? Caeco voluntur an omnia lapsu,
 140 humanisque Dei nec adest prudentia rebus,
 atque his a curis caelo contenta quiescit?
 At vide, larga tibi Patris indulgentia nostri
 quid dederit: lustris Verbum iam credidit octo,
 quae reliquisque negat nati pia dogmata Christi
 145 contulit ille tuis, sacroque a sordibus amne
 abluit innatis Christo et donavit habendos
 faucibus ereptos Orci Satanaeque maligno.
 Atque epulis mensaque velut dignatus amicos
 foedere quam Christus renovato sanxerat illis,
 150 labe sua puros, quos in sua regna recepit
 signavitque fide, donis et spiritus auxit
 ipse sui mundique bonus selegit ab omni
 colluvie, reliquisque Dei quos ira gehennae
 destinat et reprobos merito damnabit ob ausus.
 155 Cuius in obsequium sed quae modo flectere dotes
 debuerant verumque tibi genuisse timorem
 contemptum peperere Dei. Nam copia rerum
 exiit in fastum dives, crevitque repostis
 cum numis auri sitis ac furiosa cupido.
 160 Proque metu superum iusto subit anxia census
 sollicitudo, labor, retinendi et cura perurit.
 Et iam fratris amor solitus studiumque iuvandi
 frigescit; vilis sequitur compendia quaestus
 mercatorque sui caecis commercia technis
 165 fallit et incautos opibus denudat avitis,
 quodque daret fratri ventri largitur amicus
 ipse suo latamque avide converrit in arcam.

- Namque sibi vivit locuples, sua curat agitque,
 atque inopis pretio non iusto comparat agrum
 170 vicinique suis adiungit praedia fundis,
 pauperibus reliquum toto ut nil fiat in orbe.
 Si quis et expulsus patria peregrinus oberrat
 exiguamque aliis sedem disquirat in oris,
 illum mox onerat merces duplicata, locator
 175 ante diem loculos miseroque exhaurit egentes.
 Fundandisque novis congesta pecunia servit
 aedibus. Ad luxum referuntur et omnia, nec quae
 in pretio fuerat priscis frugalis in usu
 sobrietas hodie remanet, pretiosaque solum
 180 quaeque gravat dominum sumptu nunc vestis habetur.
 O, quo te rapuit, gens clara, libidinis aestus?
 Pristina quo recidit pietas tua? Nescis, an in te
 impietas latitet, cui fit pro numine venter
 proque Deo Mammon? Sunt, o sunt dogmata patrum
 185 doctrinamque novo qui turbent schismate Christi.
 Sunt quibus et Christus sit vulgi fabula, Moses
 futilis, insulsus Petrus, quis Paulus et erro
 spermologusque, sui coetus mendacibus aures
 qui nugis implet cauponaturque popellum.
 190 Ridenturque minae Legis, ridetur et ipsum
 sanguine firmatum Christi ceu foedus inane.
 Scripturis iam nulla fides, oracula Vatum
 quicquid et afflatu sacro scripsere prophetae
 humano eludunt ceu sint conficta cerebro.
 195 Inde gulae studium, magnoque instructa paratu
 mensa placet dubiae et numerantur fercula cenae.
 Quaeque famem invitent tenero condita palato
 censentur sumptu multoque obsonia missu.
 Ventris et ingluvies alitur nullisque replenda
 200 lautitiis crescit, misit quas altera tellus.
 Nec quae vina novo mercator devehit orbe
 exquisita sitim sedant. Incensa bibendo
 ebrietas, nullo augebit reprimendaque potu.
 Cauponam nunc scurra frequens, nunc lurco tabernas
 205 insidet, obsceno cantu et clamore bibonum
 tecta strepunt, vomitu fluitat spurcataque crudo

- mensa atque eiectam redolent cenacula bilem.
 Crassaque disperdit totos cerevisia vicos,
 haurit et hausta suos nudatque necatque colonos.
- 210 Absumptisque semel rebus numoque profuso
 exuit et cerebro divinae mentis et usu
 ac veluti brutum reddit sine pectore corpus.
 Securum non ulla Dei reverentia pectus,
 non Orci metus attingit, terrorque verendi
- 215 numinis ex animis cessit, neglectus et ordo
 sacrorum, caeloque dati mysteria verbi
 spreta iacent Christi et sancto cum foedere pacta
 conventus certosque piis mandantia ritus.
 Tam male securos laetis opulentia rebus
- 220 ac pacis diuturna quies sortisque secundae
 perpetuus fecit tenor immemoresque Parentis
 concedentis opes tranquillae et munera vitae.
 Quaeque tuos olim cives urbemque beatam
 reddiderat rerum ubertate ac divite gaza,
- 225 relligio germana suis onerata laborat
 divitiis, censu ingratoque coacta recedit.
 Interea recubas et in aurem stertis utramque
 securamque trahis tranquilla per otia vitam,
 nec quas aut pestes foveas aut ulcera plebis
- 230 taetra tuae recolis tecum nec mente volutas.
 Praeconisque sacri non vox ita personat aures
 in rigidive subit verbum penetralia cordis,
 ut te paeniteat sceleris vitaeque pudendos
 devites lapsus, priscos mutataque mores
- 235 deinde seras. Igitur superi clementia regis
 quid faciat? meritone tuas subverteret urbes
 atque in te quicquid vitiosum est, perdat et omnem
 sentinam expurget scelerum lernamque malorum?
 Reliquiasque simul coetus populique fidelis
- 240 protinus excindat? Vetat hoc sed gratia Christi
 foederis ac sacri ratio. Quos Martis iniqui
 non horror, rapidae non et discrimina pestis
 emendant, arctaeque famis non tempora flectunt,
 illos temptat aquis, surdas percellit et aures
- 245 dum maris incurrit tumidi et circumstrepit unda

diluviique refert quaedam vestigia prisci.

Et quia non passa es legis te voce moneri
nec cohibere tuum poterant promissa furorem,
queis Deus alliciat populum sua iussa sequentem,
250 admotum propius flagrum et ceu contio viva
auribus insonuit patulis oculisque soporem
ignavum excussit. Plaga isthaec nuntiat iram
vindictamque Dei iustam, suprema tonantis
est Patris vox ista tui: 'Iam corrige mores
255 ac sordes absterge tuas, stabulumque repurga
iussa tui coetus, redeunti sponsaque Christo
libera ducatur maculis rugisque vocantem
ad caelos sponsum lychnisque instructa sequatur.'

Quod si te non cura gregis, non debita tangit
260 sollicitudo, atrum quod vulnus et insidet alte
non sanas coetumque malum quod serpit in omnem
non removes, tollet populum subitaque ruina
tectae tuae forsā vindex Deus obteret urbis.
Pristinus at si te zelus, si primus et ardor
265 afficiat motuque ferat tua pectora sancto,
si mores sectere patrum, Christoque subactam
te tradas carnemque domes conversa, ministris
ac tanto dignos fructus sudore rependas,
avertet cladem leni clementia vultu
270 placatque Patris gravior mox desinet ira,
Frisia iam melior toto et celebraberis orbe.

Ad peregrinos,
quorum hypocrisis
diuturnioris
exilii difficultates
et aerumnae detegunt.

Tu quoque quem patria iam pridem et dulcibus arvis
expulsum impietas alibi conducere tectum
cogit et ignotas peregrinum errare per oras:
275 fac vereare Deum caeleste et numen honores,
affectuque colas puro iussumque sequare
relligionis opus certa praescriptaque lege.
Ac coetus reverenter habe sanctique senatus
concilium, pudeat nec te dare nomina Christo
280 misericordiae gregi lecto. Fac et tua sacros
conventus ornet probitas urbemque patresque
laude vehat merita. Patria nam sede repulsos
accipit hospitio nos et dignatur amico
ac iure ignotos aequat cum civibus uno.

- 285 An quid et officio dignum meritisque rependis
talibus? An iusto benefactum fenore reddis?
At tua iam sacris pietas operata remittit,
languescit zelus vetus ac deferbuit ardor.
Succedit vitium tandem et virtute reiecta
- 290 omne nefas subit ac nuper reprobata voluptas.
Ille gregem cui se dederat confessus in ipso
limine relinquit vani fallacia mundi
gaudia complexus, fluxis ac rebus inhaeret.
Alter deformat coetum maculatque pudendis
- 295 moribus, immerito patrum collegia probro
sanctaque proscindit mundo et ridenda propinat.
Colluviesque probos agitat blasphema ministros
sugillatque palam conficto et crimine reddit
exosos. Quaeque ipse domi non praestat iniquus
- 300 arbiter a sociis ac fratribus exigit, horum
nec vitium lance expendit leve censor ab aequa.
Sunt etiam — et sancta passim nunc urbe vagantur —
quorum non virtus, non et civilis honestas
sed caedes, fraus atque dolus, periuria, furtum,
- 305 praedaeque censetur miseris abducta. Quid hospes
rellinquis patriae fines pietatis et ergo
iactabas, ac si terris consederis istis?
Anne Dei noras fulmen penetrare trisulcum
ac longinqua brevi percurrere climata? longas
- 310 vindicis esse manus, sontes ac prendere quovis
posse loco? Tandem sapias ac strage propinqua
discito iustitiam monitus numenque vereri
armatum flagris poenarum et verbere saevo.
Iudicis evasit gladios homicida? Parato
- 315 laetantur fures spolio praedaeque fruuntur?
Effugit et poenam meretrix ac foedus adulter
carnificisque trucem declinat perfidus ensem?
Ultor adhuc scelerum superest Deus. Ille nocentes,
ille reos ferit infandos et punit ob ausus,
- 320 multat et insuetis undis pontoque coercet
immissoque docet tandem respiscere fluctu.
At tu, quem retinet pietas istisque morari
relligio facit in terris, quem regula sanctae

liquis bonis
diluvis ab-
sumptis, dis-
cant in Deo
fiduciae suae
ancoram
collocare.

- 325 commendat vitae moresque probantur honesti,
ne posthac confide tuis exutus opellis,
neque tuae vires hominumque potentia vana
neque domus fundata solo te muniat. Istis
nam quae nixa fuit dominum spes stulta fefellit.
Una Deus tibi sit fiducia, solus et ille
330 spem faciat rebusque animum tibi firmet in arctis.
Pabula consumpsit Nereus? sunt pascua nostro
multa Deo. Fluctus labefactas subruit aedes?
terra tamen Domini est, alios dabit ille penates.
Aut tectis maeres vacuis orbata marito?
335 Aut natos genitrix frustra deposcis adeptos?
Caelestis fac te soletur gratia Patris
in Christoque tibi dispendia sarciat uno.
Ille dabit quas quaeris opes alimenta tuisque
sufficiet sanctos vitae frugalis in usus.
340 Tu modo fide Deo, qui te post temporis huius
aerumnas nitido tandem donabit Olympo.
Tuque, o, qui faciles rerum tibi sumis habenas
inque meos Belgas exerces regna, nec una
servitii ratione premis populumque fidelem
345 denudas opibus patria et procul urbe repellis,
nonne vides, qua se virtute potentia magni
ingerat illa Dei, terras populetur et uno
conturbet pelagus nutu scelerumque repente
puniat artifices caecis demergat et undis?
350 Intuleras Christo bellum coetuque subacto
ipsius optatam pacem longamque quietem
sperabas, sed qui stellantis lucida caeli
templa tenet vanos conatus risit et omnem
illusit belli molem faciliq[ue] procella
355 ac maris obsequio docuit nihil esse tyranni
consilium promptasque minas studiumque nocendi.
Qui genus Abramidum Phariis quum excederet arvis
servavit merso hostili cum milite rege,
hac iam tempestate monet, nisi protinus istam
360 exueris mentem sacros Christoque clientes
restituas, veteri dones et iure receptos
atque Dei verbo puris ac ritibus ornes,

Admonetur
Hispanus,
ne miserae
plebis reli-
quias novis
collectis
exhauriat, sed
pristinam
Belgio
libertatem
reddat.

Apostrophe
ad hypocri-
tas, qui dum
tuendarum fa-
cultatum stu-
dio, in pa-
tria haerent,
ad abnegatam
idolatriam
relabuntur.

- mox te cumque tuis inopino turbine sternet
immergetque mari fusi vel sanguinis unda.
- 365 Quin potius sapias aliena clade maloque,
disce Deum metuisse tuos et pondere pressos
non aequo relevare manum praebereque lapsis
atque inopes implere bonis ac reddere tectis.
Iam nova te pietas passim cantabit et Orco
- 370 praereptum caelo civem post fata locabit.
Nec te (quem patriae remorantur commoda, gazae
cura tuae dudum et natali detinet urbe
involvitque luto mundi rebusque profanis)
ultio praeteriit velox caelestis et ira.
- 375 Nuper adhuc sacros coetus pars magna colebas
atque frequens aderas sanctorum ad pulpita Vatum
nobiscum et faciles verbi praeconibus aures
praebebas, sed cum furiae iam tempora mutant
nec verbum retinere sinit Christumque fateri
- 380 impius, heic omnis retro spes lapsa refertur.
Moxque animi recidunt prorsus Christoque negato
accedunt parti adversae Satanaeque ministris,
ad vomitumque canes redeunt, mundataque rursum
se maculat caeno sus ac lutulenta vagatur.
- 385 Quo miseros fucatus honos aurique parata
congeries adigit? vero mendacia, ritus
confictus Domini iussis praefertur, ad unum
omnia detorquent quaestum genuinaque semper
cedere relligio, si sit damnosa, iubetur.
- 390 Sed dum sic fucos adhibes, quis, hypocrita, fructus?
Quae fuit utilitas hominum mandata secuto?
An servavit opes fundos et hypocrisis amplos?
Num famae decus ac nomen defendit avitum?
'Nempe stylum evasi', dices, 'sectoris avari
- 395 neque rapax quaestor nostram prorupit in arcam'.
Non tamen et Dominum sic effugis illius et non
evadis dextram, iussi cui protinus omnes
ad nutum parent elementaque cuncta sequuntur
quaque valent virtute alto famulantur Olympo.
- 400 Ergo licet tonitru cesset nec fulgura toto
discurrant caelo, lapidosae grandinis imber

Epilogus,
quo admo-
nentur om-
nes, ut ad
Christi redi-
tum se suaque
omnia com-
ponant.

- absit et a motu tellus stabilita quiescat,
ille tamen latices ac fontibus ora relaxat
concussoque mari virga ceu vindice perdit
405 foedifragos Christique sui qui dogmata produunt.
Quicquid et effuso dederat tibi copia cornu
in multosque tuis cumularas providus annos,
devorat oceanus momento absorbet et uno
ludificatque suis undis ac fallit avarum.
410 Dumque studes rapidam cautus vitare Charybdim,
incidis in Scyllam nec te tua cura tuetur.
At iam quisque suae maculas ac crimina vitae
inspiciat scelerumque notas rimetur, iniquas
lugeat et fraudes ac turpia facta parentum
415 relligio quibus est cultu temerata profano.
Quisquis es, ad vitae frugem melioris et annos
aspira priscos, qui te videre paratum
ad nutumque Deo facilem parere nec istas
amplecti nugas praesentis et irrita saeculi
420 somnia. Nam propius nostras iam vellicat aures
hortaturque Deus tonitruque nec intonat uno,
ictibus ac resonat crebris impacta securis
radicemque ferit, parat et librata ruinam.
Iam nudata comis arbor, nudataque ramis
425 inclinat graviter, iam summa cacumina nutant,
et dum cultori nullos ingrata rependit
fructus aeternis mox excidenda paratur
materies flammis alimentum et flebilis Orci.
Christus adest sponsamque vocat, si lumina somnus
430 altus habet mentemque tenet vecordia nostram.
Ingressu arcebit caeli et penetralibus ipsis
virgine cum fatua, fidei cui deficit igne
atque oleo lampas operum nec lucet eunti.
Evigila, reditum Dominus parat, adsis et illum
435 expecta promptus. Quod si male sanus inersque
te vino repleas ventrem carnisque sequare
delicias, veniet noctu quam nescis ad horam
incautumque premet mediumque secabit et igne
plectet inextincto tenebris et perpetue fletu.
440 At tu, Christe, veni, venias, servator Iesu,

Ecclesiae in

hac extrema
mundi se-
necta ad
Christum
oratio.

- rumpe moras, claraque polus te nube remittat,
ceu solito vectum curru rapidisque quadrigis.
Eia age, matura adventum caeloque relicto
adsis et ad gemitus properes et vota tuorum,
445 extorres patria quos pridem saeva tyrannis
natalique solo peregrino cogit in orbe
tectum eblandiri angustum, vitalis et auram
spiritus ac reliquum vitae mercede pacisci.
Persequitur sannis vicinia tota reosque
450 pro merito clamat poenis caelestis et irae
tormentis subdi, quin et sua fata maligni
adscribunt nobis; ipsi quod et ante nefandis
flagitiis meruere piis hoc imputat ausis
improbitas celeremque necem rabiosa minatur,
455 Christe, tuis, vili tellus nec inhospita tecto
innocuos posthac secum admissura videtur.
Quamque dabas nuper parvis solacia natis
uxorique casam maris invidiosa procellis
sustulit unda, tuis vitae consumpsit et omnis
460 subsidium rerumque inopes et fecit egenos,
ut nec corporibus superent sua tegmina nudis
improba queis pellant grassantis frigora brumae,
nec tenuis stomacho latranti victus et esca
suppetat. Expectent et adhuc terrisque clientes,
465 Christe, tui sperent aliquid? Procul urbe domoque
exutique bonis multos crudele per annos
exilium subeunt odiisque premuntur iniquis.
Terra nisi laqueos spirat, nil praeter et ignes
ac gladios, et si quid adhuc hostile, minatur,
470 undivagosque fretum fluctus crebraque procella
eiaculatur aquas subitis nos perdit et undis.
Mitior et si non famulis aspirat Olympus
cultoresque Deus nec ab aethere respicis alto,
labentur sanctorum animi solitaque tuendae
475 spe cassi vitae cum coetu vota maligno
ac studium iungent pereuntis et impia mundi
ludicra, dum liceat, vita comitante sequentur.
Ergo veni, patriaque celer delapsus ab arce
adsis, Christe, tuos promissoque infer Olympo,

480 ut te laude nova celebrent regnoque potiti
aeterno tecum aeternos laetentur in annos.

LAUS DEO.

3. Commentary

Abbreviations:

Forcellini	A. Forcellini, <i>Totius Latinitatis Lexicon</i> (Prato, 1858-1875).
L.S.	C. Lewis and C. Short, <i>A Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1975).
Th.L.L.	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> (Leipzig, 1900-).

Lines 1-11: As Forestus writes in the margin, the work begins with an 'argumentum', a short introduction referring to the epic tradition since Homer's time. In its first verses an invocation of the Muses and the principal theme of the work are given, followed by a short digression.

Some elements of Vergilius' *Aeneis* 1,1-11 are found here:

- the invocation of Frisia, the personification of the people north of the Rhine, instead of the invocation of the Muses (cf. *Aen.* 1,8-11).
- **passa es clades** (cf. *Aen.* 1,5).
- **fata canas** (cf. *Aen.* 1,1).
- **memoraque**: (cf. *Aen.* 1,8: *Musa, mihi causas memora...*); Forestus gives the 'diluvii causae' in vs 12-22.
- a short digression; the story proper begins after 11 verses.

1. Frisia: cf. *Th.L.L.* s.v. Frisii: 'populi sunt protinus ultra Rhenum, Oceano adpositi, ut Ptolemaeus ait...'; Tacit., *Ann.* 4,72: '...Frisii, transrhenanus populus'. See also: R. Fruin, 'De voorbereiding in ballingschap van de gereformeerde kerk van Holland' in Idem, *Verspreide geschriften* II (The Hague, 1900), p. 243: '...West Friesland (elders Westerkwartier genoemd en Friezen en Groningers omvattend.)' ('also named Westerkwartier and including the inhabitants of Friesland and Groningen'). This surely is not Forestus' meaning of 'Frisia': he aims at all inhabitants of the Netherlands as is evident from the subtitle of his work ('Carmen Exhortatorium ad Frisios, Batavos, ac reliquos Belgas').
2. **fata canas**: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 3,444; 8,499 i.a.
3. cf. Ovid., *Met.* 11,276.
5. **asper...incubuit Boreas**: cf. Ovid., *Her.* 13,15; Lucan. 1,389/ Stat., *Theb.* 1,352f.
6. **trepidas...per urbes**: cf. Stat., *Silv.* 3,5,73; Lucan. 2,160 i.a.
8. **disiecitque rates**: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,43.
9. **illisitque vado**: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,112; **tumidis...fluctibus**: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 5,125; also often in Christian literature, e.g. Aug., *Enarr. in Ps.* 93,22.
11. **retulit: metri causa** for 'rettulit'; **magnoque vigil cumularat acervo**: a combination of (e.g.) Hor., *Sat.* 1,1,51 and 2,3,112 and Sil. 14,609.

Lines 12-22: The causes of the extent of the disaster:

12-15: the flood takes place at night; 16-17: high tide; 18-20: new moon; the wind comes from the right direction.

The verses 12-15 are inspired by Verg., *Aen.* 4,522-527.

12/13. A combination of Verg., *Aen.* 2,268 and 3,511, and Ovid., *Her.* 4,89f.

14. Literally (except 'silet') Verg., *Aen.* 4,525.

16. Amasus: *Th.L.L.*, s.v. Amasius: 'Amasius, Germaniae fluvius, Ptolemaeo, qui Plinio Amisus dicitur, Pomponio Melae. Vulgo: Ems'; s.v. Amisius: 'Fluvius est Germaniae navigabilis'; Plinius, *Nat. Hist.* 4,14: Amisis. *Grosser historischer Weltatlas I* (Munich, 1958) gives: Amisia = Ems (index). J.G.Th. Graesse c.s., *Orbis Latinus I* (Brunswick, 1971) has for Ems: Amisus, Amasis, Amasius, Amisia, Emesa, Amera. 'Amasus' is used by Ubbo Emmius, a contemporary of Forestus: 'De agro Frisiae inter Amasum et Lavicam fl. deque urbe Groninga in eodem agro...' (Groningen, 1646).

refluo...aestu: cf. Sil. 15,226; Auson., *Urb.* XX, Burdigala 19.

18. cf. Ovid., *Met.* 1,11.

21/22. horrida brumae asperitas: cf. Mart. 9,13,2.

22. Forestus uses v-alliteration as does Vergil (*Aen.* 3,196: 'continuo venti volvunt mare...') to draw attention to the violence of the storm.

Lines 23-120: The breaking of the dikes (23-39); the consequences for cattle (40-43; 97-107), goods (44-49; 91-96) and people (50-90; 108-120).

Forestus uses many elements from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1, 283-312, in which verses the human species, with the exception of Deucalion and Pyrrha, is extinguished by the wrath of Jove. Forestus' description is much more extensive than Ovid's one.

Some common elements are:

— For. vs 25: 'diffundit sese campos'/ Ovid. vs 285: 'per apertos campos'

— For. vs 26: 'invenit unda viam'/ Ovid. vs 284: 'vias aquarum'

— For. vs 31f.: 'sunt omnia pontus'/ Ovid. vs 291v.: 'omnia pontus erant'

— For. vs 35: 'insuetas lymphas'/ Ovid. vs 310: 'novi fluctus'

— For. vs 36-39 / Ovid. vs 294-296

— For. vs 37: 'naves unctas'/ Ovid. vs 293: 'cumba adunca' (affinity of sound)

— For. vs 40 / Ovid. vs 304

— For. vs 46 / Ovid. vs 310

— For. vs 50ff.: ille...illic.. etc. / Ovid. vs 293vv.: hic...ille

— For. vs 79: resemblance with Ovid. vs 312.

Claudius Marius Victor describes the Flood (Vulg., *Gen.* 7,17-24) in hexameters in his '*Alethia*' 2,456vv. The verses 470ff. and Forestus' vs 26 - vs 49 have the same tenor. Did Forestus read '*Alethia*'? One can not be certain; Claudius Marius Victor himself says that '*Alethia*' was written to be used in schools.

Verse 23-39: the dikes break; the water submerges the land; ships sail where formerly carts drove.

30. herbida prata: 'green pastures' (Holy Bible, *Psa.* 22,2). 'Herbida prata' could not be found before Prudentius, *Cath.* 5,121: 'felices animae prata per herbida'.
31. innocuo pecori: this combination is only found in Marbodius Redonensis, *Carmina varia* 40: 'innocuumque pecus me jugulasse pudet'.
- 31/32. colles and valles hardly are found in the damaged areas; here they are a purely literary element. In the Holy Bible this combination is often used, e.g. *Ezech.* 35,8.
33. sunt omnia pontus: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 1,292.
36. iter pedibus: the reversed situation in Ovid., *Tr.* 3,10,31; also: Aug., *Enarr. in ps.* 134,23.
37. naves...unctas: cf. Enn., *Ann.* 476; Verg., *Aen.* 4,398.
39. holcadibus: in classical literature the word is found only twice: in Theodoricus Imperator 5,78, *Epistola Prima* and in Gellius 19,13,3. In all probability Forestus did not use these sources, but rather the '*Tyrocinium linguae Latinae*' (f. 60^v), a small textbook of his contemporary Petrus Apherdianus edited in 1552. Here one finds in the chapter 'De Navigatione': Navis oneraria, Holcas, adis/ een hullick; celeres...carinas: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 9,447; Lucan. 4,434.

Lines 40-43: cows and sheep are drowned.

40. immergitur alto: cf. Sil. 2,591.
43. equiso: L.S.: 'groom, stable-boy'; Forcellini: 'equorum domitor et curator'.

Lines 44-49: the flood destroys houses and drowns people.

44. pauperis...tuguri: cf. Verg., *Ecl.* 1,68.
45. ruunt a culmine: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2,290; Ovid., *Met.* 1,295.
46. cacumina fluctus: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 1,310.
48. ignarosque mali: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,630; caeca ruina: cf. Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 19,164.

Lines 50-90: a man tries to save his children on the roof of his house; a child is taken away from his mother's arms; a baby is thrown out of the cradle; a woman dies in the arms of her husband. Some people try to save themselves on small hills but die from the lack of food; others board a ship, but the fire they brought with them destroys it.

53. matris in ulnis: cf. Paulinus Petricordiensis, *De vita S. Martini* (e.g. *Patrologia Latina* vol.61, col.1042C): '...supplex imposuit matris felicibus ulnis'; 'ulnis' also in the Holy Bible, e.g. Vulg., *Luc.* 2,28.
58. salsum imbibit amnem: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 8,836; Stat. *Silv.* 4,7,11. In Verg., *Aen.* 5,182 a comparable idea is found; Menoetus fell overboard and comes ashore again: '...et salsos rident removentem pectore fluctus'.

63. haeret in amplexu coniunx: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2,674f.; Val. Fl. 1,762.
64. lacrimis et murmura miscet: a composition of e.g. Verg., *Aen.* 4,210 and Juvenal. 6,539.
65. osculaque ingeminat: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5,594.
66. N.B.:v-alliteration; used here to suggest tenderness and gentleness; cf. Hor., *Sat.* 2,5,110. In Christian literature ‘...vigeas, valeas..’ is found quite often; e.g. Alcuinus, *Carm.* 83,1,2; pars altera vitae: a combination of Verg., *Ecl.* 4,53 and *Georg.* 3,286.
- 72/73. alto/ iactanturque mari: a combination of Verg., *Aen.* 7,200 and Ovid., *Her.* 17,235.
77. notaeque paludes: cf. Verg., *Georg.* 1,363.
79. inopi...ieiunia victu: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 1,312.
- 80-90. A description of a comparable incident was not found; it looks like an invention of Forestus.
80. vivaque favilla: ‘vivente favilla’ here at the same position in the verse as for example in Ovid., *Fasti* 4,553; Stat., *Silv.* 2,1,2.
82. in unum: L.S.: ‘together’; e.g. Verg., *Ecl.* 7,2; here: ‘to one side’; ‘urget’ with the same meaning: *Aen.* 1,111; puppis latus: cf. Juvenal. 12,31.
83. flamma vorax: cf. Sil. 4,685; Vulg., *Jud.* 20,48; flamma...lambit: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2,684.
87. ignis edax: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2,758; Ovid., *Met.* 14,541 i.a.
88. incendia depascunt: Isidorus, *Etym.* 4,6,18.

Lines 91-96: wares, furniture and provisions put aside for hard times float in the water.

- 92f. the furniture that is enumerated here is found in Cato’s *De Agricultura* 10,4,6; 10,5,6 and 7; 11,5,5 and 14,2,4.

92. culcitra: Cato has culcita; L.S.: culcita, in MSS also culcitra.

93. orbes: Cato: orbes aeneos (= aëneos); Spanoghe, *Synonymia Latino-Teutonica* (ex etymologico C. Kiliani deprompta), 3 vol. (Antwerp, 1889-1902), s.v. orbis: ‘orbis mensuarius: bord; holl. fris. fland. praecipue cum ligneus’. In this time wooden plates were often used; therefore Forestus omits ‘ligneus’.

Lines 97-107: horses and cows are drowned; apart from their hide (for shoemakers) the cows have no value any more. The air is polluted; the plague will reign.

99. sanie...putri: cf. Stat., *Theb.* 12,569.
100. cum matribus agni: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,635 and 9,61; a similar situation is found in Verg., *Georg.* 3,557ff., where the cattle perish as a result of drought and illness and does not bring in anything at all: ‘nam neque erat coriis usus...ne tondere quidem morbo et inluevique peresa/ vellera...’.
102. proiecta cadavera: cf. Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 26,316f.: ‘...pecudum proiecta cadavera mandens/ obscenus conviva canum’.
103. se condidit alveo: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 9,32; Ovid (*Met.* 1,423) also uses a similar image.

106. gravi...odore: cf. Verg., *Georg.* 4,49. vitiatur odore: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 7,548 (description of a plague).
 107. fluidae contagia pestis: cf. Lucan. 6,89 (the plague in Pompey's army).

Lines 108-120: people of all ages died. A baby, taken away from the breast of his mother, is floating in the water. Children look at their dead father whose nose is bleeding. A husband buries his dead wife.

110. lateri...haeret: cf. Stat., *Theb.* 10,101; Mart. 9,100,3.
 116. lacrimis irrorat obortis: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 4,30; Ovid., *Met.* 9,368v. and *Her.* 15,97.
 119. condit et effosso...membra sepulchro: a combination of Verg., *Georg.* 1,497 and *Aen.* 10,558.; lurida membra: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 14,747.
 120. supremum solvit honorem: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 11,76; Sil. 4,790 and 6,670.

Lines 121-271: Apostrophe ad Frisiam.

This part of the poem is marked at the beginning and the end by verses in which Frisia's name is mentioned specifically.

Lines 121 -141: Frisia, famous in the whole world because of your faith, do not mock others and do not boast of your piety. Remember your former poverty, the plague and the warlike actions of your neighbours: they speak about God's wrath and his interference with human lives.

124. sacra: 'public worship'; it is probable that the Reformed faith is hinted at; olim: especially the Baptists had many followers in Friesland and the northern part of Holland. Other faiths also had their beginning in the years 1540-1550. Thus the 'populi profani' are all people that are not Reformed, including the Baptists: the Calvinists have always been strongly opposed against them; sacra profanis: cf. Hor., *Ars* 397.
 126. numinis ira: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 6,313.
 127. te...iactes: typically Christian, cf. Vulg., *Prov.* 28,25; subsellia: subsellium: bench, tribunal; thus (Christian): God's seat of justice.
 130/131. egestas...penuria: many were the causes of the poverty among the people in this time. In the first half of the century many warlike actions, e.g. invasions of the Duke of Guelders and of Danish princes, had taken place. Sometimes the import of grain stopped because of disagreements with the Hanse towns and the Danes. Moreover Charles V and Philip II waged many expensive foreign wars which they tried to finance by continually raising taxes. The floods that regularly damaged the Netherlands made the situation still worse. See vs 168ff.
 132/133. In Forestus' time the plague was a regularly occurring disease. According to data collected by L. Noordegraaf and G. Valk, *De gave Gods* (Bergen, 1988), pp. 43 and 226, here is probably referred to the epidemic which was at its worst in 1557/1558.
 133. lue...atra: this combination is often used for 'the plague'; e.g. Sil. 7,356; Sil. 4,304, 'atram pestem'.

134. vicinus et hostis: see above, vs 130/131. Despite the fact that they occurred quite earlier, Forestus probably alludes to the disagreements with the Duke of Guelders and with the Danes. Christian II of Denmark had even ransacked Alkmaar.
- 138/139. loquuntur iudicium: a few times in the Vulgate, e.g. *Psa.* 36,30: ‘...et lingua eius loquetur iudicium’.
- 138-141. A similar thought, almost in the same words, is found in Cicero’s *De natura deorum* 2,162: ‘...mihi videtur vel maxime confirmare deorum prudentia consuli humanis rebus’. Also see Cic., *Nat.D.* 3,65.
140. See also Ovid., *Pont.* 43,49.

Lines 142-154: these verses deal with some important points of the doctrine of Calvin: baptism, the Lord’s Supper and predestination.

142. larga...indulgentia: in Christian literature indulgentia is often combined — as is the case in the Holy Bible (*Isa.* 63,7) — with forms of largiri, largitas. In combination with larga: Auson., *Urb.* 10,9; vide: iambic shortening.
143. For forty years He has entrusted us with His Word: going back we come out in 1530, the year in which the Baptist Melchior Hoffman appeared in Emden. From 1531 on, Baptism got many adherents, especially in Friesland and North Holland. As Baptism manifested itself at that time as the only reformed faith in the northern parts, Forestus probably alludes to the actions of this group. But if ‘us’ refers to the Calvinists, he could be alluding to the fact that Calvin went over to the Reformation, as he himself admits a ‘subita conversio’. There is no unanimity about the year of this sudden conversion, but it must lie between 1529 and 1534 (See for example: J. Hastings ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh, 1910) III, 147; K. Gallie ed., *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, 1957) I, 1589).
144. nati pia dogmata Christi: the doctrine of the Reformed in general, who have escaped Catholicism (faucibus orci; vs 147).
- 145/146. sordibus abluit: cf. Vulg., *Isa.* 4,4. Frequently used in Christian literature; e.g. Juvenc. 1,312. In the verses 145 and 146 Forestus states that the Reformed received the pious dogma’s of Christ, unlike the others, the Roman Catholics. He then says that God has cleaned us with His holy water, alluding of course to baptism. Forestus speaks about the ablution of ‘innate filthiness’, innate of course by original sin, and accordingly does not voice the vision of Calvin.
147. faucibus ereptos orci: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 6,273; Coripp., *Johan.* 6,12.
148. epulis mensaque: the Lord’s Supper. The dogma of transsubstantiation is rejected: we sit down at Christ’s table as his **friends**; dignatus amicos: cf. Ovid., *Pont.* 1,7,33; Juvenal. 5,173. Also often used in Christian literature; e.g. Aug., *Trin.* 4,13: ‘filius dei nobis fieri dignatus est amicus’.
149. illis: on one line with reliquis (vs 153). God had entered into an alliance with the Israelites by Moses (*Exod.* 19-24); this alliance was renovated by Christ (e.g. *Matt.* 5,17; *Joan.* 2,16); cf. Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 19,726: ‘conci-

- lians hominem medii per foedera Christi'. Forestus divides mankind in two parts: an alliance was made with those He has admitted in His kingdom (illis; vs 149) and with the others who He destines for Hell (reliquisque; vs 154). See also Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (Lausanne, 1585) 3,21,5: 'Praedestinationem vocamus aeternum Dei decretum, quo apud se constitutum habuit quid de unoquoque homine fieri vellet. Non enim pari conditione creantur omnes, sed aliis vita aeterna, aliis damnatio aeterna praeordinatur'. God has foreknowledge and therefore already knows who will make such grave errors in his life that he is condemned to Hell.
150. labe sua puros: one can only reach God by Christ; Vulg., *Joan.* 14,6; cf. Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 24,932: 'Et in vos prementum mole liberos/ et labe puros criminum,...'.
154. 'reprobis' is frequently used in Christian literature; cf. Vulg., *2 Cor.* 13,5.
- Lines 155-180:* the gifts of God Himself led to contempt of Him. People do not care about God, but about gaining and keeping money. They do not love their brother any more; they deceive and steal. The rich live for themselves; nothing is left for the poor. The exiles have the same experiences in foreign countries: they must pay a high rent for a small place; from their money others live in luxury.
159. numis: L.S., s.v. nummus: 'thus written in the better MSS, others numus'; furiosa cupido: cf. Ovid., *Fasti.* 1,211. Ovid's *Fasti* 1,209-218 contains the same thoughts as Forestus' poem: now that Fortuna has raised her head (cf. vs. 157-158) the lust for richness has grown (cf. vs 158-159). One wants to spend and to regain again (quaerere; cf. vs. 163: quaestus: vs. 161, 167 and 176). The stomach (cf. vs 166) continually makes its demands, only money is of value, wealth leads to honour. The poor man is subjected (cf. vs 169ff.).
- 160/161. anxia...solicitude: this combination is frequently used in Christian and medieval literature, e.g. Leo Magnus, *Tractatus septem et nonaginta*, tr. 49.
166. ventri largitur amicus: cf. Vulg., *Rom.* 16,18; Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 15,6.
- 168-171. There was a big gap between the rich and the poor. According to the 'Informacie' of 1514 the number of the poor in many towns accounted for 30% or 40%, in Leiden even 63%. In the country circumstances were bad too. The price of grain continually increased. The demand for land was big and as a consequence the land-owners continually raised the lease; very little was left for the tenants.
172. expulsus: because of their faith. After the iconoclastic fury of 1566 many were compelled to emigrate after Governess Margaretha had settled things again. Emden, East Prussia, the Palatine, and later on England too, received many exiles. Forestus went to Emden in 1568. His possessions were confiscated.
176. congesta pecunia: cf. Juvenal 10,12.
- 178/179: frugalitas and sobrietas are often combined in Christian literature, e.g. Aug., *Epist.* 36,10.

179/180. pretiosa...vestis: cf. Ovid., *Ars* 1,103; Lucan. 2,385; also in the Holy Bible, e.g. *Luc.* 7,25 and in Christian literature.

Lines 181-194: where is your former piety? Some people jeer at the dogma's of Christ, at the Scripture and the Prophets.

181. libidinis aestus: frequently found in Christian literature, e.g. Aug., *Epist.* 184A,1,3.

185. novo...schismate: from the very beginning the Reformed were not unanimous. In Emden, where Forestus stayed at the time of the flood, the Calvinists, generally speaking, were 'rekkelijk' (compliant), inclined to cooperate, for instance with the Lutherans. However in towns like Frankenthal and Heidelberg, the Calvinists were 'precies' (rigid). They rejected every compromise. In April 1570 those of Emden conceived a plan to send a remonstrance — also an apology — in the name of all Reformed to the German Diet to ask mediation with Philip II for the oppressed Netherlands. This intent failed by mutual distrust; the 'preciesen' sent a remonstrance of their own. In 1571 a synod at Emden would bring a temporary unanimity of the 'rekkelijken' and the 'preciesen', but at the time of the disaster that was not yet the case (See R. Fruin, 'De voorbereiding in ballingschap van de gereformeerde kerk van Holland' in Idem, *Verspreide geschriften* (The Hague, 1900) II, 235- 276).

186-194. In these verses Forestus speaks of atheism or at least of deism. About this subject not much is to be found. Atheists of course have existed forever, but the degree of repression at the time in question determines if mention is made of them. In his foreword Forestus speaks about 'Athei' without a further explication.

186. vulgi fabula: cf. Stat., *Silv.* 2,4,10.

187. insulsus: frequently used in Christian literature; e.g. Aug., *De Doctr. Christ.* 1,9.

188. spermologus: Beda Venerabilis, *In Ezram et Neemiam* 3,1, says: 'a quo apostolus Paulus cognomen accepit ut spermologos, id est seminiverbius'. In his *Expositio actuum apostolorum* 17 he says: 'Quid vult seminiverbius hic dicere? Recte seminiverbius, id est σπερμολόγος, vocatur, quia semen est verbum dei et ipse dicit: Si nos nobis spiritalia seminavimus...'. The meaning of this word changed in Forestus' time; R. Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden, 1994) gives: un bavard, un 'perroquet' (a boaster). This meaning can be found for example in Erasmus' *Opus Epistolarum*, ed. P.S. Allen c.s., 12 vols. (Oxford, 1906-1958) III, 916,358: 'Quin potius meminimus praedcatorem angelum esse Domini, e cuius ore populus legem expectat Dei, non convicia in membra Christi; plurimumque interesse inter hierophantem et sycophantem, inter theologum et spermologum, inter doctorem et delatorem?' and in Luther's *Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe. Briefwechsel* (Weimar 1930-) II, 345,26: 'Nihil scribam in eos, qui vi agunt nos; in rudes illos spermologos sufficit mihi veritatem docuisse, defendisse adversus eruditos, qui soli nocere queant.'

- 190. minae legis: the Old Law of the Old Testament, *Exod.* 20-24; ipsum...foedus: the covenant of the New Testament. See also vs 149.
- 192. scripturis: the Holy Scriptures, O.T and N.T.; oracula Vatum: cf. Ovid., *Pont.* 2,1,55; Arator, *De actibus apostolorum* 2,71: 'Christus adest, quem tota canunt oracula vatum'.
- 193. Prophetarum: of the O.T.

Lines 195-212: the stomach asks for costly food, meals have many courses, wine is imported from far countries. Strong beer flows in large quantities and whole villages are brought to ruin by inebriety.

- 195. gulae studium: cf. Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Tractatus in Matheum*, tr. 53.
- 196. fercula cenae: cf. Hor., *Sat.* 2,6,104. Words like fercula, cena, gula, obsonia are frequently used by the satirists; dubia cena: Terent., *Phormio* 2,2,342v.: 'prior bibas, prior decumbas; cena dubia apponitur...'; 'Quid istuc verbi est? Ubi tu dubites quid sumas potissimum.' Here a 'dubia cena' is a meal of which one does not know what to take first. Also Auson., *Mosella* 102. In Forestus' verse this meaning cannot be used, nevertheless it might have played a part in the background.
- 197. tenero...palato: cf. Ovid., *Trist.* 1,8,43; Pers. 1,35.
- 199. ingluvies ventris: frequently used in Christian literature; e.g. Hiër., *Epist.* 107,10,3.
- 200. lautitiis: in the same connection in Seneca, *Epist.* 114,9.
- 202. sitim sedant: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 3,415.
- 206/207: for the same tenor — ebriety and its consequences — see: Vulg., *Isa.* 28,8.
- 209. haurit et hausta: cf. Vulg., *Gen.* 24,20.
- 210. numoque: see vs. 159.
- 211. divinae mentis: cf. Verg., *Georg.* 4,220.

Lines 213-226: there is no fear of Hell any more; the holy rites are neglected. Prosperity and a long time of peace are the cause of this behaviour. The true faith has to retreat, forced by wealth that does not reward.

- 213. securum pectus: cf. Prud., *Psychom.* 119.
- 215/216: ordo sacrorum: cf. Petrus Pictor, *Liber de sacramentis* 72 and 593.
- 216. mysteria verbi: a Christian expression; e.g. Aug., *Epist.* 55,7. At the end of a verse in Avitus Viennensis, liber 4.
- 220. diuturna quies: cf. *Disticha Catonis* 1,2,2: 'nam diuturna quies vitiis alimentis ministrat'. The *Disticha Catonis* were frequently used in the lower forms of the Latin School. The expression also appears in Hans Walther's *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters* (Göttingen, 1963).
- 222. munera vitae: cf. Mart., 3,6,5. Also frequently used in Christian literature, e.g. Juvenal, 2,769; Arator, *Act. Ap.* 1,845.
- 223. urbemque beatam: cf. Ovid., *Pont.* 4,8,33; here: Jerusalem.
- 224. divite gaza: cf. Juvenal, 3,522.
- 225. onerata laborat: cf. Vulg., *Matt.* 11,28.

Lines 227-246: in the meantime you are taking a nap and do not care about the needs of your people. You do not listen to the preachers and do not repent your sins. God should destroy your towns, but the holy covenant of Christ with men prevents that. So God punishes the impious with His flood.

- 227. stertis: cf. Hor., *Sat.* 1,5,19.
- 228. trahis...vitam: very frequently used in Christian literature; e.g. Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 12,1. tranquilla...otia: cf. Lucan. 2,266.
- 231. personat aures: cf. Hor., *Epist.* 1,1,7; praeco: in Christian literature 'preacher'. See also vs 267, sub 'ministris'.
- 232. rigidi...cordis: a Christian expression, e.g. Ambros., *Explanatio psalmorum* 37,39,2; penetralia cordis: cf. Juvenc. 4,7.
- 234/235. mores...seras: cf. Cicero, *Leg.* 1,VI,20.
- 236. subverteret urbes: cf. Vulg., *Gen.* 19,21; frequently used in Christian literature.
- 236/237. quicquid vitiosum est...sentinam...lernam: the sorts of people that were enumerated in the foregoing: those that are not very particular with their faith, the atheists and the followers of the wrong doctrine (e.g. the Catholics and the Baptists, who were strongly hated by the Calvinists).
- 238. sentinam expurget: cf. Bernardus Claravallensis, *Sermones in epiphania Domini* 1,6: 'ecce, sentinam nostram purgaturus advenit'. lernam: the Hydra of Lerna, 'Evil'. In the PL edition of Hiëronymus, *Comm. in Ieremiam* III, column 757B, is pointed out that 'lerna malorum' has become a proverbial expression.
- 239. coetus: here: 'crowd'.
- 240. gratia Christi: cf. Vulg., *Gal.* 1,6.
- 241. Martis iniqui: the followers of the true faith have been expelled by the Spaniards. Those that did not disapprove of this unjust deed stayed behind.
- 242. rapidae...pestis: cf. Sil. 17,92; see also vs 133. It is not sure that the many epidemics called 'the plague' were indeed a sort of pestilence. The epidemic of 1557-1558 however is described in detail by Pieter van Foreest, a brother of Nanning, and a famous surgeon (Petrus Forestus, *Opera Omnia* I (Frankfort, 1634) 164). It proves to be the bubonic plague, at least in Delft, where Van Foreest practised. But he also tells us about persons who died very suddenly without having had any swellings and about the occurrence of vomiting of blood and bleeding of the nose, which points to the pulmonary plague.
- 244. surdas...aures: cf. Prop. 2,20,13. Also in the Vulgate (e.g. *Micha* 7,16) and very frequently in Christian literature.
- 246. diluvii...prisci: the Flood (Vulg., *Gen.* 7,10ff.).

Lines 247-258: because you did not listen, the scourge of God has come upon you. By means of this disaster you are warned to better your life.

- 247. Legis: see vs 149 and vs 190; cf. Aug., *De spiritu et de littera* 4,6.
- 250. flagrum: the flood, accompanied by considerable noise: 'auribus insonuit'; contio: Petrus Apherdianus, *Tyrocinium Linguae Latinae*, 69: 'adnunciatio verbi Dei/ prekinge' (sermon).

251. auribus...patulis: cf. Hor., *Epist.* 1,18,70 and 2,2,105; a few times in Christian literature, e.g. Prud., *Hamartigenia* 318.
- 251/252. oculisque soporem...excussit: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 1,686 and 11,677.
253. The combination 'vindicta iusta' is used very often in Christian literature, e.g. Aug., *De vera religione* 1,15.
- 253/254. tonantis...Patris: cf. Prud., *Apotheosis* 171.
254. corrige mores: often used by Cicero, e.g. *Verr.* II, 3,2 and in Christian literature, e.g. Alcuinus, *Carm.* 6,281,1003: 'corrige, quaeso, tuos mores et verba vel actus'.
255. sordes absterge: often used in Christian literature, e.g. *Hymnus de opere diei quartae* (ascribed to Ambrosius), vs 14 and 30: 'absterge sordes mentium'.
- 255/256. stabulumque repurga...tui coetus: stabulum here metonymical for ecclesia: Aug., *Quaestiones evangeliorum* 2,19: 'Stabulum est ecclesia, ubi reficiuntur viatores de peregrinatione in aeternam patriam redeuntēs.'; Frisia is urged to remove the stains from the Church of her inhabitants.
256. sponsa: the Church is the bride of Christ. Aug., *De baptismo* 4,3,4: 'quaerimus utrum in illis Ecclesiae membris, quae una columba dicta est et sponsa Christi sine macula et ruga (*Cant.* 6,8; *Eph.* 5,27)..'. This image is used very frequently. Menno Simons says in his *Opera Omnia Theologica* (Amsterdam, 1681), p. 442a: 'Christus Jesus en wil noch bekent aldusdanige Bruyt/ Gemeynthe ende kercke niet.' (Jesus Christ does not want to have and does not know such a Bride/ Community and Church).
257. maculis rugisque: Vulg., *Eph.* 5,27: '...ut exhiberet ipse sibi gloriosam ecclesiam, non habentem maculam aut rugam aut aliquid huiusmodi, sed ut sit sancta et immaculata'. This image is very frequently used in Christian literature. Menno Simons says about the Baptist parish (*Opera Omnia*, 441): 'Ten derden als ick meyne te vinden een onbestraffelijke Gemeynthe/ die daer is sonder rumpel ende sonder vleecke...' (In the third place, when I think I will find a faultless Community that does not have a wrinkle or a spot...).
258. Sponsum: Christ; lychnisque instructa: 'well prepared'; Vulg., *Matt.* 25,1-13, the parable of the sage and the foolish virgins. In this parable Christ speaks about the 'last things' and He compares the entrance of the kingdom of Heaven with the experience of ten handmaids who were sent out with lamps to meet the bride and the groom. Five of them carried oil to refill their lamps, five did not. When the bride and the groom had come, the first five maidens showed them their way and went back home with them; the last five had to buy oil before they could return and were not admitted because they came too late.

Lines 259-271: if you are not concerned about your flock and do not heal your wounds God probably will destroy your people, but if you mend your ways He will restore you in His favour and avert disaster, and you, Frisia, will be honoured in the whole world even more.

259. cura gregis: e.g. Ven. Fort., *Miscellanea* 3,19.

261. malum...serpit: often in August., e.g. *De diversis quaestionibus octaginta tribus*, quaestio 12.
263. vindex Deus: a Christian expression, e.g. Aug., *Speculum* 36; the Vulgate has 'Deus vindicans' (e.g. *Eccl.* 5,3).
266. mores sectere: cf. Aug., *In Joh. evang. tract.* 42,10.
267. carnemque domes: e.g. Aug., *Epist.* 211,8. ministris: the ministry of Calvin's Church comprises several functions: the pastores for the preaching; the doctores for theoretical work; the presbyteri for the discipline (together with the pastores) and the diaconi to take care of the poor. All together these persons constitute the Senatus ecclesiae (*Inst.* 4,3,4-9).
268. fructus: 'profit'; with this meaning in the Holy Bible, e.g. *Luc.* 3,8. Very frequently used in Christian literature, e.g. Aug., *De sermone Domini in monte* 2,12. Also used by Calvin, e.g. *Inst.* 1,10,2 and 3,21,1.
270. placatque Patris: cf. Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 36,214.
271. Here the 'Apostrophe ad Frisiam' ends; see vs 121.

Lines 272-321: To the hypocritical exiles.

Here persons are targeted who have been banished because of their faith, but who as exiles are not greatly concerned with it any more. See also Calvin, *Inst.* 4,1,7: 'In hac autem plurimi sunt permixti, qui nihil Christi habent praeter titulum et speciem: plurimi ambitiosi, avari, invidi, maledici, aliqui impurioris vitae, qui ad tempus tolerantur...' (hac: the Church).

Lines 272-284: live in fear of God. Honour the parish and the Elders and also the town that admitted you hospitably.

275. caeleste et numen honores: cf. Sil. 8,43; Ovid., *Met.* 1,368.
276. affectu...puro: in Christian literature; e.g. Aug., *De vera religione* 28.
277. relligionis opus: cf. Ven. Fort., *Carm.* 2,14. As in the verses above Forestes refers to the performing of public worship. See also vs 433; certa...lege: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 5,531; Hiër., *Epist.* 64,18. Also Calvin, *Inst.* 2,7,1: 'Legis nomine non solum decem precepta, quae pie iusteque vivendi regulam praescribunt, intelligo, sed **formam religionis** per manum Mosis a Deo traditam'.
- 278/279. Senatus concilium: see commentary on vs 267.
279. nomina: plural metri causa (as 'te' has been used one would expect the singular).
280. gregi lecto: the Calvinists (in exile); sacros conventus: the Church as a community of saints; see Calvin, *Inst.* 4,1,7 (concerning the Church): 'Saepe autem Ecclesiae nomine universam hominum multitudinem in orbe diffusam designat, quae unum se Deum & Christum colere profitetur...'.
 281. ornet probitas: cf. Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 25,40; Patresque: the government of the town.
282. patria nam sede repulsos: cf. Lucan. 2,574; Arator, *Act. Ap.* 2,556.
283. accipit: subject: the guest town; dignatur amico: see vs 148.
284. In the Church of Emden the state of equality of its inhabitants and foreigners, which already existed unofficially, was confirmed by the Synod

in 1571 (Zie R. Fruin, 'De voorbereiding...' in *Verspreide geschriften II* (The Hague, 1900), p. 243f.)

Lines 285-301: do you pay a fair interest for the many benefits God bestowed on you? After a short time your piety disappears and sinfulness and sensuality take its place. Some people mock the Church; its ministers (they are innocent!) are accused; the judge is unfair.

285/286. *meritisque rependis/ talibus*: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 5,14 and 15, which verses have the same tenor.

287. *pietas...remittit*: cf. Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 14,5.

288. *deferbuit ardor*: a few times used in Christian literature; also in Cicero (*Tusc.* 4,36,78).

289. *succedit vitium*: cf. Aug., *Epist.* 167,2 i.a.

290. *omne nefas subit*: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 1,129v. This part of Ovid tells us about the 'iron period'; vs 130: '...in quorum subiere locum fraudesque dolusque'.

292/293. *gaudia mundi*: cf. Ven. Fort., *Miscellanea* 4,26 i.a.

293. *fluxis...rebus*: cf. Aug., *De ordine* 2,20,52.

295. *Patrum collegia*: here probably the government of the Church; *ridenda propinat*: cf. Ter., *Eun.* 1087.

297. *Ministros*: see vs 267.

298. *conficto...crimine*: often in prose, e.g. Liv. 40,13,1.

Lines 302-321: some exiles in foreign countries show very bad behaviour and display all sorts of vices. Apparently they are not afraid of God's avenging hand. Be sensible and live in fear of Him! If a criminal has escaped from justice, God will punish him; He reproves the wicked by sending a flood.

301. *lance expendit...aequa*: frequently used in Christian literature, e.g. Aug., *Epist.* 186,10,34.

302. *sancta...urbe*: Jerusalem.

304/305. Such enumerations (here of vices) are found quite frequently. Some examples: Vulg., *Marc.* 7,22; Ovid., *Met.* 1,130; Aug., *Civ.Dei* 22,22,1. See also vs 400-402.

308. *fulmen...trisulcum*: cf. Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice secunda sive Catharinaria* 3,645.

309/310. *longas...manus*: cf. Ovid., *Her.* 17,166: 'an nescis longas regibus esse manus?'. Seneca has (*Epist.* 82,5): 'Non habet, ut putamus, Fortuna longas manus...'. This expression already can be found in Herodotus (8,140). Ovid's verse is cited several times in Christian literature.

311. *strage propinqua*: the flood.

312. *discito iustitiam*: cf. Vulg., *Isa.* 26,9f.

314. *iudicis evasit gladios homicida*: elements from Vulg., *Deut.* 19,3 and 2 *Paralip.* 20,9 and 36,20; see also: Ambros., *De Noë* 26,96.

316. *foedus adulter*: cf. Cassiod., *Expos. in psalterium* 64,1 i.a. In Christian literature adulter/adulterium and meretrix are combined very often.

Lines 322-341: To the pious exiles.

Let God be your only recourse. He will give you food and shelter. If you mourn for your husband or your children He will comfort you.

326. *potentia vana*: Christian expression; e.g. Aug., *De vera religione* 38.
 328. *spes...fefellit*: often in August., e.g. *Enarr. in ps.* 36, sermo 2,9; *spes stulta*: e.g. Paschasius Radbertus, *De fide, spe et caritate* 2,5, lin. 543.
 330. *animum...firmet*: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 9,745 i.a; *rebus in arctis*: cf. Stat., *Theb.* 10,590 i.a.
 332. *fluctus labefactas subruit aedes*: quite often used by Christian authors, e.g. Ambros., *De Abraham* 2,3,11.
 333. *terra...Domini est*: cf. Vulg., *Psa.* 23,1; *alios...penates*: Lucan. 2,331.
 336. *coelestis...Patris*: e.g. Tert., *De patientia* 6; *gratia Patris*: a Christian expression, e.g. Hiër., *Comm. in epist. ad Eph.* 1; Hrotsvitha, *Maria* 209.
 340/341: *temporis huius aerumnas*: cf. Gregorius Magnus, *In librum primum Regum expositio* 1,71.
 341. *nitido...Olympo*: already in Homer, *Il.* 1,532 and *Od.* 20,103.

Lines 342-370: To the Spaniard.

By sending a flood God warned you: do not oppress the faithful, let the exiles return to their homes and give them back their possessions.

345. The possessions of the heretics were confiscated when they were exiled.
 347/348. *uno...nutu*: cf. Vulg., *2 Macc.* 8,18.
 348/349. *scelerum...artifices*: cf. Sen., *Med.* 734; Prud., *c. Symm.* 1,99.
 349. *caecis...undis*: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 3,200; *demergat et undis*: cf. Tert., *Carm. adv. Marcionem* 3,3, a passage about the drowning of Pharaoh in the Red Sea.
 351. *pacem, longamque quietem*: cf. Lucan. 2,650.
 352/253. *stellantis...caeli*: already in Homer, *Od.* 9,527; see also Lucr. 1,1014; Verg., *Aen.* 7,210.
 353. *vanos conatus*: this typically Christian expression is only found a few times, e.g. Hiër., *Comm. in Ezech.* 2,6.
 356. *studiumque nocendi*: often used in Christian literature, e.g. Aug., *Epist.* 153,6.
 357. *genus Abramidum*: epic patronymic; the Vulgate has: 'genus Abraham' and 'genus Abrahæ'; Ambrosius has (*Epist.* 9,62,20) 'genus Abramidarum'.
 357/358. The exodus out of Egypt by the Israelites, who were saved by God's intervention: He opened a path through the Red Sea and closed it again when Pharaoh and his army entered it; Vulg., *Exod.* 14.
 360. *clientes*: the Calvinists.
 362. *puris ritibus*: those of the Calvinists.
 363. *inopino turbine*: cf. Sil. 5,389.
 364. *sanguinis unda*: cf. Val. Fl. 6,573 and vs 10 of the hymn '*De opere diei quintae*' ascribed to Ambrosius; '...quos mundat unda sanguinis'.

- 366. pondere pressos: cf. Juvenc., 4,505 i.a.; see also Vulg., *Job* 12,21. Forestus is perhaps alluding to the high taxes.
- 367. manum...lapis: frequently used in Christian literature, e.g. Aug., *Civ.Dei* 10,24.
- 368. implere bonis: very often in Christian literature; e.g. Vulg., *Luc.* 1,53; Aug., *De consensu evangelistarum* 2,5,17.
- 369. nova pietas: the Reformed **faith**. See for this meaning: J. H. Baxter and C. Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word-list, from British and Irish sources* (Oxford, 1934), where i.a. the meanings 'religion' and 'faith' are given.

Lines 371-411: To the hypocrites who remain in their native country because of their possessions, and who embrace the old faith again.

Lines 371-389: you behave yourself like the dog that returns to his vomit and like the clean swine that wallows in the mud.

- 373. luto mundi: 'the dross of the earth'. This expression does not occur in the Holy Bible and could not be found before the Middle Ages, e.g. in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Scivias* pars 1, visio 2 and Christianus Campiliensis, *Officia* 19: 'Calcantem miserie/ mundi huius lutum/...'.
 - 374. ultio velox: a Christian expression, e.g. Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum* 4,18; caelestis...ira: a Christian expression, e.g. Ambros., *Expos. psalmi CXVIII*, 18,11.
 - 376. Vatum: the preachers.
 - 377. faciles aures/ praebestas: cf. Juvenal. 5,107 i.a.
 - 378. Furiae: the Furies, goddesses who punish counter-natural crimes with rage; cf. the 'Spaanse Furie' (Spanish Fury) in Antwerp (1576).
 - 379. Christumque fateri: cf. Juvenc. 4,714.
 - 380. retro spes lapsa refertur: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2,169v.
 - 381. Christoque negato: very frequently used; e.g. Vulg., *Judas* 4.
 - 382. Satanaeque ministris: the Roman Catholic Church; cf. Aug., *Epist.* 53,3.
 - 383/384. The Vulgate, *2 Petr.* 2,22 says about people who know the way of righteousness, but deviate from it again: 'contingit enim illud veri proverbii: Canis reversus ad suum vomitum, et: Sus lota in volutabro luti'. This scriptural passage is very often referred to in Christian literature. See also Vulg., *Prov.* 26,11. Horace also speaks about the dog and the swine (*Epist.* 1,2,26 and 2,2,75).
 - 385/386. auri...congeries: e.g. Gregorius Turonensis, *Vitae Patrum* cap. 6.

Lines 390-411: your wealth, miser, does not last. God punishes you by His flood and destroys your savings.

- 390. fucos: the make-up (the Catholic faith) that conceals the true face (Protestantism); fructus: see vs 268.
- 391. quae fuit utilitas: cf. Vulg., *Psa.* 29,10 and *Eccl.* 20,32; mandata secuto: cf. Alcuinus, *Carm.* 281,268.
- 393. famae decus: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2,89; Mart. 10,103,4; nomen avitum: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 9,708.

394. stylum: cf. Cic., *Clu.* 123: censorium stilum; sectoris: the sector bought confiscated goods.
395. quaestor: here: collector of taxes.
398. ad nutum: cf. Vulg., *Job* 26,11.
399. valent virtute: cf. Vulg., *Eccl.* 7,6.
- 400/402. Here Forestus lists the powers of nature that symbolise the power of God; cf. Vulg., *Exod.* 9,23: '...et Dominus dedit tonitrua et grandinem et discurrentia fulgura super terram'; lapidosae grandinis: cf. Vulg., *Isa.* 30,30 (lapide grandinis); in *Ezech.* 13,13 imber is combined with 'lapides grandes'. Similar enumerations are found in classical and Christian literature too; e.g. Ovid., *Met.* 1,54ff. and 14,542f.; Cic., *De Or.* 3,157; Aug., *Civ. Dei.* 22,22,3. See also vs 304/305.
402. cf. *Auctoritates Aristotelis Senecae, Boethii, Platonis, Apulei et quorundam aliorum* 1,228: 'non est timendum quod caelum stet, id est a motu quiescat'.
403. fontibus ora relaxat: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 1,281, where Neptune helps Jove to flood the earth. See also the commentary introducing vs. 23vv.
405. dogmata produnt: cf. Arator, *Act. Ap.* 1,693.
410. cf. Gualterus Castilionensis, *Alexandreis* 5,301: 'Incidis in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim'.

Lines 412-481: Epilogue. People are urged to prepare themselves and all that is theirs to the coming of Christ.

Lines 412-428: God warned us by this calamity; let everybody repent. If we persevere, we will be felled like a tree that does not bear fruit.

412. crimina vitae: cf. Stat., *Theb.* 8,22.
413. scelerumque notas: cf. Prud., *Stef.* 6,125.
414. turpia facta parentum: here is alluded to the fact that the parents still adhered to the Catholic faith.
415. cultu profano: the splendour of the Catholic public worship, the worshipping of statues etc.
416. vitae...melioris: frequently used in Christian literature, e.g. Juvenc. 4,456; frugem: see vs 268.
418. ad nutum: see vs 398.
419. amplecti nugas: a Christian expression; e.g. Bernardus Claravallensis, *Epist.* 372,8; praesentis...saecli: this (earthly) world, e.g. Cypr., *Epist.* 15,3; Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 10,180.
- 422-426. These verses are based on the many scenes in antique authors about the felling of trees; Homer is the first poet with a similar scene (*Il.* 23,118ff.), whereas Ennius, *Ann.* 6,187-191, is the first in Latin literature. In most epic poems a comparable scene occurs. The elements Forestus uses can be found in: Verg., *Aen.* 6,180; Lucan., 1,138ff. and 6,192 and Stat., *Theb.* 6,90ff., 6,100 and 6,105.
423. librata: the meaning of librare is 'to balance' and accordingly also 'to wave', 'to fling'.

427. fructus: see Vulg., *Matt.* 3,10: 'Iam enim securis ad radicem arborum posita est; omnis ergo arbor quae non facit fructum bonum excidetur et in ignem mittetur.'
- 427/428. aeternis...flammis: very frequently used in Christian literature, e.g. Juvenc. 1,566; here the image of the felling of a tree is used as a metaphor for the behaviour of God towards sinful mankind doomed to go to Hell.

Lines 429–439: Christ as saviour; the bad are knocked down.

429. Christus adest: although we are deeply sleeping and forget our religious duties, Christ is there for us; e.g. Arator, *Act. Ap.* 2,71 i.a.; sponsam: see vs 256.
431. coeli...penetralibus: e.g. Arnobius, *Disput. adv. gent.* 3,40.
432. virgine cum fatua: see vs 258. deficit igne: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2,505.
433. lampas operum: Forestus follows the interpretation of Augustine (*Epist.* 140,31): 'verum stultarum virginum hoc oleum non secum portantium deficiunt lampades, id est non perseveranter bona opera lucent...'. Calvin teaches that man is not justified before God by 'Good Works', but by faith (*Inst.* 3,11-18). God, however, certainly takes delight in Good Works (*Inst.* 3,17,5) and those who perform them can see them as a token of their belonging to the chosen (*Inst.* 3,14,20). Also one's faith — by which one can justify oneself — can be fortified by the performing of Good Works (*Inst.* 3,14,18). Calvin also emphasises the importance of Good Works in an apologetic paragraph (*Inst.* 3,16,1): 'Ita liquet quam verum sit nos non sine operibus, neque tamen per opera iustificari...'. Forestus' poem is an incentive to live well and so he regards Good Works very highly too.
434. evigila: cf. Vulg., *Psa.* 43,23.
436. carnisque...delicias: a Christian expression; e.g. Aug., *Enarr. in ps.* 49,7; ventrem sequere: the Vulgate (*1 Rom.* 16,18) has: 'ventri serviunt'. Horace uses (*sat.* 2,7,104): 'obsequium ventris'.
437. veniet noctu: cf. Vulg., *1 Thess.* 5,2: 'dies Domini sicut fur in nocte, ita veniet'; quam nescis ad horam: cf. Vulg., *Matt.* 24,42. Very frequently used in Christian literature; nescis: a remarkable *corruptio* of the final syllable (compare with v. 446).
438. mediumque secabit: cf. Vulg., *Dan.* 13,59.
- 438/439. igne...inextincto: cf. Vulg., *Marc.* 9,42.
439. cf. Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice* II,332: 'si negat, impietas ferro plectetur et igne'; tenebris...fletu: cf. Vulg., *Matt.* 8,12.

Lines 440–481: As appears from the text in the margin it is the **Church** that is speaking to Christ from verse 440 till the end of the poem:
 Save your people, Christ. They are in exile, far from their country, they are mocked at and vexed. They are in danger and will die. They have no homes or possessions. If you do not come quickly, they will lose their faith.

440. servator Iesu: cf. Juvenc. 2,329 and 384.

442. curru, rapidisque quadrigis: cf. Vulg., *Iudic.* 5,28; Prud., *c. Symm.* 1,344.
 445-455. The tyrant, the Spaniard, has expelled the Reformed from their country, persecutes them, and says that the accused must be punished (Inquisition). Their own misfortune (the riots caused by the prohibition of the Reformed faith; the iconoclastic fury) is also attributed to us. They deserve it because of their infamous oppression, but they see that oppression as a pious deed. A quick death (Inquisition) threatens the Reformed, and their own country can not give them shelter any more. Moreover the wrath of God took away all their possessions and accordingly they are in great distress.
447. tectum...angustum: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 8,366.
 447/448. vitalis...spiritus: cf. Vulg., *Sap.* 15,11.
 450. caelestis...irae: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,11; also frequently used in Christian literature, e.g. Commod., *Instr.* 1,43,12.
 453. piis...ausis: cf. Stat., *Theb.* 10,384.
 454. vili...tecto: the grave of Christ's followers, who are killed although they are not guilty; cf. Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 6,157.
 457. solacia natis: cf. Stat., *Silv.* 2,1,32.
 462. frigora Brumae: cf. Ven. Fort., *Carm.* 9,3,3.
 463. stomacho latranti: cf. Hor., *Sat.* 2,2,18; tenuis victus: cf. Hor., *Sat.* 2,2,70.
 465. exutique bonis: in Christian literature, e.g. Tert., *Pudic.* 9.
 467. odiis...iniquis: cf. Vulg., *Psa.* 24,19.
 468. laqueos...ignes...gladios: these words are frequently combined by Christian authors, e.g. Vulg., *Esth.* 16,24; Ambros., *De Nabuthae* 6,30.
 470. crebraque procella: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,85.
 472. famulis: the Reformed.
 473. cf. Vulg., *Psa.* 112,5v.: 'quis sicut Dominus Deus noster, qui in altis habitat, et humilia respicit in caelo et in terra.'; aethere...alto: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 4,574; Ovid., *Fasti* 2,131.
 476. pereuntis...mundi: a Christian expression, e.g. Ambros., *In Luc.* 2,40.
 477. vita comitante: used by a few medieval poets like Hrotsvitha, *Gesta* 1176; the Vulgate has 'vita comite', e.g. *Gen.* 18,10.
 478. ergo veni: cf. Vulg., *3 Reg.* 1,12; Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 23,214 i.a.; delapsus ab arce: cf. Ovid., *Met.* 14,838.
 481. aeternos laetentur in annos: cf. Vulg., *Psa.* 5,12 and *Psa.* 76,6.

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AMBROSII MORALIS DE CORDVBAE VRBIS ORIGINE,
SITV ET ANTIQVITATE (COMPLUTI 1574)

Petro Paulo Herrerae
carissimo Cordubensi amico
Cordubensium rerum perito

The paper contains the critical edition of a Latin text written by Ambrosio de Morales (1574) which has been ignored by researchers. The study of this text will provide a better knowledge of the *Crónica General* and the *Antigüedades de las ciudades de España*, two essential works in vernacular language of the humanist from Córdoba.

Una de las labores filológicas más celebradas del humanista Ambrosio de Morales es su edición comentada de San Eulogio, publicada en Alcalá de Henares en 1574.¹ Estimulado por las muchas noticias sobre Córdoba que traía a colación el mártir en sus obras, Morales añadió al final un opúsculo en latín sobre las antigüedades de su patria chica: *De Cordubae urbis origine, situ et antiquitate* (*De Corduba* a partir de ahora). Posiblemente su inclusión como mero apéndice al término de tan grave empresa, reducido además al breve espacio de ocho folios², es la razón de que no haya recibido más atención que algunas brevísimas reseñas bibliográficas.³ Sin embargo, el opúsculo es interesante por varias razones.

* Agradezco a los Profs. J. M^a Maestre, J. IJsewijn y G. Tournoy sus valiosas sugerencias durante la elaboración de la presente edición. Asimismo deseo expresar mi agradecimiento a K. Delcroix por su ayuda desinteresada.

¹ *Diui Eulogii Cordubensis martyris, doctoris et electi archiepiscopi Toletani opera* (Alcalá de Henares, 1574).

² Ff. 121^r-128^v.

³ Juan Catalina García, *Ensayo de una tipografía complutense* (Madrid, 1889), n. 496; T. Muñoz y Romero, *Diccionario bibliográfico-histórico de los antiguos reinos, provincias, ciudades, villas y santuarios de España* (Madrid, 1858), p. 103; Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña* (Madrid, 1891-1907), III, 432; Enrique Redel, *Ambrosio de Morales, estudio biográfico* (Córdoba, 1909), pp. 478-9. Por otra parte, no hallamos mención de este opúsculo en Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispano-americano* (Barcelona, 1948-1977), X, 187-9; Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (Matriti,

Comencemos por las palabras previas al *De Corduba* que hacen de prólogo escueto⁴:

Tam multa sunt, quae diuus Eulogius de Corduba nostra suis operibus interseruit atque adeo frequenter multarum in ea urbe regionum, oppidorum, agrorum, fluminum similiumque rerum meminit, ut fuerit necessarium de eius situ et antiquitate multa hic apponere. Et Cordubae quidem urbis originem, situm eiusque mutationes cum reliquis quae ad eius antiquitatem peruestigandam poterant pertinere, *in eo opere, quod de Hispaniae antiquitatibus historiae nostrae adiunximus, plenius sumus prossequuti. Inde huc nonnulla transferemus.*

El texto en cursiva se interpreta sin mucha dificultad: las cosas de Córdoba han sido tratadas por el propio Morales en las *Antigüedades de las ciudades de España*⁵ (*in eo opere de Hispaniae antiquitatibus*), obra publicada como apéndice de la *Crónica General*⁶ (*historiae nostrae*), y es de ahí, de las *Antigüedades*, de donde el humanista ha tomado parte del material para elaborar este opúsculo (*Inde huc nonnulla transferemus*). No obstante, el *De Corduba* fue conocido por los lectores en 1574, un año antes que las *Antigüedades*, publicadas en 1575. Es más, el opúsculo en cuestión ya estaba terminado en febrero de 1573, fecha en la que Jerónimo Zurita firma el *imprimatur*.⁷ Por tanto, cuando Morales dice haber tenido por fuente las *Antigüedades*, se refiere a un material todavía inédito. Es difícil, pues, discernir hasta qué punto el *De Corduba* es modelo de las *Antigüedades* y no al contrario. Cabe pensar que el embrión de la obra haya sido el texto latino, a partir del cual Morales habría elaborado una versión en lengua vernácula, respondiendo así a la preponderancia del romance frente al latín en la segunda mitad del XVI. Se trata, como es sabido, de un procedimiento habitual en la época.

El *De Corduba*, además de ser una versión más breve que el extenso capítulo dedicado a esta ciudad en las *Antigüedades*⁸, tiene también

1788), I, 64b-67a; Bartolomé José Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos* (Madrid, 1968), p. 3145.

⁴ Aunque este texto figura en la edición complutense bajo el título, hemos preferido no editarlo en el cuerpo de la obra, que comienza con la ubicación geográfica de Córdoba.

⁵ Ambrosio de Morales, *Las Antigüedades de las ciudades de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1575).

⁶ Ambrosio de Morales, *La Crónica General de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1574).

⁷ *Yo he visto lo que toca a las antigüedades de la ciudad de Cordova, que se me cometio, y esta muy docta y diligentemente escrito, y assi se puede y deve imprimir, y este es mi parecer, y lo firmo de mi nombre. En Madrid el primero de Hebrero, 1573 (Diui Eulogii Cordubensis..., f. ii^r.)*

⁸ Cap. XXXI, ff. 105^v-130^r.

como fuente complementaria la *Crónica General*. Esto se explica por la estrecha relación que une a ambas obras en lengua vernácula. Veamos algunos ejemplos.

Ant. f. 107F:

[...] y tan distintos, que parece naturaleza con gran cuydado los quiso partir y diferenciar, echandoles el rio por termino.

De Cord. 21-23:

[...] ut id sibi studio habuisse natura uideatur, quo diuersissima soli discrimina seiungeret et eo tanquam limite separaret.

Ant. f. 60F:

En Linares en casa de Montañó estuvo una estatua de marmol blanco, y agora queda no mas que la basa de marmol azul con este titulo [...]

De Cord. 97-98:

In oppido Linares basis est marmorea, nigra, ex ruinis Castulonensis urbis admodum uicinae aduecta, his literis inscripta [...]

Crón. ff. 183D-184A:

Porque quando Seneca el viejo habla del tiempo desta guerra civil, ya llama a Cordova Colonia. Y assi se puede creer que Julio Cesar le dio a Cordova esta dignidad, como en premio de lo bien que en esta guerra le avia seguido y servido [...] Y el tener como tienen estas monedas de Cordova en el reverso su nombre Colonia Patricia, metido dentro de una corona civica, no hay duda sino que es por aver amparado y defendido en estas guerras civiles [...]

De Cord. 310-319:

[...] quod fide et tolerantia singulari Iulii Caesaris partes eo in bello semper fouerit et ciues Romanos saepe protexerit atque seruauit. Id eius ciuitatis, ex quo primum colonia facta est, nummi testantur, qui omnes cum COLONIA PATRICIA in auersa parte habeant inscriptum, ciuica corona id ipsum praeferunt inclusum. Ciuicam autem seruati ciuis et praemium et insigne apud Romanos fuisse, quis ignorat? Vnde et ab Iulio Caesare praemii causa Cordubae, ut colonia esset, tributum crediderim. Certe Seneca pater de bellis ciuilibus loquens, coloniam iam Cordubam uocat [...]

Crón. f. 218C:

Para contar ciento no ponen una C como se acostumbra en las piedras antiguas, sino una T vuelta del reves, assi que vale tanto como dos LL, las quales tambien por los dos cinquenta, que se significan en la cuenta, vienen a señalar ciento.

De Cord. 340-342:

[...] in his omnibus columnis numeri primam notam hanc esse: 1 quae nimirum L geminatae uim habeat et bis quinquaginta, hoc est centum milliarum signet.

Hasta aquí sólo una muestra. En el aparato de fuentes de nuestra edición puede seguirse el rastro de casi todo el opúsculo en las dos obras mencionadas.

En cuanto al texto latino, conoció dos ediciones más, ambas por obra de Andreas Schott en sendos tomos de la *Hispania illustrata*: II (1603) y IV (1608).⁹ La razón de esta duplicidad parece obedecer a criterios de rigor filológico. Porque en la edición de 1603 aparece el texto tan alterado, que fue preciso editarlo de nuevo para subsanar los numerosos errores. Ello explica que la edición de 1608 apenas ofrezca lecturas divergentes con respecto a la *editio princeps*.

La presente edición toma como base la *princeps*, que, en líneas generales, presenta un texto cuidado. En un primer aparato de fuentes se ofrece la localización de los pasajes paralelos de la *Crónica* y las *Antigüedades*.¹⁰ En el caso de las inscripciones, se añade la ubicación correspondiente del *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, cuyas lecturas alternativas se recogen en el aparato crítico.¹¹ Asimismo se ha optado por ofrecer a pie de página el texto de las inscripciones con las abreviaturas resueltas.¹² Un segundo aparato de fuentes indica los pasajes de los autores citados por Morales.¹³ El aparato crítico es de carácter negativo y no registra las variantes superfluas.¹⁴ Finalmente, se han editado las notas marginales tal cual aparecen en la *editio princeps*.¹⁵

Las siglas utilizadas para los distintos aparatos han de interpretarse así:

⁹ *Hispaniae illustratae seu rerum urbiumque Hispaniae Lusitaniae, Aethiopiae et Indiae scriptores uarii*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt, 1603-1608), II, 853-61; IV, 359-67.

¹⁰ Para la *Crónica* se citan libro y capítulo; para las *Antigüedades*, folio y letra.

¹¹ Para la fijación del texto de las inscripciones, el *CIL* ha manejado como fuentes la *Crónica*, las *Antigüedades* y las dos ediciones de Andreas Schott, pero no la *editio princeps*. No obstante, era conocida por los autores del *Corpus*, pues aparece citada en la p. 307(b) del tomo II. Así pues, parece que el texto fue consultado a través de la *Hispania illustrata*.

¹² La numeración de las inscripciones es nuestra (de ahí los corchetes); los números de las líneas no guardan correspondencia con la numeración del resto del texto: tienen una numeración independiente en cada inscripción.

¹³ Los autores griegos se citan por el índice del *Diccionario Griego-Español* (Madrid, 1989-) que dirige el profesor Rodríguez Adrados; los latinos por el *ThLL*.

¹⁴ Uso de mayúsculas y minúsculas y signos de puntuación. En relación con las grafías, hemos procurado respetarlas en lo posible, pero hemos regularizado siguiendo el criterio estadístico cuando había vacilaciones (p. e. *Patritia*/*Patricia*). Para *u/v* e *i/j* hemos regularizado en todos los casos con *u*, *i*, respectivamente. En cuanto a la puntuación, sólo se ha consignado la diferencia cuando podía suponer una lectura alternativa.

¹⁵ La edición de Schott de 1603 (tomo II) omite todas estas notas.

- C* = editio princeps Compluti anno 1574.
C₁ = erratorum tabula apud editionem principem.
H₂ = editio Francofurti anno 1603 apud secundum *Hispaniae Illustratae* tomum.
H₄ = editio Francofurti anno 1608 apud quartum *Hispaniae Illustratae* tomum.
Ant. = A. de Morales, *Antigüedades de las ciudades de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1575).
Crón. = A. de Morales, *Crónica general de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1574).
CIL II = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlín, 1862 -), t. II.
Crón 1344 = *Crónica General de España de 1344*, ed. de D. Catalán y M^a S. de Andrés (Madrid, 1971).¹⁶
Francus = J. Fernández Franco, *Monumento de inscripciones romanas de varias piedras de pueblos de Andalucía y España*. La cita se extrae de *CIL II* 4701.

¹⁶ La cita corresponde a un episodio de la *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, de la que Ambrosio de Morales tuvo un manuscrito (cf. *Crónica XII* 74). Pero L. F. Lindley ya demostró que dicho manuscrito no es sino un extracto de la *Crónica* de 1344, por lo que citamos según esta obra (cf. L. F. Lindley Cintra (ed.), *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344* (Lisboa, 1951), t. I, pp. CCCXXXII-CCCXXXV).

DE CORDVBAE VRBIS ORIGINE,
SITV ET ANTIQVITATE

- Sita est Corduba in ipso ferme Baeticae prouinciae meditullio
atque in his eius populis qui Turduli ab Ptolemaeo, Plinio et Stra-
bone nominantur. Ab ortu ea regio ad Bastulos seu Bastetanos
usque protenditur, ab occasu Turdetanos contingens Hispalensi
5 tractu terminatur. Habet ad meridiem late patentes campos, qui ad
Mediterraneum mare et Herculeum fretum expanduntur. Qua uero
parte septentrionem Corduba spectat, posita est ad ipsas Mariano-
rum montium radices, quos nunc Hispani prisco nomine corrupto
Sierra Morena, hoc est *Morenos montes* dicimus. Ea uero horum
10 montium pars, quae Cordubae imminet, aut saltus Castulonensis
est portio aut cum eo ad ortum coniungitur. In his montibus, au-
thore Plinio, Baeturia regio a Baeti flumine nomen accipiens, in
duas regiones diuisa ad Anam usque fluuium excurrit. Ipse Baetis,
qui Cordubam alluit, Cirtius olim et Tartessus etiam, ut apud Plin-
15 nium, Liuium et Strabonem, est dictus, tanta semper celebritate
fuit, ut toti prouinciae nomen dederit, tanta porro est magnitudine,
ut ingentia flumina exorbens ab Mauris inde nomen acceperit.
Guadalquivir nanque, quod huic fluuiio nunc nomen est ab iisdem
impositum, magnum flumen ipsorum lingua significat. Ab ortu
20 uero ad occasum latus Cordubae australe lambens, ita montes ab
planitie disternat, ut id sibi studio habuisse natura uideatur, quo
diuersissima soli discrimina seiungeret et eo tanquam limite sepa-
raret. Hinc montana, quae ipsa suburbia pene contingunt, celsis
collibus elata, duris cautibus praerupta, hortis, uineis, olea et

Cordubae situs.

Turduli.

Bastuli.

Turdetani.

Mariani montes.

Saltus

Castulonensis.

Baeturia regio.

Anas flumen.

Baetis fluuius.

1-3 Ant. 106F-107B 8-9 Ant. 47F 13-19 Ant. 111C 20-23 Ant. 107F-108

2-3 Ptol. *Geog.* 2.4,5 & 10 | Plin. 3,13 | Str. C139 12 Plin. 3,13 14 *Plinii testi-
monium non inueni: fortasse lapsus, quia in Antiquitatibus 111C Plinius non
nominatur* | Liv. 28.22,1 (Cirtius apud Frobenianam T. Liuii editionem 1535, sed
Certis lectio hodie accepta) | Str. C148

12 accipiens in,] accipien, sin C 13 Anas correxi i. m.: Ana CH₄ 15 post Stra-
bonem non dist. CH₂H₄ | post est leuiter dist. CH₂H₄ 22 se iungeret C
(cf. Ant. 107F) 22-23 separaret] super- H₂ 24 elata] edita H₂

Cordubensis soli
feracitas.
Cordubensium
montium
amoenitas.

Valhermoso.
Valparayso.
Arriçafa: hortus
regius
interpretatur.
La Senda del
rosal.
Miraflores.

omnis generis arboribus sunt consita. Inde campestris regio trans 25
flumen complanata, nuda, glareis et luto friabilis, frugibus tantum-
modo ferendis est accommoda. Huius uero tractus quae sit feraci-
tas, inclyta nostrae ciuitatis horrea, tota Hispania celeberrima, satis
ostendunt. Alterius uero soli montibus praetenti, quanta sit amoe-
nitas cum insigni fertilitate coniuncta, uix quisquam satis digne 30
possit explicare. Ipsae praecisae rupes, scopuli ipsi, ubi planum
quidpiam non soli (neque enim solum est illud, sed lapidum
strues), uerum quicquid id est plani, loton suauissimam et siliquam
sponte nascentes, satiuas uero oleam, uitem, ficum, cerasum, mala
Punica et Persica, pruna et quod magis mirandum sit, citrea mala 35
omnis generis, abunde producunt. Praestant hoc ipsum magna ex
parte fontes copiosae, purissimae, suauis et ad potum salubris
aquae, quibus passim pene erumpentibus, irrigua omnia circun-
circa fiunt. Hinc ualles urbi propiores non nisi ab pulchritudine, ab
paradisiacis, ab regiis hortis, ab rosarum multitudine aut ab florum 40
aspectu nomen inuenere. Hinc uini et olei Cordubae tanta est copia
atque adeo exuberantia, fructuum omnis generis tanta ubertas, ut
hoc unum aliam quantunuis celebrem ciuitatem magno opere pos-
set nobilitare. Mala autem citrea omnis generis tanto opere in ea
urbe exuberant, ut aduenis et peregrinis hominibus frequenter sint 45
stupori, non cumuli solum qui per plateas uenales uili pretio cer-
nuntur, sed etiam qui nouorum fructuum aduentu per agros et ster-
quilinia proiciuntur, decussis non modico impendio ex arboribus
malis, ne superfoetantes flores impedian. Florum autem ipsorum
in his arboribus tanta undiquaque intra urbem et per uicina subur- 50
bana est copia, tanta uerno tempore fragrantia, ut non iam quod de
iisdem floribus Virgilius dixit:

*animas et olentia ciues
ora illis foueant et senibus medicentur anhelis,*

31-36 Ant. 108F 39-41 Ant. 109E 44-57 Ant. 109C

52 Verg. georg. 2.134-135

25 omnis correxi (cf. 42, 44): -ium CH₄: -ium generum H₂ 26 flumen] -meu C |
nuda] nata H₂ 30 satis om. H₂ 33 quicquid] quid- H₂ 35 citrea] -tria CH₄
38 erumpentibus] irr- H₄ | circuncirca] -m- CH₂ (cf. 214, 428, 532) 43 mag-
no opere C: magnopere H₂ 44 citrea] -tria CH₄ (cf. 35) tanto opere CH₄: tan-
topere H₂ 47 fructuum C 52 dixit] -cit H₂

- 55 sed suauiissimo odore urbs tota uicinique agri perfundantur et ad eam suaueolentiam captandam noctu homines peruigiles discurrant. Neque tamen diutius in Cordubae amoenitate et ubertate celebranda sit immorandum. Vnum satis sit testis praestantissimi testimonium: ipse sit Muça dux Arabum, Hispaniae totius uictor,
- 60 quique eam omnem perlustrauerat et undique percognitam habuerat. De eo Rasis Maurus in Arabum historia his ipsis uerbis Latine fideliter redditus scribit: Abibus Aluydi filius, homo qui nullatenus in re ulla mentiretur, ita scripsit: *Quum Muça Cordubam egressus in Africam nauigaturus, summis Hispaniae proceribus deducentibus, iter occiperet et in collem, unde urbis totius prospectus patebat, uenisset, mula cui insidebat retro conuersa, aliquantulum consistens urbem tacitus contemplabatur et tandem in haec uerba cum gemitu prorripit: "Eheu Corduba, quantum es insignis! Quae et quantae tuae sunt deliciae! Quantum tibi bonorum Deus uoluit conferre!" Haec loquutus, moerens iter continuat.* Hucusque Rasis. Probum autem hunc aestimatorem, nemo non possit digne censere, ab quo uideat ipsam rei ueritatem, ipsam natiui soli praestantiam, tales gemitus, talem uocem, tantum encomium extor-
- 70 sisse.
- 75 Metalla Cordubensia sunt etiam inter authores celebratissima. Auriferam, quod mox apparebit, poetae Cordubam uocant et aes Marianum, hoc est quod prope eam urbem in eius montibus effoditur, maxime Plinius laudat, cum argenti uiui et stibii ditissimas fodinas hodie in eius tractu conspiciamus.
- 80 Habuit ea ciuitas duo nomina, quemadmodum apud Plinium legimus: Corduba enim atque eadem Colonia Patricia est appellata. Sed Cordubae nomen priscum fuit et peruetustae originis, illud alterum, quo tempore ei fuerit inditum suo loco dicemus. Et uerum rectumque uocabulum Cordubam esse Silius Italicus, Mar-
- 85 tialis, Prudentius atque alii poetae attestantur. Lex enim carminis

Muçae Arabum
ducis de
Cordubae
praestantia
dictum.

Cordubae
nomen.

58-70 Crón. XII 74 | Ant. 113A 75-79 Ant. 47F, 111A 80-96 Crón. VIII 47

61 Crón 1344 XCIX

78 Plin. 34,4 80 Plin. 3,10 84-85 Sil. Ital. Pun. 3,401;16,470 | Mart. 1.61,8; 9.61,2; 12.63,1 | Prud. Perist. 4,19

59 Muca H₂ 62 Aluydi] Albydi H₂ | homo] Romo H₂ 63 Muca H₂ 68 E heu CH₄ 71 Rafis C 72 ab] a H₂ 78 uiui] uim H₂

incorruptiora et incontaminata uocabula conseruat. Potuit sane
nominis huius ueritas fidelius ex nummis et ex lapidibus astrui.
Sunt qui se nummos uidisse affirmant, sed ego, harum rerum non
indiligens peruestigator et omnis patriae meae antiquitatis in pri-
mis studiosus, Romanum nummum adhuc uidi nullum qui Cordu-
bae nomen habeat inscriptum, cum Coloniae Patriciae nomen in
quam plurimis Augusti, Tiberii et Germanici etiam, quorum non
nullos ipse habeo, conspexerim. Lapidēs, in quibus utrunque et
alterum seorsum nomen insit, quinque apponam, quorum quatuor
primos omnes ipse uidi et ipse descripsi; ultimum relatu
doctiss(imorum) hominum habui.

90

95

In oppido Linares basis est marmorea, nigra, ex ruinis Castulo-
nensis urbis admodum uicinae aduecta, his literis inscripta:

[I]

Lapis
Castulonensis
urbis.

VALERIAE · CI
PATINAE · TVC
CITANAE · SA
CRVM · COLO
NIAE · PATRI 5
CIAE · CORDV
BENSIS · FLAMI
NICAЕ · COLO
NIAE · AVG · GE
MELLAE · TVCCI 10
TANAE · FLAMI
NICAЕ · SIVE · SA
CERDOTI · MV
NICIPII · CHAS
TVLONENSIS 15

I [Valeriae Cilpatinae Tuelcitanae salcrum, Coloniae Patritiae Cordulbensis
Flamilnicae, Coloniae Aug(ustae) Gemellae Tuccitanae, Flamilnicae siue
sacerdoti mulnicipii Chastulonensis]

90-93 Ant 106A 93-96 Ant. 106B 97-98 Ant. 60F

I Ant. 60F uu. aliter diuisis | CIL II 3278 uu. aliter diuisis

86-87 sane nominis] sane n ominis C 89-90 imprimis H₂ 92-93 nonnullos H₂
I uu. aliter diuisis H₂ 1-2 C · F · PAETINAE CIL 3-4 SACRVM] SACER-
DOTI CIL 13-14 MVNICIPII] -PI CIL 14-15 CHASTVLONENSIS] Y escri-

Superioribus annis Cordubae cum capite et muliebris statuæ
 100 fragmentis basis marmorea cum hac dedicatione est eruta: Lapis
Cordubensis.

[II]

D · N · CORNELIAE · SALONINAE
 AVG · CONIVGI · D · N · IMP
 CAES · P · LICINI · GALLIENI
 PII · FEL · ET · INVICTI · AVG
 DACICI · MAX · GERMANICI 5
 MAX · TRIB · POT · IIII · COS · III
 IMP · III · P · P · PROCOS · PROVIN
 CIAE · BAETICAE · DEVOTA · NV
 MINI · MAGESTATIQUE · EIVS
 CORD ///

Cordubae in diuæ Marinae templo, ad usum aquae benedictæ, Lapis
Cordubensis.
 cippus marmoreus candidus:

[III]

D · M · S
 M · LVCRETIVS
 VERNA
 PATRICIENSIS

II [*D(ominae) n(ostrae) Corneliae Saloninae | Aug(ustae), coniugi d(omini) n(ostri) imp(eratoris) | Caes(aris) P(ubli) Licini Gallieni, | pii, fel(icis) et inuicti, Aug(usti), | Dacici Max(im)i, Germanici | Max(im)i, trib(unicia) pot(estate) IIII, co(n)s(ulis) III, | imp(eratoris) III, p(atris) p(atriciae), proco(n)s(ulis) prouin(ciae) Baeticae, deuota nu | mini magestatique eius | Cord(uba)*]

III [*D(iis) M(anibus) s(acrum). | M(arcus) Lucretius | uerna | Patriciensis, |*

99-100 Crón. IX 44 **101-102** Ant. 11F

II Crón. IX 44 uu. *aliter diuisis* | CIL II 2200 uu. *aliter diuisis* **III** Ant. 12A-B | CIL II 2246

bieron por error el nombre de Castulo con aspiracion, al contrario de lo que comunmente se via en otras piedras (Ant. 61A): CAS-CIL

II uu. *aliter diuisis* H₂ 3 GALLIENI] -L- Crón. 5, 6 MAX.] MAXIMI Crón-CIL 6 POT.] POTEST CrónCIL 7 PP CCrón 9 MAGESTATI-QVE CH₄: MAIESTATI-Q. CrónCIL

III uu. *aliter diuisis* H₂

ANN · LV 5
PIVS · IN · SVOS
H · S · E
SIT · T · T · LEVIS

Lora oppidum et
eius lapis

Lorae, quod oppidum in medio itinere ferme est, quo Corduba
Hispalim itur, in basi marmorea pro foribus templi:

[IV]

L · LVCRETIO · SEVERO · PATRICI
ENSI · ET · IN · MVNICIPIO·FLAVIO
AXATITANO · EX · INCOLATV · DE
CVRIONI · STATVAM · QVAM · TES
TAMENTO·S·SIBI·PONI ·IVSSIT· DA 5
TIS · SPORTVLIS · DECVRIONIB·M
F · AXATITANI // // // // XII // // // //
// // // // // // // // // // // // //

Lapis
Hispalensis.

Hispali in uico, cui ab Serpente nomen est, cippus cum hoc epi- 105
taphio uisitur:

[V]

Q·FABIVS·Q · F
QVIRINA · FABI
ANVS · ILVRCO
NENSIS · IDEM

ann(orum) LV, | pius in suos. | H(ic) s(itus) e(st). | Sit t(ibi) t(erra) leuis]

IV [*L(ucio) Lucretio Seuero Patricilensi et in municipio Flauio | Axatitano ex incolatu de|curioni statuam, quam testamento s(uo) sibi poni iussit, daltis sportulis decurionib(us) m(unicipi) | F(lau) Axatitani..XII...*]

V [*Q(uintus) Fabius, Q(uinti) f(ilius), | Quirina Fabilianus Ilurcolnensis, idem |*

103-104 Ant. 22B-C **105-106** Ant. 106B-C

IV Ant. 22C uu. *aliter diuisis* | CIL II 1055 uu. *aliter diuisis* **V** Ant. 106B-C uu. *aliter diuisis* | CIL II 1200 uu. *aliter diuisis*

103 ferme itinere H_2 **105** Serpente] Sar- H_4

IV uu. *aliter diuisis* H_2 **5** S. PONI SIBI AntCIL **6** DECVRIONI. Ant.: DECVRIONibus.m. CIL **7** /// M. F. AXATITANI /// Ant.: AXATITANI.../...SIMVS XII.../ CIL **8** hoc spatium om. Ant. **V** uu. *aliter diuisis* H_2 3-4 ILVRCONENSIS] ILL- Ant.

PATRICIENSIS 5
 ANNORVM
 XXXXIII · IVST
 IN · SVIS · H · S
 E · S · T · T · L

- Patriciae uero nomen libentius in usu fuit tempore Romanorum imperatorum, tanquam honorificentius et illustri de causa, ut postea uidebimus, Cordubae impositum. Cordubae uero nomen incorruptum, credo, cum Romano imperio et lingua ad Gothorum usque tempora permansit. Tunc demum coepit permutari, ut Cordoua, quemadmodum nunc Hispani proferimus, diceretur, nec subito tamen, sed paulatim immissa corruptela. Testimonio sunt aurei nummi Gothici duo quos ego habeo diuersis satis typis percussos. Reccesuinthi regis Gothorum sunt et altera parte cum regis ipsius facie inscriptum habent RECCESVINTHVS REX; in auersa uero parte scriptum in orbem est CORDOBA PATRITIA, ut iam *V* uersum in *O* esset, *B* autem nondum esset in *V* permutatum. Ad eundem etiam modum tam in diui Eulogii ueteri exemplari, quam in quibusque libris Gothicis literis, quos uidi plurimos, descriptis, scriptum semper Cordoba reperitur. Et de nostrae urbis nominibus haec satis, nunc de eius antiquitate est dicendum.

Reccesuinthi
 regis nummi.

- Priscam admodum et peruetustam urbem Cordubam fuisse cuiusque originis propter summam antiquitatem nullum extet in hominum memoria principium, duabus potissimum de causis adducor ut credam. Primum enim quaecunque urbes in Hispania duobus nominibus olim Romanorum tempore compellabantur: alterum Hispanum nomen, priscum, uetustissimae originis et quasi uernaculum peculiaris linguae habuisse constat; alterum uero tan-

Cordubae
 antiquitas.

Patriciensis, | annorum | XXXXIII, iust(us) | in suis. H(ic) s(itus) | e(st). S(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(euis)]

107-121 Crón. XII 40 | 110-113 Ant. 106F 123-133 Ant. 113E

6 ANNORVM] -N H_2 : ANN. CIL 7 XXXXIII CIL | IVS. Ant: PIVS CIL 9 ST. H_2

107 in usu libentius H_2 111 coepit] ce- H_2 112 proferimus] prp- C | subito] suhi- C 118 ut] et H_2 | permutatum om. H_2 119 etiam om. H_2 | tam] tum H_2 122 post satis interrogatiue dist. H_2 124 extet] exst- H_2

Hispanae urbes binomines.	quam Romanae ditionis et imperii stigma eisdem fuisse impres- sum, aut adulatione dominantium imperatorum certe expressum. Tales fuere in Celtiberia Illurcis ab Tiberio Graccho mutato nomine, ut author est Verrius Flaccus, Graccuris dicta. Salduba in eadem regione Plinio teste Caesaraugusta postea nominata. Eodem authore et priscis lapidibus etiam attestantibus, Obulco Munici- pium Pontificense nomen accepit. Attubi, Claritas Iulia; Astigi, Iulia Firma; Tucci, Augusta Gemella; Iliturgi, Forum Iulium; Hi- spalis, Romulensis Colonia est dicta. Multae sunt eiusmodi apud eum authorem et in antiquis marmoribus et nummis nominum in urbibus geminationes. In quibus omnibus negare non possis, prius nomen uernaculum esse et Hispanum aequalisque cum urbis pri- mordio antiquitatis fuisse. Talis est Corduba, quae Colonia Patri- cia postea est cognominata, testemque suae uetustatis priscum nomen habet ueluti nascenti sibi olim impositum. Illud deinde nos- trae urbis uetustissimam potest antiquitatem astruere, quod, cum Turduli populi omnium uetustissimi et sapientissimi in Baetica fuisse ab Strabone tradantur, Cordubensis uero situs feracitate et amoenitate tanto opere praecellat, credi par est oppidum ibi non paucis retro saeculis fuisse conditum neque neglectam ab eius regionis accolis praestantissimam habitandi commoditatem. Quemadmodum igitur de Cordubae origine nihil certi afferri in medium potest, ita etiam uetustissimam ipsam fuisse merito creditur.	130
Graccuris.		
Caesaraugusta.		
Obulco. Attubi. Astigi. Tucci. Iliturgi. Hispalis.		135
		140
		145
Turduli.		150
		155
Corduba ab Persis non fuit condita.	Quidam ab Persis, quos in Hispaniam etiam uenisse Plinius ex Varrone tradit, conditam Cordubam fuisse asseuerant. Ipsum urbis nomen eos, ut opinor, in eam sententiam illexit, nam Cordubam etiam in Perside ciuitatem fuisse credidere. Sed enim leuis est coniectura et quam, nullo ueritatis fundamento subnixam, facile nobis fuerit in historia nostra occasione oblata conuellere.	160
Prima Cordubae mentio.	Apud autores nullam priorem Cordubae mentionem inuenias, quam quae apud Silium Italicum reperitur. In catalogo nanque	160

140-142 *Ant.* 113E **142-144** *Ant.* 113E **145-147** *cf.* 1-3 **153-163** *Crón.* X 29 | *Ant.* 113F

133 Paul. Fest. p. 86 (Lindsay) **134, 135** Plin. 3,9-12,24 **147** Str. C139
153 Plin. 3,8 **160** Sil. Ital. *Pun.* 3,401

136 Astigi] Astu- H_2 **138** Multae *correx*i: -a CH_2H_4 **144-5** urbis nostrae H_2
148 tantoopere CH_4 **152** *post* creditur *leuiter* dist. C **153** ab] a H_2

earum Hispaniae ciuitatum quae Hannibali in Italiam transeunti milites miserunt, Cordubam etiam connumerauit illo carmine:

Ne decus auriferae cessauit Corduba terrae.

165 Sed neque quo in loco condita primum Corduba fuerit, satis constare potest, cum duo eiusdem situs nunc appareant: alter, quem urbs ipsa occupat; alter, quem quarto ab urbe ad occasum milliariorum clarissimo diui Hieronymi monasterio uicinum cum ueteris Cordubae nomine desolatum cernimus. Ego non leuibus coniecturis adducor ut credam priscam urbem eodem quo nunc est iunior
170 ista situ fuisse. Quod ipsum tunc ostendemus, cum quae necessarium praemittenda sunt persecuti fuerimus.

Cordubae situs
duo.

Sequens igitur post illam Siliii Italici Cordubae mentio insignis admodum est et illustris. Refert enim Strabo Cordubam ab Marco Marcello quasi conditam et paulo post magnificentissime auctam.
175 Eius libro tertio haec sunt uerba: "Corduba, Marcelli aedificium, eo magnitudinis creuit, ut nominis celebritate et potentia polleat". Quae uerba doctos homines non paucos permouisse uideo, ut crederent hanc primam esse urbis nostrae originem et eiusdem Marcellum uerum fuisse conditorem. Proinde necessarium fuerit totum
180 hoc diligenter inuestigare et subtilius expendere quod ex Liuio atque Appiano Alexandrino constat: Marcus Marcellus, eius Marci Marcelli qui docuit Hannibalem posse superari siue nepos siue pronepos, totam Hispaniam in praetura sorte obtinuit eo ipso anno quo Q. Martius Philippus secundum et Gn. Seruilius Coepio
185 consules fuere. Est autem is annus ante Iesu Christi domini nostri natiuitatem centesimus sexagesimus septimus. Totam autem Hispaniam is Marcellus hoc anno suscepit gubernandam, quoniam ex duabus una prouincia duobus tantum antea annis fuerat effecta. Idem Cordubam et hoc ipso anno haud dubie exaedificauit. Cum

Marcus
Marcellus
Cordubae
conditor seu
instaurator.

Annus ante
Christum natum
Clxvij.

164-168 Ant. 114A 168-171 Ant. 114A 173-76 Crón. VII 31 181-183 Crón. VII 31 189-197 Crón. VII 31

173 Str. C141 180 Liv. 43.11,7 181 App. Ib. 48-50

161 Hannibali] Ann- H_2 171 fuerimus persecuti H_2 173 Cordubam om. H_2
177 homines doctos H_2 178 urbis nostrae primam esse originem H_2
179 uerum] primum H_2 183 sorte] sua H_2 184 secundum] iterum H_2
185 fuere] -unt H_2 186 centesimus sexagesimus septimus] 167 H_4

enim manifestum sit hoc tempore aedificatam fuisse, siquidem 190
 crebrior iam hinc eius mentio, ut statim apparebit, in historia
 Romana reperiatur et Strabo Marcelli opus ipsam nominet, neque
 ullus alius Marcellus neque superioribus annis neque multis
 sequentibus in Hispaniam uenerit cum magistratu, planum fit huic
 urbis structuram esse attribuendam. Et hoc proculdubio anno quic- 195
 quid id operis fuit Marcellus perfecit: non quintodecimo postea,
 cum in tertio suo consulatu in Hispaniam rediit. Tunc enim diuisa
 iterum denuo in duas prouincias Hispania, Citeriorem tantummodo
 rexit, magnis uidelicet bellis implicitam et quae consulari duce
 atque exercitu indigeret. Habuitque illo ipso anno Vltior Hispania, 200
 hoc est Baetica cum Lusitania, proprium seorsum praetorem,
 M. Accilium, ut est apud Appianum.

Cordubae
 ueteris situs.

Sed quid illud tandem fuit quod Marcellus fecit, ut Cordubam
 aut condidisse aut aedificasse dicatur? Dicam quod sentio quod- 205
 que manifesta pene ratione adducor ut credam. Nouam urbem in
 eo situ qui nunc uetus dicitur construxit et a fundamentis totam
 erexit. Cum oppidum antea esset non admodum magnum, transfer-
 re inde et alio situ amplificare cogitauit: noua forma Romana uti-
 que denuo urbem condens, ab se ut esset et dici posset aedificata,
 perfecit. Urbem igitur quae nunc uetus dicitur Corduba aedificauit. 210
 Docet hoc profecto eius urbis forma et tota, quam ruinae adhuc
 ostendunt, structura Romanum plane opus et Romanorum consilio
 totum undique fuisse fabrefactum declarat. Situs nanque totus qua-
 drata forma est ita, ut filo protractus et circumsignatus initio plane
 uideatur. Duplo longior totus est quam latior ambitus. Ego enim 215
 probe funiculo dimensus cum pedes in fronte duo millia quadrin-
 gentos inuenissem, ab latere quatuor millia octingentos ad amus-
 sim comperi. Cum pedes dico, tertiam ulnae nostratis, qua pannum
 lintheum sericumque metimur, partem intelligo, quod ipsum cum
 pedis Hispani antiqui mensura probe congruit. Haec autem tam 220

203-218 Ant. 114A-B 218-220 Ant. 32B-33C 220-223 Ant. 114C-D

192 Str. C141 202 App. Ib. 58-59

191 iam hinc om. H_2 195 procul dubio H_4 | quicquid] quid- H_2 196 non] nam
 H_2 198 prouincias] -tias C 201 Baetica] Bactrea H_2 | proprium om. H_2
 204-205 quodque] quod H_2 205 ratione] raiione C 207 post erexit leuiter dist.
 H_2 214 protractus] -tactus H_2 | circumsignatus] circuncisig- CH_4 219 lintheum]
 -t- H_2

exquisita diligentia situm quadrandi et conduplicandi tota plane Romanorum fuit, non nostratium Hispanorum, qui uix dum hoc nostro tempore politioris aedificationis formam didicere. Prominet praeterea media urbe quadrata etiam forma planities (siue arcem
 225 illa habuit siue forum, quam satis apparet) ad perpendicularum fuisse productam. Tantumdem enim ab utraque fronte distat; superiori latere (nam accliu solo tota urbs fuerat imposita) aliquantis-
 per cum muro coniungitur. Eam curam et subtilem formae sym-
 metriaeque diligentiam, quis non uidet Romanorum esse, non
 230 priscorum Hispanorum? Apparent insuper quatuor magnarum turrium fundamenta eiusdem industriae Romanae et studii in aedi-
 ficando manifesta testimonia, ut quae quatuor angulis murorum adnectantur. Eiusdem symmetriae Romanae simul est indicium uia
 quadrato lapide constrata, quae ab inferiori urbis latere portae, ut
 235 credi potest, coniuncta in proximum colliculum ducit, ubi magni cuiuspiam aedificii uestigia perseuerant fanumque insigne inibi
 fuisse licet coniciere, cui nobile stramentum et uiae maior com-
 moditas deberetur. Locus enim ab urbe diuulsus et in plano modice admodum elatus uetat praesidium cogitare.

240 Haec omnia hominis sunt studiosissime aedificantis et ueluti ociose ad fabricam considentis. Multum autem ocii Marcellum toto pene eo anno habuisse, Hispaniae pax, de qua Liuius et Appianus, declarat. Longum uero sit, si commemorare pergam, quanta ex situ eius urbis monumenta Romana superioribus et nos-
 245 tro etiam hoc saeculo sint eruta, quae plane testantur Romanam eam urbem fuisse Marcellumque perinde Romanum hominem eius fuisse conditorem. Cum uero iam ex superioribus satis constet ante hanc Marcelli aedificationem priscum oppidum, quod Corduba diceretur, in iis locis fuisse, intelligere plane non possumus, num
 250 antiquum situm Marcellus suo opere complexus fuerit an nouum exquisierit. Nisi quod sequentia quaedam indicabunt, contempto ueteri oppido, ipsum in delectum ab se situm totum penitus trans-
 tulisse.

Cordubae
incrementa.

223-239 *Ant.* 114E-F 240-243 *Crón.* VII 31 | *Ant.* 114D

242 *Liv. periocl.* 48 243 *App. Ib.* 48-50

236 perseuerant] perseue.ant C H₄ 237 licet] -bet H₂ 241 ociose] -cc- C
 247 constet] -at H₂ 247-48 antehanc C 250 fuerit om. H₂ 252 abse C

Exaedificata ad hunc modum denuo urbe magnificeque amplifi-
cata, frequentiore iam eius urbis mentionem Romana habet his- 255
toria. Creuerat nimirum oppidum antea non admodum celebre et
Romana plane urbs coepit iam ab Romanis nobilitari. Eo iam
paulo post praetores ad hybernandum exercitum reuocabant et ad
ius petendum populi conueniebant. Quae omnia ex Romanis et
Graecis scriptoribus collecta late nos in nostra historia prossequi- 260
mur. Hinc Metellus Pius deuicto Sertorio gregem poetarum indi-
dem ciuium secum Romam reduxit. Quod si, ut de eisdem Cicero
dixit, pingue quiddam et peregrinum resonabant, temporum plane
fuit uitium, non ingeniorum. Neque enim Roma cultiores poetas
tunc temporis habuit. Hic etiam nobile illud continentiae frugalis- 265
simae exemplum praetor Piso, eodem Cicerone referente, edidit.
Quod utique praestiterit ipsismet summi oratoris uerbis apponere:
“Nihil” inquit “*nimum uetus proferam. Sunt uestrum, iudices,
quam multi qui Lucium Pisonem cognouerunt, huius L. Pisonis qui
praetor fuit patrem. Is cum esset in Hispania praetor, qua in 270
prouincia occisus est, nescio quo pacto, dum armis exercetur,
annulus aureus quem habebat fractus est et comminutus. Cum
uellet sibi annulum facere, aurificem iussit uocari in foro ad
sellam Cordubae et ei palam appendit aurum; hominem in foro
sellam iubet ponere et facere annulum omnibus praesentibus. 275
Nimum fortasse dicet aliquis hunc diligentem: hactenus repre-
hendat, si quis uolet, nihil amplius. Verum fuit ei concedendum,
filius enim L. Pisonis erat eius, qui primus de pecuniis repetundis
legem tulit. Ridiculum est nunc de Verre me dicere, cum de Pisone
Frugi dixerim; uerumtamen quantum intersit uidete. Iste cum ali- 280
quorum abacorum faceret uasa aurea, non laborauit, quin non
modo in Sicilia, uerum etiam Romae in iudicio audiret; ille in auri
semuncia totam Hispaniam scire uoluit unde praetori annulus fie-
ret. Nimirum ut hic nomen suum comprobauit, sic ille cognomen.”*

Bellorum
ciuium
tempora. Superuenerunt non multo post bellorum ciuium inter Caesa- 285
rem et Pompeium tempora, in quibus caput prouinciae Baeticae
totius Corduba ab Aulo Hirtio, siue is Oppius est, appellatur. Et ad

262 Cic. Arch. 26 266 Cic. Verr. 2.4.56-57 nona (sc. oratio) in antiqua diuisione
s. XVI (cf. editionem Hervagianam, Basileae, 1534) 287 Bell. Hisp. 3,1

258 hybernandum] hi-H₂ 263 quidam C 266 edidit] ae- C 282 uerumetiam C

hanc Cordubam ab Marcello aedificatam, de qua nobis sermo nunc
est, omnia illa gesta fuisse, multa sunt quae aperte declarent. Illud
290 in primis quod pertransito ponte praelium inter ipsum atque urbem
non semel committitur. Sed non est hic locus de his pertractandi.

Paulo post etiam Augusti Caesaris temporibus, quibus Strabo et
uixit et scripsit, uere iam is author potuit insigni cum praeconio
affirmare eo magnitudinis Cordubam creuisse, ut nominis potentia
295 et celebritate polleret. Colonia enim paulo ante fuerat effecta nec
cuiusuis uulgaris coloniae dignitas eidem fuerat attributa, sed quae
nomine et maiestate praecelleret atque Colonia Patricia et esset
reuera et uocaretur. Qua de re idem author, de Corduba adhuc
uerba faciens, his uerbis scripsit: *Eam sane initio habitauere et*

300 *Romanorum et indigenarum uiri delecti, nam prima haec istos ad
locos a Romano populo est dimissa colonia.* En tibi et primam in

Hispania saltem in Baetica coloniam Cordubam fuisse et cum
magna dignitatis praestantia et ueluti praerogatiua fuisse. Vtrun-
que insigne quiddam est et ad Cordubensem celebritatem et glo-

305 riam singulare. Neque uacat tamen hic quantum hoc sit fusius
explicare. Illud unum tantummodo non praeteribo: tantam hanc
dignitatem, ut non nisi uiri patritii ex Romanis et Hispanis delige-
rentur, qui in eam coloniam immigrarent et clarissimum utriusque
nobilitatis domicilium ipsam redderent, eo maxime merito Cordu-

310 bam fuisse consequutam, quod fide et tolerantia singulari Iulii
Caesaris partes eo in bello semper fouerit et ciues Romanos saepe
protexerit atque seruauit. Id eius ciuitatis ex quo primum colonia
facta est nummi testantur, qui omnes cum COLONIA PATRICIA
in auersa parte habeant inscriptum: ciuica corona id ipsum praefe-

315 runt inclusum. Ciuicam autem seruati ciuis et praemium et insigne
apud Romanos fuisse, quis ignorat? Vnde et ab Iulio Caesare prae-
mii causa Cordubae, ut colonia esset, tributum crediderim. Certe

Seneca pater de bellis ciuilibus loquens coloniam iam Cordubam
uocat et in Cordubae coloniae iam factae nummis faciem et nomen
320 Caesaris Augusti cernimus. Et Carteiam quidem aliquanto uetus-

Corduba
Baeticae caput.

Corduba prima
in Hispania
colonia.

Ciuica in
nummis
Cordubensibus.

In prologo
declamationum.

298-305 Crón. VIII 47 306-324 Crón. VIII 47

292, 293 Str. C141 Cf. 15-16 318 Sen. contr. 6,4

290 inprimis H_2 298 author] auctor H_2 302 colonia] Co- imperfectum uerbum
i. m. C 309-10 Cordubam C_1 : Cordubae CH_2 316 fuisse] fni- C

tiorem in Baetica fuisse coloniam, ex Liuiο prorsus intelligo. Neque obstare tamen hoc Strabonis dicto is plane intelliget, qui quo ex hominum genere Partheniorum uidelicet et libertinorum deducta fuerit, animaduēterit.

Lapides duo
Cordubae
Augusti tempore
inscripti.
Tempus.

Illi uero duo insignes admodum lapides ex Augusti Caesaris 325 temporibus ad haec nostra usque Cordubae perdurant, qui ipso eodem anno, quo Dominus Noster Iesus Christus natus est, fuere inscripti. Habent enim haec uerba:

[VI]

IMP · CAESAR · DI
VI · F · AVGVSTVS
COS · XIII · TRIB
POTEST · XXI
PONTIF · MAX 5
A · BAETE · ET
IANO · AVGVST
AD · OCE
ANVM
└XIII 10

Lib. 2 de doctri.
Christ. cap. 28.

Est hic lapis in summo templo alterque persimilis in D. Ioannis Herediae domo uisitur. Amouent autem hae columnae omnem 330 illam controuersiam quam diuus Augustinus inter quosdam ecclesiae Christianae scriptores narrat fuisse de anno Dominicae natiuitatis. Ignorantes enim Romani consulatus seriem, ut idem inquit sanctus doctor, hic diuersa sensere. Sed de hoc non uno in loco

VI [Imp(erator) Caesar, Dilui f(ilius), Augustus, | co(n)s(ul) XIII, trib(unicia) | potest(ate) XXI, | pontif(ex) max(imus). | A Baete et | Iano August(o) | ad Ocelanum | └XIII]

325-328 Crón. IX 1

VI Crón. IX 1 uu. aliter diuisis | CIL II 4701 uu. aliter diuisis

321 Liv. 43.3-4 322 Str. C141 331 Aug. doctri. christ. 2,28

321 intelligo] intellligo C 323 hominum ex genere H_2 | Partheniorum] -norum H_2 324 animaduēterit] -uertit H_2
VI uu. aliter diuisis H_2 1 CAESAR] CAS- CH_4 5 PONTIF] PONT. Crón. 6
BAETE] BEA- H_4 7 AVGVST] AVGST CH_4

- 335 historia nostra pertractat. Ibi etiam quod hoc Iani templum Cordu-
bense fuerit prosequimur. Duae enim aliae columnae Tiberii Cae-
saris tempore erectae eisdem etiam omnino uerbis eiusdem memi-
nerunt: altera in ipso fano maiori, in diui Francisci altera
340 conspicitur. Illud uero in antiquitatis studiosorum gratiam non
praetermittam: in his omnibus columnis numeri primam notam
hanc esse: \perp , quae nimirum L geminatae uim habeat et bis quin-
quaginta, hoc est centum milliarum signet. Neque enim pauciora
milliarum ab Corduba ad Oceanum, qua magis est propinquus,
quam centum quatuordecim reperiens. Quod Francus iurisconsultus,
345 antiquitatis studiosissimus primus, quod sciam, animaduertit.

Francus
iurisconsultus.

Habuit etiam Romanorum tempore ad Romanae ciuitatis et alia-
rum magnificentissimarum ciuitatum imitationem puteal Corduba.
Visitur nanque hodie quoque in marchionis Commarensis aedibus
marmoreum puteal cum hac inscriptione:

Puteal Cordubae
fuit.

[VII]

PVTE
AL
THAD
DAI

- 350 Aristoteles porro in Politicis docet non nisi magnas urbes puteal,
hoc est subterraneum carcerem, ad putei similitudinem excauatum
habere solitas fuisse. Et Libonis Puteal Romae tum ab Horatio
celebratum non uno loco legimus, tum etiam in argenteis nummis
depictum et inscriptum uidemus. Et haec omnia cum multis aliis
355 inscriptis lapidibus Romanis qui multis in locis urbis uisuntur,
nemo unquam dubitauit ex ueteris ruinis fuisse huc diuersis tem-
poribus aduecta.

Lib. 4, cap. 16

338-345 Crón. IX 1 346-349 Ant. 115D
VII Ant. 115D | CIL II 2232 uu. aliter diuisis

344 Francus f. 30 350 Arist. Pol. 1300b 16 (ex Gloss. II p. 405) 352 Hor.
epist. 1.19,8; sat. 2.6,35 363 I. Al 9,1

337 eiusdem om. H_2 345 quodsciam C 347 Corduba] -ae H_2 348 Commaren-
sis C_1 : -ronsis C
VII uu. aliter diuisis H_2 3-4 TADDAI] -D- H_2

In ea igitur Marcelli urbe nati sunt Senecae duo, pater et filius, Lucanus, Portius Latro et alii insignes Cordubenses quorum meminit Seneca pater. Illa eadem clarissimum et fortissimum ciuem 360
Aemilius
Regulus
Cordubensis.
Libro antiquit. I
9, cap. I.
Cordubae noua
translatio.
Aemilium Regulum dedit, qui et ipse cum aliis ipsum tanquam
ducem insequentibus in Caligulae imperatoris necem coniurauit.
Et cum alios, inquit Iosephus, priuata odia incitarent, hunc publica
tantummodo mala permoueabant.
Quandiu uero urbs illa uetus ab Marcello condita perdurauerit 365
quoue tempore mutatione oppidi in hanc, quae nunc est, sit tra-
ducta, etsi maxime uellem, non possum tamen liquido explicare.
Quod coniecturis assequi possum, in medium adducam. Tempore
Tyberii et Caligulae imperatorum uetus Marcelli ciuitas non solum
stabat, sed inclyta admodum et celebris uigebat. Id nummi ueteres 370
Germanici
Caesaris
nummi.
inducant ibidem reperti cum Germanici uultu et nomine, quorum
auersa pars COLONIA PATRICIA habet intra ciuicam inscriptum.
Neque multi simul unquam eiusmodi nummi sunt reperti, ut recon-
diti fuisse uideantur, sed unus atque alter, ut casu prolapsi et
amissi appareant. Sed neque quisquam tamen sequentium impera- 375
torum nummos se ibi reperisse unquam dixit. Tanta praeterea urbis
per illa tempora celebritas, repente utique non potuit concidere,
cum in summa pace et tranquillitate nobis Romani imperarent.
Non nisi maturo per multos annos consilio, non nisi longi tempo-
ris spatio opus fuit, ut inde penitus fuerit immigrandum. Noua 380
etiam urbs fuit condenda et magno molimine multa fuere compa-
randa. Migrationem nanque fuisse et oppidi mutationem res ipsa
testatur et paulo post sumus ostensuri. Sexaginta igitur aut eo
amplius post Caligulam annos eam urbem stetisse possumus cre-
dere et ad Traianum usque perdurasse. 385
Ducenti deinde ferme anni ad Diocletiani usque imperium prae-
teriere, in quibus Cordubae nullam mentionem apud authores inue-
nimus. Tantum illa basis marmorea, de qua iam diximus, cum
fragmentis etiam muliebris statuae in domo Garsiae Mendesii de

350-357 Ant. 115D-E 357-360 Ant. 114F 365-385 Ant. 117D-E 386-388 Ant. 117F

352 tum om. H_2 358 urbe om. H_2 369 Tyberii] Ti- H_2 370 inclyta] -clita H_4
373 eiusmodi unquam H_2 375 sequentium] -titm C 386 imperium] tempora H_2

- 390 Soto Mayor fuit eruta cum Corneliae Saloninae, uxoris Gallieni
imperatoris, inscriptione. Sed enim Diocletiani temporibus dubium
esse non potest, quin urbs uetus iam periisset et noua, quae nunc
est, percelebris haberetur. Testimonio sunt sanctorum martyrum
395 sunt. Ibi sanctorum Aciscli et Victoriae domus, in qua educati fue-
rint; ibi sepulchrum, quod ad portam fluminis fuisse in eorum pas-
sione scribitur; ibi puteus, in quem pars uiscerum sancti Zoyli
martyris fuerit proiecta, monstrantur atque omnia et singula magna
religione ab tota ciuitate coluntur. Ita fit, ut nemo pius ferre iam
400 posset, si quis passos in ueteri urbe hos sanctos martyres crederet.
Et de sanctis tribus martyribus Fausto, Ianuario et Martiale idem
prorsus est statuendum. Et cum Gothos hanc nouam urbem
tenuisse constet et Sisebuti regis temporibus Agapius Cordubensis
episcopus sanctum Zoyli corpus ibidem, ipso per somnium com-
405 monstrante, repperit, quod ab martyrii sui tempore delituerat, ibi-
dem utique fuerat excarnificatus et occisus. Nam ab aethnicis inter
peregrinorum sepulchra cadauer eius occultatum legimus, ne ab
Christianis dignosceretur, et Agapio episcopo idem martyr (quem-
admodum inuentionis habet historia) et locum ubi passus fuit et
410 ubi suum corpus occultatum iaceret indicauit. Quae omnia liquido
possunt probare hanc nouam urbem Diocletiani et sociorum impe-
ratorum tempore, hoc est circa annos Dominicae natiuitatis trecen-
tos, conditam iam ueteri diruta fuisse. Ille itaque marmoreus lapis
ad diui Nicolai, quod uocant, in urbe templum effossus ibidemque
415 parieti insertus, qui basim Constantii Caesaris (ut eius indicat in-
scriptio) statuae olim praebuit, in hac noua urbe dedicatus, non ex
ueteri adductus uidetur. Quod etiam de Saloninae statua et basi
quispiam posset etiam existimare.
- Causa autem huius mutationis et Cordubae iterum renascentis
420 occasio uulgo inter ciues affertur aquae penuria qua uetus Marcel-
li urbs laborabat, longius a flumine quatuor pene milliaribus

Sancti Acisclus
et Victoria.

Sanctus Zoylus.

Sancti Faustus,
Ianuarius et
Martialis.
Sisebutus rex.
Agapitus
episcopus.
Sancti Zoyli
inuentionio.

Tempus.

Constantii
Caesaris
inscriptio.

Vrbis mutandae
causa.

395-397 Crón. X 23 | Ant. 117F 401-402 Crón. X 24 402-410 Crón. X 15 |
Ant. 117F 419-458 Ant. 117A-C

390 Saloninae] -niae H_2 396 sepulchrum] -crum H_2 400 posset] -it H_2 | siquis
 H_2 401 Ianuarins i. m. C 404-5 commonstrante] -trato H_2 406 aethnicis] e-
 H_2H_4 414 effossus] -s- C 415 basim] -n H_2 416 inscriptio] . insorip- i. m. C
418 posset] -it H_2

remota. Ego uero nihil minus in causa fuisse uideo, nam et intra
 La Fuente de los urbis eius situm fontes non uno loco erumpunt, prope muros uero
 berros. ad ortum fons est etiam bene magnus, cui ab lauerum copia nomen
 est, et uicini huic fonti fratrum diui Hieronymi horti ab fontium 425
 Los Hontanares. copia nomen inuenere. Et amplior ille canalis, quo ipsum idem
 diui Hieronymi coenobium nunc fruitur, per uallem ipsam dor-
 sumque prominens circumductus in urbem influebat. Durat adhuc
 ad ipsum fontis caput eius aquae ductus portio quadrato lapide
 constructa. Reliquum ipsa coenobii structura, lapidum similium 430
 indiga, consumpsit. Quicunque etiam putei inferioribus praesertim
 urbis partibus effoderentur, aquae in omnem usum commodissi-
 mae copiam profecto subministrarent. Quae cum ita sint, loci insa-
 lubritatem, adde etiam ad inhabitandum incommoditatem, causas
 potissimas urbis transferendae fuisse credendum est. Eum enim 435
 Veteris situs situm Marcellus delegerat, qui ponendae urbi esset multis modis
 incommoda. importunus. A flumine primum tam longe remouit, cum fluminis
 eo tempore nauigabilis commoda essent quam plurima. Munita
 neque situ neque opere urbs esse potuit. Per eum enim clium est
 in planum demissa, cui montium iuga ita super immineant, ut lapi- 440
 dibus rupibusque non admodum magnis, quarum est in sublimi
 ingens copia, tantum commotis obrui moenia possent atque pro-
 sterni. Sed loci insalubritas in primis est insignis. Iidem praecelsi
 montes septentrionale urbis latus ita protegunt, ut aquilonaribus
 uentis, qui salubriores existimantur, nullo modo posset afflari. 445
 Cumque ab ortu ad occasum in longum sit totus situs porrectus, ab
 septentrione uero in meridiem latitudine per clium in planum
 excurrente protendatur. Ad solis ardores, qui sunt in ea regione
 feruentissimi, urbs tota quanta erat iacuit exposita. Neque inferiora
 aedificia tegere in cliuo superiora poterant aut aestus mutua 450
 coniunctione impedire, cum interim, si quo algore Aquilones pos-
 sent subuenire, praerrupta montium culmina arcerent. Inde est
 quod nunc etiam scorpionum multitudine totus is ueteris urbis
 situs abundat: ipsa uenenatorum animantium foecunditate loci
 pestilentis uitium prodente. Quod ipsum maxime facit ut credam 455
 priscam illam Cordubam, quae ante Marcellum fuerat, hoc situ

422 uero] -re H_4 423 urbis] urbs C 429 aquaeductus H_4 430 similium] -lis H_2
 433-4 in salubritatem H_4 434 adde] atque H_2 442 obrui] -rr- C 443 imprimis
 H_2 445 posset] -it H_4 449 tota *om.* H_4 | exposita] im-po- H_2

quo nunc est, extitisse salubritatisque memoria et experimento eum ipsum iterum nunc repetisse.

Instaurata igitur seu denuo condita noua urbe, quadratam formam, quantum possum conicere, retinuit. Duo enim muri latera ad amussim producta cum antiqui operis atque adeo Romani uestigiis perdurant: ab arce ad Solis, quam dicunt, Portam lambente flumine australe, inde ad eam Portam, quae Anguli uocatur, orientale. Duo alia latera Maurorum, credo, detrahentium, superaddentium et multis modis immutantium substructiones confudere. Et praeterquam quod quadrata ista forma lapidesque quadrati Romanam indicant structuram, ipsa quoque portarum in illo ad orientem latere cum aequae distante interuallo dimensio tota prorsus Romana est. Quinque enim portas cum adaperirent, in medio unam (quae Ferrea dicebatur ipsaque diruta loco nomen manet) constituerunt, hinc inde binas aequalibus interuallis superaddentes. Perdurant hae quatuor: Solis et Anguli, in ipsis angulis; reliquae mediae, quae portulae uoce diminuta nuncupantur, altera ad Emporii uicum, altera ad Fontem Siccum est posita, et utraque ab suis locis nomen accepit. Nec dubitant nostri Cordubenses quin ex ueteri Marcelli urbe translata in nouam hanc fuerint publicorum et priuatorum aedificiorum omnia ornamenta. Hinc in urbe statuae Romani operis non paucae, inscripti lapides multi; hinc tot marmoreae columnae multaque alia huiusmodi quae passim uisuntur. Quanquam nonnulla huius nouae urbis propria fuisse superius probabamus.

Hinc iam liquet quanto opere uulgus nostrae ciuitatis aberret, qui Senecae domum eam fuisse affirmat, quae nunc publici Senatus aedibus ad austrum coniuncta, ex aduerso pene diui Benedicti templum respicit. Emit eam olim uir clarissimus, D. Petrus a Corduba, primus Plieguensis marchio, ea fama commotus et doctori Antonio Morali patri meo, medico praestantissimo, dono dedit dicens: «Sapientissimi uiri Cordubensis domum non nisi ab sapientissimo Cordubensi debere possideri». In his aedibus ego natus sum, sed Senecae eas nunquam fuisse, quis iam non uidet? Qua de re latius in historia nostra et Hispaniae antiquitatibus dise-

Nouae urbis
situs et forma.

Solis porta.
Anguli porta.

Porta ad
Emporii uicum.
Fontis sicci
porta.
Antiqua
monumenta
Cordubae multa.

De Senecae
domo.

Primus
Plieguensis
marchio.
Doctor Antonius
Morales.

459-480 *Ant.* 118A-B 481-501 *Crón.* IX 9

456 quae] que *CH*₄ 463 uocatur *om.* *H*₂ 467 structuram] scripturam *H*₂
480 propria] -pia *C* 481 quantoopere *CH*₄: quantopere *H*₂ 485 primus *om.* *H*₂

ruimus. Cum uero Senecam nomino, patrem Senecae philosophi semper intelligo. Hic enim, Neronis praeceptor, Cordubae nisi puer admodum nunquam fuit: infans pene inde Romam ab patre abductus.

Sed enim silentio hic praeterire aequum non est, quamuis Senecae ipsius nulla mentio perduret in antiquis Cordubae monumentis, eius tamen familiae cognomen in basi peruetusta reperiri. Eam nuper Hieronymus Morales filius, meus patruelis, iuuenis ingenio et literis ornatiss(imus) antiquitatisque studiosiss(imus), in patris sui, fratris mei, doctoris Augustini Oliuae, medici etiam praestantissimi, domum transferre curauit. Habet autem inscriptum:

Hieronymus
Morales.
Doctor
Augustinus
Oliua.

Lapis cum
Senecae
cuiuspiam
nomine.

[VIII]

FABIAE · GN · F
PRISCAE · ASIDO
NENSI·FABIVS·SE
NECA·ET / / / / E
RIA ·Q ·F ·PRISCA 5

Habuit etiam haec noua urbs suam Romanorum temporibus magnificentiam, cum praeceptorem etiam Graecarum literarum, qui grammatici nomen (quod erat eo tempore doctrinae probatissimae insigne), tueri posset, quique praeterea illud habuit admodum singulare, quod supra centesimum annum peruixit. Extat eius iaspideus cippus in eiusdem fratris mei doctoris Augustini Oliuae domo cum his literis:

VIII [Fabiae, Gn(aei) filiae), | Priscae Asido|nensi Fabius Selneca et (Val)e|ria, Q(uiti) filia), Prisca]

VIII Crón. IX 9 uu. aliter diuisis | CIL II 2249 uu. aliter diuisis
501-508 Ant. 119A-C

493 ab] a H_2 **495** non est aequum H_2
VIII uu. aliter diuisis H_2 **1** GN. Crón CH_2H_4 : CN CIL **4-5** /// ERIA
Crón CH_2H_4 : (VAL)ERIA CIL

[IX]

D. M. S.
 DOMITIVS · ISQVI
 LINVS · MAGIS
 TER · GRAMM
 GRECVS · ANNOR 5
 C I
 H · S · EST · S · T · T
 LEVIS

Huius autem posterioris temporis et rudioris esse hanc inscriptionem, tum characteres iam degenerantes, tum etiam uerba ipsa et orthographiae neglectus docent. Proinde nouae urbi hunc lapidem dedi.

Haec igitur noua urbs, insignis etiam ipsa olim et celebris, sed inde multo celebrior, quod clarissimorum martyrum sanguine diuino munere fuerat consecrata, ab Romanis ad Vandalos, inde ad Gothos tandem peruenit, apud quos in magno pretio semper est habita. Bellum uidelicet aduersus Agilam regem potuit sola suscipere et ingenti proelio uictum fugare. Eadem rebellanti aduersum Leouigildum patrem diuo Ermenegildo, principi tunc, postea martyri inclyto, sese coniunxit et fidei catholicae causam pio bello complexa est. Ioannes enim Biclarensis abbas, qui eo ipso tempore uixit, scriptum in suo chronico reliquit sanctum principem peracto bello Cordubae ab patre fuisse comprehensum. Ad amicam nimirum et suarum partium ciuitatem confugerat. Nummum etiam aureum eiusdem principis habeo et tanquam sanctissimi martyris egregium monumentum ueneror, quem in hoc sacro bello constat esse percussum. Gratissimum autem lectoribus me facturum spero, si ipsum hic descripsero. Altera parte faciem habet principis ipsius

Agila rex
 Gothorum.
 Leouigildus rex.
 Diuus
 Ermenegildus
 martyr.
 Abbas
 Biclarensis.

Diui
 Ermenegildi
 nummus.

IX [D(iis) M(anibus) s(acrum).] Domitius Isquillinus, magis[ter] gramm(atice)s | Graecus, annor(um) | C I. | H(ic) s(itus) est. S(it) t(ibi) t(erra) | leuis]

IX Ant. 119A-B uu. aliter diu[is]is | CIL II 2236 uu. aliter diu[is]is
 513-521 Ant. 119D 518-545 Crón. XI 65

IX uu. aliter diu[is]is H₂ 3 ras. in prima littera, L sup. C 5 GRECVS] GRAE-
 CIL 7 EST CH₂H₄: E. Ant. 8 LEVIS CH₂H₄: L. CIL

Cap. 3

iuuenilem cum his literis: ERMENEGILDI, altera alatum Victo-
 riam praefert, ut eius conspectu suorum animis ualidam eius 530
 potiundae spem Deo duce et adiutore immitteret. Inscriptio autem
 quae Victoriā circundat, cum sit caelestis prorsus et admirabilis,
 tum etiam sanctum principem in eo bello eadem pro militari tes-
 sera usum fuisse est admodum uerisimile. Est enim haec: REGEM
 DEVITA. Quam nemo uel leuiter in Sacris Literis uersatus non 535
 confestim uidet ex illis diui Pauli ad Titum uerbis fuisse desump-
 tam: *Haereticum hominem post primam et secundam correptionem deu-
 ita*. Et omnia tam acute, prudenter et pie excogitata sunt et
 adaptata, ut credi possit ab Leandro aut Isidoro fratre, uiris sanc-
 tissimis literisque et ingenio praestantibus, diui etiam Ermenegildi 540
 auunculis, fuisse excogitata et principi pie rebellanti ad symbolum
 et tesseram tradita. Repertus uero fuit is nummus prope Cordubam
 tertio milliario in eo agro qui *Casa Blanca*, hoc est Domus Alba,
 nominatur. Et Cordubae fuisse percussum possumus etiam existi-
 mare. Officinam enim nummariam in ea urbe fuisse, tum ingens 545
 eius celebritas, tum nummi illi Reccesuinthi regis, de quibus retro
 diximus, ostendunt. Nulla enim alia de causa Cordubae nomen in
 illis ad eum modum potuit apponi, nisi quod ibidem fuissent con-
 flatī atque signati. Sed haec omnia cum aliis nostrae ciuitatis for-
 tunis in nostra de rebus Hispaniae historia late prossequimur. 550

536 Vulg. Tit. 3,10

536 fuisse] fulsse C 536-7 desumptam] -mtam H₂ 546 nummi] numeri H₂

Elżbieta KOLBUS

SEBASTIANI FABIANI SULMIRCENSIS ACERNI *ROXOLANIA*

1. Praefatio

Sebastianus Fabianus Klonowic (ca a. 1545-1602), poeta Polonus, nomen suum e more, voce *Klon* idem atque *Acer* significante, in *Acerum* mutavit¹ et Sulmirciae natus se Sulmircensem appellavit.²

Roxolania, poema Latinum, e 904 distichis constat. Rerum canendarum partitionem ipse auctor indicavit (*Roxolania*, vv. 177-178). Itaque situ terrae descripto, quae Russia ferret latius exposuit et facete fabulas nonnullas inseruit (*Roxolania*, vv. 185-1166). Cum Russiae silvas permagnas et vetustissimas celebravisset et complures urbes, exempli causa Lublinum, Zamoscium, Leopolim, Kioviam laudavisset (*Roxolania*, vv. 1167-1446), mores denique, qui essent Ruthenorum a puero usque ad mortem, depinxit (*Roxolania*, vv. 1447-1808). Itaque *Roxolania* carmen inscriptum est.

Recentioris aevi scriptores poetaeque patriam suam in laudibus efferebant et varias terras, quas peragrabant, describebant. Acernus Leopoli, in Roxolaniae metropoli, habitavisse ibique aliquantum temporis remoratus esse putatur. Hanc igitur Regni Poloniae regionem oculis suis visam canere instituit et opusculum suum senatui Leopolitano dedicare voluit.

Viri eruditi observaverunt nullum paene fuisse antiquum scriptorem, quin legisset Acernus penitusque cognovisset. Nos quidem in hanc sententiam libenter concedimus, quia carmen *Roxolaniae* legentibus magnus nobis auctorum Graecorum et Romanorum occurrebat numerus. Nam Homerum, Hesiodum, Aesopum, Lucianum, Tibullum, Propertium, Horatium, Statium, Iuvenalem, Martialem, Plinium Maiorem lectitavisse videtur; Theocritum, Vergilium, Ovidium plurimum imitatus esse. Etiam suae aetatis scriptores non fugit, imprimis eos, qui regiones,

¹ Cf. *Roxolania*, vv. 201-202: Hic acer est, arbor dolabris levibus apta,/ (haec arbor nobis nomina grata dedit).

² Cf. S.F. Klonowic, *Victoria Deorum*, charta inscriptionis: Nasoni Sulmo patria est, Sulmircia nobis, Nosque Poetastri, Naso poeta fuit.

urbes, gentes Europae Septentrionalis descripserant, exempli causa Matthias Miechovita (*Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis*, Cracoviae 1517), Olaus Magnus (*Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, Romae 1555), Paulus Jovius (*Moschovia*, Basileae 1561).

Libellum *Roxolaniae* Acernus anno 1584 Cracoviae apud Andream Petricovium typis mandandum curavit. Haec editio princeps, qua carmen dedicatorium, carmen ipsum et carmen de tempore continentur, rarissima est: quinque eius exemplaria in bibliothecis Polonicis adhuc asservantur. Etiam raras sunt duae editiones operis *Roxolaniae*, quae post auctoris mortem prodierunt:

1. Editio a Nicolao Malinowski curata, [in:] Władysław Syrokomla, *Przekłady poetów polsko-łacińskich*, tom. 6 (Vilnae, 1852), pp. 145-205.
2. Editio ab Antonio Mierzyński curata, [in:] A. Mierzyński, *De vita moribusque scriptisque latinis Sebastiani Fabiani Acerni* (Berolini, 1857), pp. 3-65.

Editio Vilmensis editionem principem diligenter sequitur. N. Malinowski in textum perpauca mutationes introducit et veterem orthographiam omnibus fere locis servat. Menda typographica non multa sunt, sed ipsi poemati versus 48 et 49 desunt.

Editio Berolinensis abundat emendationibus, quarum plures supervacuae nobis videntur. A. Mierzyński veterem orthographiam mutat et numeris versus notat. Sed ipsi poemati versus 471 et 472 desunt. Etiam carmen de tempore omissum est. Haec editio multis mendis typographicis laborat.

Itaque editionem principem pro fundamento nostrae editionis ponimus. Textui apparatus criticum adicimus, quo omnes trium editionum discrepantias nunc primum congestas enotamus et decem versus ipsius poematis e manuscripto ab Alexandro Guagnino enotatos et in suis chronicis, quae *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio* (Cracoviae, 1578) inscribuntur, prolatos collocamus. Saeculi XVIⁱ propriam orthographiam saepissime mutamus et ut legentium commoditati consulamus ad Latinitatis classicae normam redigimus. Formas inassimilatas assimilatis praeponimus. Eum interpungendi modum introducimus, qui nunc ab omnibus probatur.

Iam nostra editio confecta Mecislaus Mejer opusculum *Roxolaniae* in linguam Polonicam versum et textu Latino adauctum Varsoviae nuper (a. 1996) publicavit. Qui editione principe nixus editionem Vilmensem

praetermisit, nonnullas emendationes editionis Berolinensis protulit et servavit, textui Latino paucas suas correctiones (quae nonnumquam nostris correctionibus simillimae sunt) inseruit.

Professoribus Mariae Cytowska (Universitatis Varsoviensis), Christinae Stawecka (Universitatis Catholicae Lublinensis) et Josepho IJsewijn (Universitatis Catholicae Lovaniensis) pro cura auxilioque maximas gratias agimus.

2. Conspectus siglorum

- A — Sebastian Fabian Klonowic (Acernus), *Roxolania*, Cracoviae, typis Andreae Petricovii, anno 1584. Usa sum exemplari, quod in Bibliotheca Nationali Varsoviensi (XVI. QU. 790) asservatur.
- B — Ed. N. Malinowski, [in:] Władysław Syrokomla, *Przekłady poetów polsko-łacińskich*, tom. 6 (Vilniae, 1852).
- C — Ed. A. Mierzyński, [in:] A. Mierzyński, *De vita moribusque scriptisque latinis Sebastiani Fabiani Acerni* (Berolini, 1857).
- D — 10 versus Roxolaniae in Alexandri Guagnini chronicis, quae inscribuntur *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio* (Cracoviae, 1578), prolati: vv. 267-270; duo versus, qui editioni Cracoviensi desunt; vv. 213-214; vv. 265-266.
- corr. E.K. — correxit Elisabeth Kolbus
- corr. J. IJ. — correxit Josephus IJsewijn
- E — Ed. M. Mejor, [in:] Sebastian Fabian Klonowic, *Roxolania. Roksolania czyli Ziemie Czerwonej Rusi*, Biblioteka Pisarzy Staropolskich, tom. 6 (Varsoviae, 1996).

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5. Textus

Si canimus silvas, silvae sunt consule dignae.
Verg. Ecl. 4, 3

(p.1) AD MUNIFICENTISSIMUM ET CLARISSIMUM SENATUM
 INCLITAE CIVITATIS LEOPOLIENSIS
 AUCTORIS CARMEN DEDICATORIUM

1 O mihi semper venerande coetus,
 vertices urbis, celebris Senatus,
 cui Leontini populosa sponte
 concio paret,

5 Quaeso devoti specimen laboris
 atque transmissum facie serena
 et favens a me, peto, vile quamvis,
 suscipe donum.

En tibi silvas hominumque mores,
 10 incolas ursos nemoris profundi,
 atque turritas hominum tabernas,
 mittimus urbes.

Saepius summos legimus monarchas
 munus exilis pretii probasse,
 15 adfuit dantis pia si voluntas,
 pectore prompto.

Nec Deo semper pretiosa dantur,
 omnium quamvis Domino potenti:
 (p.2) saepe verbenae volucresque fumi
 20 numina placant.

Scrinio sacro mulier reponit
 aeream pauper Solymis monetam:
 mox tibi fervens placuit dicantis,
 CHRISTE, voluntas.

25 Hoc precor nostras animo Camenas,
 sumito, quaeso, celebris Senatus,
 quo Deus frondes animoque parva
 munera reges.

(p.3)

ROXOLANIA

SEBASTIANI SULMIRCENSIS ACERNI,
CIVIS LUBLINENSIS

- 1 Dicite Russorum felicia pascua, Musae,
et fortunati rura beata soli.
Dicite muneribus felix Cerealibus arvum,
glebas, quae nunquam fallere vota solent.
- 5 Ne quoque silvarum, divae, sileatis honorem,
silvae divitias hac regione ferunt.
Stipitibus passim promuntur mella cavatis,
quercus summa scatet glandibus, ima favis.
Dicite Russigenas Arctoi sideris urbes,
- 10 quas Helice gyro transmeat alta suo,
atque Leontopolim sacram moresque Ruthenûm,
quadrupedum pingues et sine labe greges.
Dicite quod surgit caelo arridente Zamoscum,
dicite, nam vobis nascitur illa domus.
- 15 Ardua templa, arces, lambentes sidera turres,
augustas canimus magnificasque domos.
Castae Pierides, pavido succurrite vati,
demonstrate mihi devia tesqua, precor.
- (p.4)
- Ingenium vos Argolicis si detinet oris,
- 20 ingenii tellus est quoque nostra ferax.
Forte iuvant vivi, reserat quos ungula, fontes,
atque adeo dulces Bellerophontis aquae.
Sunt etiam nobis viva scaturigine lymphae,
sunt gelidi latices, unda perennis adest.
- 25 Non desunt Russo scindentia flumina campos
et varius fluviis incola piscis inest.
Forsitan arridet scenis Parnassus opacis,
culmine laurifero frondea sarta gerens.
Ne dubita, dea, sunt nostris sua Maenala terris
- 30 atque suas Alpes Russia nostra videt.
Ecce Leonini montis ferit aethera vertex,
illius arx pendet conspicienda iugo.
Dum pluviis fusco densantur nubila caelo

nubis et elatae dum coalescit aqua,
 35 dividit humentes nebulas nimbosque sonantes
 mons ac deciduas culmine scindit aquas.
 Vertice fulmineas lites et proelia findit,
 ignea tela Iovis nec metuenda timet.

Hoc habitare, deae, merito sub monte potestis,
 40 donec propositum perficiamus iter.
 Hic etiam praeses radiis pertingit Apollo,
 annorum gratas efficit ipse vices.
 Non hiemes urgent semper, nec bruma Ruthenos,
 nec semper saevit frigus Hyperboreum.
 (p.5) 45 Postquam delicuêre nives, Aquilonibus Euri
 succedunt, tellus aurea dona refert.
 Sic tepidam Borea cedente Favonius auram
 efficit, a rapido frigora sole cadunt.
 Aegoceros glaciem generans hiemesque sonoras
 50 efficit horrendas terribilesque nives.
 Exoriens Taurus praegnantia temperat arva,
 veris et exortu tempora grata facit.
 Sed Leo Sarmaticum et succendit Carcinus orbem,
 maturas fruges flavaque farra facit,
 55 autumnique parens minitatur frigora Libra;
 anni spe frueris dite, colone, penu.
 Ergo Fama soror taceat malesuada Gigantum,
 affingens nostro frigora dura solo.
 Mentitur siquidem nostras canescere terras,
 60 prataque continuo diriguisset gelu.
 Mentitur steriles inimico frigore sulcos
 constrictos nullo vomere posse coli.
 At nos per rapidos fruges demittimus amnes,
 per mare, per terras munera nostra fluunt.
 65 Ulterior nostra fruitur Germania messe,
 Oceanus dorso devehit ista suo,
 laetaque pascuntur virides armenta per agros,
 nutritur nostro terra remota bove.
 Haec non aeterno constrictis frigore campis

(p.6) 70 proveniunt, tepidi dona sed ista soli.
 Mnemosynes igitur carissima pignora, Musae,
 visum iam nostras accelerate plagas.

Sed video: Clio caelo delapsa sereno
 virgineum ducens ex Helicone chorum,
 75 hic ubi Bistricius placida fluit alveus unda
 agger et oppositus stagna profunda facit.
 Bistricius captus, qui praeterlabitur urbem,
 LUBLINO dulces atque ministrat aquas,
 pars ruit in stagnum, pars alluit altera turrim,
 80 turrim, quae sursum sorpta fluenta vomit.
 Influit in muros, cannalibus intrat ahenis,
 affabre factis unda coacta rotis.
 Ripa stat altera caedivis fecunda salictis,
 altera fert pinum taediferumque nemus.
 85 Praetexunt ulvam in medio carecta palustrem,
 enodis lenta iuncus abundat aqua.
 Dulcisono viridem legere in flumine ripam
 Pierides, castus virgineusque chorus.
 Hic posuere chelyn, plectrum citharamque sonoram,
 90 expediunt artis quaelibet arma suae.
 Consedere toris divae de caespite stratis
 et positum terrae planitiemque probant.
 Cum tenerae dubitant silvas intrare Camenae
 ignotumque sibi praemeditantur iter,
 95 ecce venit deus Arcadiae Satyrique bicornes,
 pulcher Hamadryadum paret et ipse chorus.
 Finitimas nobis monstrant ex ordine silvas,
 quod vicina nemus Russia forte colit.
 Errat inassuetus vates errantque puellae,
 100 mirantur lucos, magne Ruthene, tuos.
 Qua Satyri vel qua silvestria numina ducunt,
 avia silva deis pervia facta fuit.
 Nulla hominum apparent vestigia, multa ferarum,
 visceribus silvae rara volucris erat,
 105 sique sequi nolis, praesto irremeabilis error,
 Daedaleus praesto mox labyrinthus adest.

(p.7)

- Nos igitur sequimur, Musae simul omnia lustrant,
 lustrantes tacito pectore visa notant.
 Non fugit Aonidas, quos partus educet intro
 110 confoveatque sinu squalida silva suo.
 Arboris haud natura latet, non incola saltus,
 herba nec assurgens, quae tegit alta greges.
 Cum satis erratum est, subierunt taedia cursus,
 cepit lassatos et requietis amor.
 115 Sors quoque dextra frui concesserat ipsa cupitis,
 obtulit umbrosum sole furente locum.
 Robora collis habet vicinis vallibus alni,
 aethera proceris quae petiere comis.
 Hic fugit in praeceps declivi tramite rivus,
 120 murmura qui lapsu garrulus alta ciet.
 Et philomela suo resonabat carmina dumo,
 vox cantatricem prodidit ipsa suam.
 (p.8) Exiguo prompsit sexcentas gutture voces,
 dulcisonum fundens ore tumente melos.
 125 Ingeminant merulae nullis imitabile carmen,
 nec minus argutae vocis acanthis habet.
 Turtur et ingemuit raris innoxia nidis,
 et fecunda parix ore tremente canit.
 Hic teretem nubem fecere per aera turdi,
 130 dumque volant, referunt agmina densa globum.
 Hi quoque non rudibus mulcent concentibus auras.
 Differt, cum resonant, saepe viator iter.
 Denique silvicolûm promiscua carmina fervent,
 non facile est mistos enumerare sonos.
 135 Agmina consedere simul cornuta deorum,
 Silvani, Fauni nec deus Arcas abest.
 Secedunt Musae, decuit secedere divas,
 lascivos fugiunt numina casta deos,
 succisaeque legunt neglecta sedilia quercu,
 140 expediunt artis quaelibet arma suae.
 Clio prima recens modulatur arundine carmen
 et silvestre prior temperat arte melos.
 Alternis referunt et mutua iubila Musae,
 mutata geminant ingeminantque vice.
 145 Futilis excipiens mox omnia silva refundit

- et reticere sibi credita silva nequit.
 Stentor si clamet, referunt quoque Stentora silvae,
 murmura committis, murmura silva dabit.
 (p.9) Ut speculum formas, reddunt quoque carmina valles,
 150 quaeve sonant Musae, vallis opaca sonat.
- Quid prius ambigitur, silvas meditentur an arces,
 an mores hominum Russigenasque viros?
 Quod dubitant, solvit litemque diremit Apollo
 divinaque deus voce locutus, ait:
 155 “Principio silvas, iam ne dubitate, sorores,
 atque loci genium condidit ipse DEUS.
 Non fuerant urbes, tenuerunt omnia silvae,
 non homo natus erat silvaeque nata fuit.
 Silva prius stabat, quam Russia nomen haberet,
 160 quamque vocata fuit Russia, prima fuit.
 Tandem successere viri regionibus illis,
 Iapeti quondam pignora lecta senis,
 seu tu Bastarnas antiquo nomine dicas,
 seu tu Sauromatas Illyriosque voces.
 165 Forsan Hamaxobios addictaque corpora plaustris
 appellare libet; nil tua vota moror.
 Gens tamen illa tulit Russorum nomen avitum,
 quod nunc agnoscit posteritasque probat.
 Hos quoque (quamvis sint alii) vocitare Ruthenos
 170 non vetat exemplum, lector amice, patrum.
 Hi praetervecti lentas Maeotidis undas,
 sparsi per Boreae frigida regna trucis,
 hic sibi fixerunt sedem sub sidere Plaustri,
 hic sibi legerunt iugera laeta soli.
 (p.10) 175 Hic placuit Russis urbes circumdare muris,
 hic patrios mores et sua scita tenent.
 Ergo per silvas primum veniemus in urbes,
 mores et leges ultima cura venit.”
 Consilium placuit Musis, dum, Phoebe, peroras,
 180 persuadente chorus praeside fratre silet.
 Incipiunt lucos Russi describere tractus
 et numeris tentant claudere cuncta suis.
 Et nemo, et silvas communi voce salutant,

propositum celeres aggrediuntur opus.

- 185 Principio immensos colit inclita Russia lucos,
contiguum Litavis accolit illa locum.
Ad rigidos tendunt sinibus deserta Mosochos,
longis ambitibus continuisque plagis.
Oceanus torpens nivibus glacieque perenni
190 a Boreae regnis Russica regna secat.
Alpibus hanc deus Ausoniis disiungit ab oris,
Pontus ab Eois segregat ipse Getis.
Nullos anfractus regio nullasque salebras
intus habet, tellus undique plana iacet.
195 Arboribus variis vastissima silva redundat
et varios fructus materiasque parit.
Hic patulae quercus, lenta pinguedine pinus,
hic platani crescunt, fraxinus, alta larix.
Hic virides taxi tremulique alnique palustres
200 cognatumque ferunt verna salicta, siler.
(p.11) Hic acer est, arbór dōlābrīs lēvībūs āptā,
(haec arbor nobis nomina grata dedit).
Populae frondes, immitibus arbuta pomis,
hic tenues coryli duraque cornus adest.
205 Robora cum tiliis, verrentes aethera fagi,
aptaque materiis arbor et omnis erat.
Hic albent betulae rubra vibice minaces,
et socias ornos flexilis ulmus habet.
Hinc stivam burimque agrestis turba recidit,
210 hinc flectit celeres arte domante rotas.
Hinc poliunt Russi stridentia plaustra bipenni,
atque leves currus rustica turba facit.
Non facile invenias ferrato haerentia clavo
plaustra: facit ligni cuncta ministerium.
215 Arboreis Russi compangunt omnia gomphis;
ferro eget, ast ligni prodiga terra boni est.
Ferratisque carere rotas mirabere canthis:
efficiunt ferri ligna coacta vicem.

199. tremulique AB: tremulaeque C

213. non ABC: nec D; invenias ABC: invenies D

- Cum struitur currus vel cum fabricatur aratrum,
 220 tali procedit rustica turba modo.
 Quae penu materiae est, lustrans ex ordine silvam,
 eligit ex lignis, quae sibi cumque placent.
 Vel procera legit rectis temonibus apta
 axibus, et robur septipedale secat;
 225 vel secat obliquo sponte enascentia gibbo
 (p.12) et dentale novum curva ad aratra facit;
 vel vi flexa domat, gracilis dum vincitur arbos,
 quod natura negat sedulitate docens.
 Si non ipse facit, servos hortatur inertes,
 230 hoc urget famulos exstimulatque modo:
 "Montibus heu, moneo, quercum curvate novellam,
 vertice cum nondum brachia matris adit.
 Non bene corrigitur discens contemnere ventos
 planta, sed artifices temnit adulta manus."
 235 Ergo seu facilem quercum parere docebit,
 crescere praecipiens usibus ipse suis,
 Curat inassuetum robur mansuescere vinclis,
 donec et iniussum crescere sponte velit,
 materiamque cavet silva exercere patenti,
 240 qua locus est cunctis pervius agricolis,
 ne, dum silva suos posthac adolescat in usus,
 praeripiant alii debita ligna sibi.
 Exercet fagos, si quas arbusta coronant,
 quasque frequens foliis arboris umbra tegit.
 245 Sic Russi faciunt, lucos rimantur opacos,
 recta requirentes curvaque ligna simul.
 Rite secant platanos habilesque securibus ulmos,
 et revehunt lucis robora secta domum.
 Inde reposta domi labor est suspendere fumo,
 250 ut calor exsiccet sic moderatus aquas.
 Nulli cruda operi tenuique madentia succo
 commoda sunt, fumis ligna recocta valent.
 (p.13) Postquam materiam fornax examinat igni
 atque levem fumis proxima flamma facit,

242. praeripiant AC: praeciipiant B

247. platanos BC: plantanos A

- 255 arida ferventem rursum demergit in undam
 ligna, domans variis flexibus illa premit,
 et quae non potuit silvis curvare profundis,
 arbor dum proprio stipite viva fuit,
 in varios flexus truncum post fata coegit,
 260 ingenio subigens rustica dextra suo.
 Dum fragilis tepida quercus lentescit in unda,
 cogitur in varios ire redire modos.
 Inde rotae gyros circumtorquentur in aptos,
 rusticus hinc currus organa cuncta facit,
 265 et sine ferri usu terebro sua plaustra coaptant
 et lignum ligno consolidare solent.
 Neque linunt Russi querulos pinguedine currus,
 nec picis auxilium stridulus axis habet.
 Auditur procul adveniens crepitare *colassa*
 270 (sic fragiles currus, Russe, vocare soles),
 armaque dum Cereris campestria condit aratra,
 multas ambages difficilesque struit.
 Poplitibus flexis similes capulosque recurvos,
 dentali affixos, lignea monstra, facit.
 275 Addita multiplici terebrata foramine buris,
 grande operis pondus, pars onerosa bovi.
 Infima pars molis, vomer iumenta fatigans;
 proscindente solum vomere cuncta gemunt.
 (p.14) Ingeminat presso suspiria vomere taurus;
 280 exiguum ferrum multa querela bovis.
 Exponit pressus ranae penetralia Phoebo,

265. usu terebro *C*: usu terrebro *AB*: iussu pangunt *D*; coaptant *ABC*: terebris *D*
 267-270. In *D* legitur:

- 1 Neque linunt *Rutheni* querulos pinguedine currus, (cf. *Rox.* v. 267)
Haud picis auxilium stridulus axis habet. (cf. *Rox.* v. 268)
 Auditur *veniens longe* crepitare *Colassa* (cf. *Rox.* v. 269)
 Sic fragiles currus, Russe, vocare soles. (*Rox.* v. 270)
- 5 Nam faciunt habiles uno vectore quadrigas, (*Rox.* — v. deest)
 Invectas *Rutheni*, quas equus unus agit. (*Rox.* — v. deest)
Nec facile invenies ferrato haerentia clavo (*Rox.* v. 213)
 Plaustra, facit ligni cuncta ministerium. (*Rox.* v. 214)
 Et sine ferri *iussu pangunt* sua plaustra *terebris*, (cf. *Rox.* v. 265)
 10 Et lignum ligno consolidare solent. (*Rox.* v. 266)
 v. 267. Russi *ABC*: *Rutheni D*; v. 268. nec *ABC*: *Haud D*; v. 269. procul adveniens *ABC*:
 veniens longe *D*

- et quod lucifugus talpa cubile colit.
 Vomere pelluntur terrestria monstra cavernis,
 rustice, seminibus damna futura tuis,
 285 Vomere depresso sequitur sua prandia cornix,
 agricolae a tergo corvus et ipse sequax.
 Ignotus genti perhibetur vomeris usus
 antea, sed nuper visitur esse frequens.
 Lignigeno campos (sine ferro) dente colebant,
 290 ignaros ferri foverat alma Ceres.
 Et Russis ligno tum sollicitantibus agros
 liberior rudibus copia messis erat.
 Finitimae contra cultrix Podolia terrae,
 immanes platanos ad sua aratra secat.
 295 Robora nulla domi fumo exploranda reponit,
 illa sed illacrimans cruda, iuvence, trahis.
 Bissenosque iugo iungit Podolia tauros
 ordoque praecedit longus aratra boum.
 Ore tamen taurus testatur pondus hiulco,
 300 tardoque incessu triste fatetur onus,
 quique boves sequitur spatiosa per arva colonus
 immeritum terret per maledicta bovem.
 Stivaque montana permagna reciditur orno,
 hortatur fessos subsequiturque boves.
 (p.15) 305 Hoc igitur curvi Russis exemplar aratri est
 praedictoque struunt plaustra sonora modo.
- Quid, si grande canam in silvis, mirabere, gramen,
 in quo luxurians bucula pasta latet.
 Exsuperant herbae flaventia terga iuvençûm;
 310 vix pecoris pastor cornua celsa videt.
 Arboris incurvae ramosa cacumina caprae
 depascunt frondes exspoliantque novas.
 His etiam frondes dulcissima praeda salignae,
 cum cytiso glaucis populus alta comis.
 315 Quin etiam Russo permagnus nascitur hircus,
 bellaque cum saevis iungit aperta lupis.
 Barba sub ingenti pendet longissima mento,

- foetida colla foveant totaque terga iubam.
 Dum fera villosae latet insidiata capellae,
 320 naribus hanc patulis olfacit ipse caper.
 Cornibus armatam vibrans in proelia frontem,
 non timet in saevos obuius ire lupos.
 Propugnatque audax vulgus muliebre maritus,
 et teneros foetus armiger ipse tegit.
 325 Noctes atque dies, hieme aestatisque sub igne
 non redit in domini bucina pasta domum.
 Silva gregis stabulum est, gregis incunabula silvae;
 pastor et armenti sub Iove semper agit.
 Vilia congestae faciunt magalia frondes,
 330 haec pecoris dives tecta magister habet.
 (p.16) Pasta domum redeunt dominumque armenta revisunt
 tum, cum sunt iugulos exhibitura suos,
 dumque iubent pecoris consortia linquere taurum,
 vel culturus humum vel moriturus abit.
 335 Ille valedicit pecori pecorisque magistro,
 edit maestitiae tristia signa suae.
 Vincula fronte gerens mugitibus aethera complet,
 prospicit attoniti caetera turba gregis.
 Sufficerent vires notum asseruisse sodalem,
 340 munere praecipuo sed ratione carent.
 Percipiunt etiam impendentia fata iuveni,
 sensus et in bruto pectore mortis inest.
 Dum ferrum et cultros necis instrumenta futurae
 cernunt, formidant bruta necanda necem.
 345 Dum videt haesuram propria cervice securim,
 bos quoque fatalem sentit adesse diem.
 Et postquam crudum lanienae olfecit odorem,
 saepius ornavit motus odore fugam.
 Restitat et torvo leti videt organa vultu,
 350 cornibus et tentat demere vincla suis.
 Non secus ac latro, qui crimine pressus in ipso,
 damnatur capitis iudicis ore reus,
 (ante oculos praefert necis arma cruenta satelles,
 per quae viscera sunt perfodienda rei)
 355 ad loca progreditur craneis albae labris,

- (p.17) invitum differt heu tremefactus iter,
 sic pecus innocuum, funestam ubi senserit horam,
 praefert maestitiam teste tremore suam.
 Si nervosus erit taurus frontisque rotundae,
 360 hunc oneri appositum rusticus esse probat.
 Libertate sibi dempta, mitescet aratro,
 oblitus nemoris sedulus arva colet.
 Heu mihi, quos gemitus edit maturus arandi,
 dum primum vitulus dat sua colla iugo.
 365 Necquicquam detrectat onus, fera cornua iactat,
 indicit vento frivola bella levi.
 Cui vitulo ex pingui pendent palearia collo
 vixque sua ipsius corpora pigra feret,
 aut quibus infames crassa pinguedine ventres
 370 promineant, lato corpore pondus iners,
 hi meliores sunt supponere colla securi;
 plus adipe illi quam strenuitate valent.
 Pingua nescio cur minus ingeniosa videmus,
 at carnosa minus strenua saepe magis.
 375 Sic quoque bos pinguis spatioso inglorius armo
 ventreque Troianum qui superabit equum,
 raro vertendis perhibetur idoneus agris,
 vendicat hunc solito iure popina sibi:
 vel iugulat tales, alias vel mittit in oras
 380 Russia, sed dociles detinet ipsa boves.
 Silvaque quadrupedum cornutos pascit alumnos,
 quos vigilans pastor vix numerare potest.
 (p.18) Pascua detondet pecudum lectissima pubes
 procerique boves corpora magna ferunt.
 385 Creditur esse nefas vitulum mactare novellum,
 quem proprio lactans ubere mater alit.
 Quem fingit genitrix crebroque volumine linguae
 lambit et infantem bos querulosa foveat.
 Si quis forte necat vitulos, homicidia rentur;
 390 spes in eis noscunt scilicet esse gregum.
 At simul occiduus condit sua lumina Titan,

375. armo C: arnio AB

376. superabit AB: superavit C

390. spes AC: spe B

- vesper et in villis pulverulentus adest,
 non venit ad dominae mulgenda iuvenca Penates,
 ubera nec referet turgida lacte domum.
 395 Cogit in assuetas Corydon armenta latebras,
 detinet in silvis nocte dieque boves.
 Conficit ex caesa pecori magalia quercu,
 cum bobus clausas atque tuetur oves.
 Sentibus et stabulum spinis intexit acutis,
 400 obtendens tuto moenia celsa gregi.
 Dum fera venatrix pecorosa cubilia captat,
 et vi saepta putat transilienda lupus,
 re non perfecta, spinis laniatus acutis,
 frustratus praeda, sentibus ictus abit.
 405 At securus agit per noctes otia pastor,
 obicibus fidens aurem in utramque cubat.
 Gramina dum nivibus fuerint herbaeque sepultae,
 armentum pastor detinet omne domi,
 (p.19) ad plenumque boves faeni stabulantur acervum:
 410 parta per aestatem torpida bruma comest.
 Ast ubi gaudentes hiberno frigore pinus
 dependent viridi luxuriantque coma,
 densa fronde nives retinent hirtamque pruinam
 neque sinunt sub se pascua flava tegi.
 415 Hic pecudes cogens hiberno frigore pastor,
 captivi relevat taedia longa gregis.
 Hic saturae faeno veteri recreantur in herba
 vaccae, praetexunt stramina graminibus.

 Diximus haec satis. Hinc mulgendi regula lactis
 420 dicetur; mecum dicite cuncta, deae.
 O Galathea, fave, niveo formosa colore,
 adsis proposito, candida nympa, meo.
 Nomine te duplici, duplici ratione vocamus,
 Nereidum generis gloria summa, decus,
 425 partim virgineo quod sis dea lactea vultu
 oraue quod referas candidiora nive,
 partim quod, Siculus dum te Polyphemus amabat,

- iactabat niveas, o dea, lactis opes.
 Litore consedit patrio infremuitque cicuta,
 430 alliciens numeris te, Galathea, suis.
 Litora nota videns, fueras ubi mersa sub undas,
 vix non decrevit te, dea pulchra, sequi.
 Hoc igitur cantu miserum solatur amorem,
 alloquitur scopulos monstraque surda maris:
 (p.20) 435 "Vos, scopuli, testor, pelago impendentia saxa,
 delphini, viridis tu quoque turba deûm,
 o Neptune, potens genitor, moderator aquarum,
 heu mihi tu nostri testis amoris ades.
 Iam pereo, caecum figit praecordia telum,
 440 dilaniant pectus spicula dira meum.
 Incolit aequoreos fluctus meus auctor amoris:
 cur, genitrix, piscis non tibi natus eram,
 ut maris adnarem quocumque puella sub aestu est,
 reginam tangens deliciasque meas?
 445 O Galathea, veni, resonantes desere fluctus,
 piscibus et monstribus patria regna sine.
 Sum quoque, crede mihi, Cyclops Neptunia proles,
 terrea regna tamen praefero parva fretis.
 Alma Thoosa mihi mater, bona filia Phorci,
 450 et meus est pelagi cultor uterque parens.
 At potius tamen insanum mirabimur aequor,
 delphinis patrias atque sinemus aquas.
 Et nobis Aetnae vicinum habitabitur antrum,
 et non facta manu, sed mihi nata domus.
 455 Est nobis locus aeterno mirandus hiatu,
 rupe sub aera Trinacriisque iugis.
 Hic mihi fixa domus, nullo dimobilis aevo,
 hic ego cum clauso commoror ipse grege.
 Viribus excello ac divina stirpe; Gigantas
 460 terra alios genuit, sed mihi diva parens.

428. iactabat AB: lactabat C

456. Trinacriisque BC : Trimacriisque A

457. dimobilis corr. E.K.: dimobili ABC

458. cum AC: cum deest B

459. Gigantas AB: Gigantes C

- (p.21) Candida virgo, veni, geminos tibi servo catellos,
 quos enixa uno est ursa puerperio.
 Non etiam flumen bibo, nec mihi frigida curae,
 sed niveo semper vivere lacte iuvat.
- 465 Lacte sitim domo, lacte famem, non caseus unquam
 destituit calathos, o Galathea, meos.”
 Mollia pertraherent blandam promissa puellam,
 sed nimium densi displicuere pili,
 grande supercilium, frons prodiga, vultus agrestis,
 470 enormis facies, immoderata gena.
 Displicet informis spatioso corpore moles,
 culta nec agresti squalida barba manu.
 Displicuit misero frendens modulamine carmen,
 fistula nec dominae tibia rauca placet.
- 475 Pluris enim formam faciunt quam munera nymphae,
 formosas formam constat amare bonam.
 Et sine muneribus pulchros comitantur amores,
 spernit ab informi dona profecta Venus.
 Sic bonus insano captus Polyphemus amore
 480 pauper erat forma divitiisque potens.
 Temnit opes virgo, vultum fastidit agrestem,
 Nereidi solus pulcher amator Acis.
 Sola placet nymphae spumantis copia lactis,
 hoc solo Cyclops nomine et ipse placet.
- 485 Deliquium formae reparatur lacte puellis,
 virgineus candor lacte putatur ali.
- (p.22) Et certe toties repetita veniret in antrum,
 delectata ovium lacte marina dea.
 Olli pulchra soror turpem exprobravit amicum
 490 Doris, inhumanum crudivorumque virum.
 Ergo paenituit sponsi, taedebat amorum,
 ob dominumque nihil sponsa moratur opes.
 Huc, Galathea, veni, Siculum exsecrata Gigantem,
 gratior hic pastor quam Polyphemus erit.
- 495 Desere Trinacriam, montes fluctusque Sicanos,
 et portenta quibus Sicelis ora scatet.
 Lactea diva, veni: Russos ne despice saltus,
 omnia sunt isto commodiora solo.
 Non quoque postremas enutrit Russia formas,

- 500 e grege pastorum qui placet ipsa lege.
 His dictis pelagi consensit alumna profundi,
 mox petiit niveo Russica regna pede.
 Hic dea pulchra manens implet bovis ubera lacte,
 dum veniunt potum rauca fluentia greges.
- 505 Densa repercutitur metuendo silva boatu,
 cum repetit mulctram bos saturata suam.
 Mulgeri cupit aut teneros lactare iuencos,
 destillasse in humum nec sua dona sinit.
 Defuerit casu, qui mulgeat ubera palmis,
- 510 aut vitulus, tenero qui bibat ore, perit:
 ubera squamoso turgentia lacte colubro
 praebebit natis orba iuvenca suis.
 (p.23) Hos colubros dixere *boas* a bobus agrestes,
 emulget siquidem pestis iniqua boves.
- 515 Lubricus (ut perhibent) umbrosis vepribus anguis,
 observat latitans ubera plena boum.
 Femina dum captat virides incautior herbas,
 graminis insidias nec studiosa videt,
 hic rotat in teretem revocata volumina spiram
- 520 corporis et proprii celat in orbe caput.
 Bucula si propius dumos accedet opacos,
 in quibus insidias occulit ille suas,
 prosilit extemplo metuendus ad ubera serpens
 implicitusque pedi lactea dona petit.
- 525 Vertitur in gyrum, vibratis cornibus hostem
 nequicquam quaerit territa vacca suum.
 Horrescit primoque stupent a frigore membra,
 frigidus attactu dicitur esse draco.
 Quid faciat? Pedibus non excutienda tyrannis
- 530 haeret et amplexu belua nixa suo.
 Ubra nodosus violat stillantia praedo,
 nutrit et invisum pendula mamma caput.
 Munera subducit portentum debita mulctris,
 legitimam coluber lacteque fraudat heram.
- 535 Dum sic assueta saturatus pendet ab alvo
 serpens et tepido lacte refertus abijt,

- quem modo pertimuit, rursum querulosa requirit
degenerem vitulum sedula vacca petens.
- (p.24) Ad loca nota venit, mugitibus implet anhelis
540 omne nemus, dum te, turpis alumne, vocat.
Tu vero recubas curvo revolutus in antro,
te domus immitem pulverulenta foveat.
Talia dum prudens agnoscit taedia pastor,
rimatur, coluber qua sit opertus humo.
545 Observat, silvae qua bos regione moretur,
quo redeat serpens ad sua furta loco.
Ast ubi pendentem deprendit ab ubere furem,
illius ad iustam praeparat arma necem.
Cernit acutum anguis nutricis lapsus ab alvo,
550 occipit et seram tecta sub ima fugam.
Praeluditque vias accinctus fuste columno
pastor et ulcisci lactea damna cupit.
Sibilat hic fugiens, pastor convicia verbis
congerit et furi proxima fata parat.
555 Ille facit varios sinuoso corpore flexus
et capiti nodis consulit ille suis.
Ut redimat vitam, iuvat omnes ire per artes,
(saepius iratas effugit arte manus).
Corporis in proprii frustra se moenia condit,
560 moenibus allisis arx simul ipsa perit.
Attollens igitur violentus brachia pastor,
caedit squamigeram fuste sonante rotam.
Exit tabificum poto cum lacte venenum,
supplicium prodit poenaeque sumpta reum.
(p.25) 565 Scilicet omnia sunt certis obnoxia damnis,
omnibus insidiae, certus et hostis adest.
Ut meropes apibus miserisque volucris astur,
ut lupus esuriens insidiatur ovi,
utque capella nocet viti pulchrisque racemis,
570 annonae morsus gurgulionis obest,
sic quoque silvestres bovis ubera plena colubri
evacuunt, minime debita dona sibi.

- Russica spumantem non pressat femina mammam,
pastoris fiunt ista ministerio.
- 575 Proventus niveos domui transmittit herili,
ex reliquo longam mulcet et ipse famem:
excipit in silva subducti munera lactis,
hic liquor in densam materiam ille coit.
Pinguia fraxineis coeuntque colostræ sub umbris,
580 cogitur in massam caseus ipse suam.
Caseus ut Russis dicam pressetur in oris;
auribus hæc placidis, lector amice, nota.
Principio pastor detracta pelle caprina,
exuvias undis protinus ille lavat.
- 585 Sedulus hic mulctris effusa coagula servat
implens hirsutam lacte madente cutim.
Non decerpitur hinc lactis pinguedo natantis,
(lactis ut in summo flos renatare solet).
Sic igitur pelli infundit commista caprinae
590 munera lactiferae divitiasque bovis.
(p.26) Tegmine butyron tandem coalescit in hirtio,
conditur sapor caseus ille sale.
Post ea vermiculi manant e lacte minuti,
ex gregis alter grex munere prodit hero.
- 595 Nausea non Russis e vermibus ulla movetur,
caseolos tali verme probare solent.
Caseus ergo recens vescentis vivit in ore,
lactigenum vulgus vermiculusque frequens.
Mille animæ (mirum) morsu iugulantur ab uno,
600 innumerum Russus claudit in ore gregem.
Heu mihi, quam populosa perit respublica morsu,
cum patria cives oris hiatus habet.
Hæc alimenta vocant patrio cognomine *brinzam*,
caseus est magni nominis ille mihi.
- 605 Hæc igitur Russo mulgendi regula lactis,
sic fructum a bobus percipit ille suis.
- Quid si pastorum repetas ab origine vitam,

593. Post ea corr. J. II., metri causâ: Postea ABC

607. repetas AC: repeties B

- quae mireris, erunt, lector amice, tibi.
 Non datur ad doctos pubes cicuranda magistros,
 610 sed datur ad pastus erudienda gregum.
 Victitat in silva cum brutis bruta iuventus,
 servans perpetua sedulitate pecus.
 Crede mihi, sua non desunt solacia silvis
 deliciasque suas pastor agrestis habet.
 615 Ripa fovet cannas, humentia prata cicutam
 et rapidos amnes verna salicta colunt.
 (p.27) Materies praesto est, ex qua tua fistula, pastor,
 argutum resonet flamine iussa melos.
 Sic relevat silvarum taedia longa bubulcus,
 620 obloquitur varios dum sua arundo modos.
 Iam veterum pugnas et iam meditatur amores,
 tristia iucundis temperat arte rudi.
 Vidimus *haeducos* celeres plausisse choreas
 et vegeto plausus ingeminasse pede.
 625 Dextra premit ferrum, numeros pes fertur ad aptos,
 inter plaudentes arma corusca micant.
 Non Veneris ludi, sed sunt praeludia Martis,
 sanguine praeccludi saepe chorea solet.
 Dicitur Icarius latum volitasse per aequor,
 630 si veri quicquam fabula prisca refert.
 Remigio pennae vacuas elatus in auras,
 dicitur ille cadens indere nomen aquis.
 Icarios plures profert tibi Russica tellus,
 remigio manuum qui per inane volant.
 635 Pastorum pubes flavos imitata sciuros,
 e quercu in quercum praecipitata ruit.
 Fertur et umbrosae per summa cacumina silvae,
 terra licet longis passibus ima iacet.
 Causa est, cur dubiam ventis committere vitam
 640 audeat haec animae prodiga turba suae.
 Est avis in silvis, appellant nomine turdum,
 lautitiae mensis, deliciose, tuis.

611. iuventus AB: iuventus C

625. pes fertur AC: perfertur B

642. deliciose AB: deliciosae C

- (p.28) Sidere qua solet, illa excernit in arbore stercus
et cacat imprudens damna futura sibi.
- 645 Mox alienigena succrescit in arbore silva,
silva, excrementi filia, turde, tui.
Degeneri veniunt teretes e stipite frondes
et nova turdigenus germina truncus habet.
Agricolae viscum veteri cognomine dicunt,
650 pallida sub croceis frondibus uva latet.
Aucupioque frutex retinacula lenta ministrat,
detinet haerentes glutine viscus aves.
Causa igitur visci subit ista pericula Russus,
vitam audet ventis credere saepe suam.
- 655 Transvolat implumis densae fastigia silvae,
aerea ludens in regione volat.
Non miror terrae per viscera matris euntes,
ut miseris fulvae repperiantur opes.
Namque illi talpas imitantur, Russe, volucres,
660 aurum illi quaerunt, tu modo frondis opes.
Ut vilem Russus decerpat ab arbore viscum,
audet in aethereas evolitare plagas.
Conficit inde tenax spoliato cortice gluten,
insidias avibus cautus ut inde struat.
- 665 Oblinit alitibus fatalia germina visco,
illa loco latitans editiore sinit.
Concilio volucrum exsecrataque noctua Phoebo,
hostibus exposita est stirps inimica suis.
- (p.29) Insultant merulae, turdi convicia dicunt,
670 immemores olim damna cacasse sibi.
Defessi probris cupiunt requiescere trunco,
(oblitus in promptu truncus adesse solet)
certatimque ruunt, revolant a stipite paucae,
parte haerent illa, qua tetigere locum.
- 675 Surgit ab insidiis venatu laetus opimo
luctantesque legit pastor agrestis aves.
Cum nemorum spoliat virides autumnus honores

643. sidere AC: sedere B

651. aucupioque AB: aucupio C

667. Phoebo AB: Phoebe C

deperditque suas arbor amoena comas,
 decidit pastor croceos a vertice viscos,
 680 (frigore in hiberno luxuriare solent)
 et pecus et caesa saturat de fronde capellas,
 suppeditat maesto pabula laeta gregi.
 Exspectantque novas armenta sub arbore frondes,
 arboreo donec vertice praeda cadat.
 685 Pinea securus vel querna cacumina caedens,
 stat pastor celsus nulla pericla timens.
 Credimus Antipodas terra pendere sub ima,
 Antipodas multos Russica terra videt.
 Nam pedibus caelum spectat praeposterus, Orcum
 690 vertice, nec pastor proxima fata timet.
 Caudice desecto, pedibus stat rectus in auras,
 vertice supposito suppositaque manu.

Russia quin etiam deformes educat ursos,
 forte quod Arctoo terra propinqua polo est.
 (p.30) 695 *Russia*, si mutes apices ex ordine primos,
 non inconueniens *Ursia* nomen erit.
 Nam patet immenso vastissima silva recessu,
 ursorum requies et spatiosa domus.
 Undique porrigitur latae feritatis eremus,
 700 praebet et hirsutis pabula multa feris.
 Suppeditant ursis dulces pineta rapinas,
 in quibus Hyblaei copia mellis inest.
 Melliferis apibus statio gratissima pinus,
 hic examinibus rusticus antra cavat.
 705 Ergo fovet multos praedones silva favorum,
 palmipedes ursos dulcia furta tenent.
 Ursorum porro fertur mirabilis ortus,
 et parere insolito dicitur ursa modo.
 Miratur sibi dissimiles enixa catellos,
 710 informes foetus vix putat esse suos.
 Trunca venit suboles rudibusque simillima monstis,
 Lucina veniunt siqua favente minus.
 Induitur sensim crescens cum vellere forma,
 ursus progressu temporis ursus erit.
 715 Hospitium Phoebo cum dat Capricornus eunti,

- saevior et rigido frigore bruma furit,
 ursi solstitio toto ieiunia servant,
 nescio quae ex palmis sugere mella solent.
 Hoc faciunt, solita qui libertate fruuntur,
 720 quos homines luxum non docuere domi.
 (p.31) Indigenae Russi nidis feralibus ursos
 surripiunt, specubus dum fera mater abest.
 Cum nondum validae maturo in corpore vires
 crevere aut nervis vis genuina venit,
 725 tunc dociles ursi varias domitantur in arteis,
 fingitur in varios flexa iuventa modos.
 Ingenio paret robur mentemque veretur,
 terrestrem agnoscit visque ferina deum.
 Cogitur ad numerum faciles ediscere plausus,
 730 dum sonat assuetis tibia rauca modis.
 In varios motus immitia pectora flectit
 harmonia, numeris commoderata suis.
 Tantus inest ursis arguti carminis ardor,
 indomitasque movet musica sacra feras!
 735 Exercent docti varias humanitus artes,
 naturae obliti roboris atque sui.
 Assurgunt iussi porrecto ad sidera rictu,
 humani vultus aemula membra levant.
 Clunibus obscenas imitantur sponte choreas,
 740 quas lasciva hominum ducere turba solet.
 Talia casta, precor, fugiat spectacula virgo,
 cum dulci maneat matre pudica domi.
 Casta nec intersit spurcis matrona theatri,
 ne subeat rubrae damna pudicitiae.
 745 Non incompositos motus mirere, puella,
 innocuum florem cuncta modesta decent.
 (p.32) Segnibus haec famulis domini spectacula monstrent,
 indociles stimulent carmine saepe meo.
 Exemplo bruti discas, ignave, labores,
 750 disciplina vides ut fera corda domet.

725. arteis AB: artes C

730. tibia corr. E.K.: tibi AB: tibi a C

737. rictu AB: victu C

- Ex urso cernis festivus ut histrio fiat,
 ast homo cum tu sis, nil bene, serve, facis.
 Carminibus subdes sine sanguine verbera nostris,
 sic docilem famulum comperiere tuum.
- 755 Ergo per varias ita circumducitur urbes
 ursus et hoc ludo, Russe, placere studes.
 Organa laetitiae praesto citharaeque tubaeque,
 tibia quae plausus cogit inire novos.
- Albus Russiacis ursus generatur in oris,
 760 nascitur et villo candidiore lepus.
 Quin etiam felix pretioso Russia villo est,
 mercibus hirsutis vulpeque dives humus.
 Nec pluris, puto, constiterant in Colchide lanae,
 quas olim fulvo crine micasse ferunt
- 765 (quamvis Aesonides per tanta pericula quaerit
 aurisonum vellus divitiasque pili),
 quam sua nunc Russo Ceremissica vellera constant,
 pondere quae superant pondera fulva suo.
 Tales divitiae crescunt Aquilone sub ipso,
- 770 qua glaciem a terra litora pigra secant,
 qua Boreae specus est natalis et horrida regna,
 qua rabido flatu regia saeva boat,
 (p.33) qua pueros genuit Zeten Calainque volucres
 Orithyia parens ex Aquilone gravis.
- 775 Durus Erichthonii gener his regionibus auram
 suscitatur hibernam, turbine sistit aquas.
 Sudifico flatu dispellit in aere nubes,
 nubibus expulsis, cuncta serena facit.
 Hic socii Boreae, Psychus et Crystallus et Auus
- 780 indurant pelagus summaque terga maris.
 Imponunt liquidam gelidis incudibus undam
 malleus et surdo verberare stagna ferit.
 Exercetur Hyperboreis opus illud in antris
 in media caeli qua polus arce micat.
- 785 Hic ubi nocte dieque una consumitur annus,
 aurorasque duas bruma calorque vident,
 distendit patulos absorpto turbine folles,
 explicat et byrsam, complicat arte Psychus.

- Auus aquam stringens operique coagula miscens,
 790 torpentes fluvios lentius ire iubet.
 Halitibus dextram frustra tepefecit inertem,
 pro flamma siquidem frigus ab ore venit.
 Crystallus glaciem cudit crustasque rigentes,
 grande pavementum per vada lata facit.
 795 Sternitur in toto glacialis lamina Ponto
 Neptunusque minus cogitur esse ferox.
 Sic igitur gelido molem cogente camino,
 frigoribus mediis machina tota sonat.
 (p.34) Intonat aura minax Aquilonis proque favillis
 800 ictibus a tantis sparsa pruina cadit.
 Saepius algentes micuit scintilla per agros,
 quam Boreas plagis excutit ipse suis.
 Haec plaga caelestis vestita animalia nutrit
 divitibus villis divitibusque pilis.
 805 Hic Satyri degunt silvae frigentis alumni,
 semiferum vulgus lege foroque carens.
 Arcubus incultis martes et arundine figunt,
 velocique gradu prendere multa solent.
 Finitimos tangens sinibus Lituania Moscos,
 810 fert a vicino mutua dona solo:
 ictidos exuvias, pretioso crine sabellos,
 fert quoque damnosi tergora cana lupi.
 Advehitur dasypus et molliter hispida martes
 et lepus et cauda, tecte sciure, tua.
 815 Deliciisque pili tepidos effeminat artus
 viverrae placida mollius inguen aqua.
 Omnia LUBLINUM vendenda vehuntur in urbem,
 Moschi cum Litavis hic sua dona vehunt.
 Omnia, totus habet si quae venalia mundus,
 820 Lublini invenies moenibus illa sacris.
 Munera quae tellus vel quae maria omnia mittunt,
 proponuntur in hac urbe paranda tibi.
 India cum Turcis, mittunt sua dona Sabaei,

801. algentes C: algente AB

809. sinibus ABC: finibus E. Finibus *contrâ metrum*.

811. Ictidos AC: Fetidos B

- hic simul Armenicae repperiuntur opes.
 (p.35) 825 Isthuc Eoi mittunt sua stamina Seres,
 filiferus bombyx quas ibi nevit opes.
 Ipsa Britannia, quae toto secessit ab orbe,
 dives velivolum per mare vectat onus,
 et sita sub septem Borealia regna Trione
 830 et quae perpetuo diriguere gelu.
 Lublini coemunt calidis venientia terris
 atque peregrino munera vecta solo.
 Advehitur tepida crescens regione Falernum,
 advenit Ungaricum Graiugenumque merum.
 835 Per mare, per terras mittis tua munera, Bacche,
 en tuus in nostro venditur orbe cruor.
 Quae Methymna parit vel quae Minoia tellus,
 filius hic Semeles omnia vina tulit.
- Est Russis quoque, Bacche, domestica causa furoris,
 840 heu mihi, viniferam retrahe, quaeso, manum.
 Est sine pampineo veniens insania botro,
 quam lupulus Russis ebria planta facit.
 Credo equidem geminos olim regnasse Lyaeos,
 partiri in sortes sed sua regna duas.
 845 Ut Neptunus aquas possedit, Tartara Pluto
 et Iovis aethereos exule patre polos,
 sic quoque divisisse puto duo numina sedes
 et duo regna patres ebrietatis habent.
 Alter in australi tepida regione remansit,
 850 alter et Arctoo regna sub axe tenet.
 (p.36) Sic gemini Bacchi ludibria certa cerebri,
 imperium late totius orbis habent.
 Sed prior australi plantavit in orbe racemum,
 sevit in apricis Bacchica dona locis.
 855 Nam quaerit calidos felix vindemia colles,
 quos radiis Phoebus temperat ipse suis.
 Vineae non gelido gracilis bene provenit agro,
 nam flavae Cereri gratior ille locus.

832. vecta AB: recta C

834. advenit AB: advehitur C

- Frustra igitur vitem Scythicis plantavit in agris
 860 Sarmaticus Bacchus, namque recusat humus.
 Invito genio terrae frustra omnia tentat,
 atque operae ludit non rata coepta suae.
 Nascitur iniussa ex miti labrusca racemo,
 germine mutantur dulcia vina fero.
 865 Mox dubitat, populo quo gratificetur agresti,
 quo pacto curis solvere membra queat.
 Occurrit lupulus aliis petulantior herbis,
 lascivo amplexu qui sua fulcra tenet
 (hunc plures humulum dixere lupumque salicti,
 870 britonem Graii reptitiumque lupum),
 tempestas animi perplexo germine crescens,
 quae vario nexu fulcra ligare solet.
 Mox Cerere admixta, fluviali coxit in unda,
 decerpens baccas, herba petulca, tuas.
 875 Porrigit insolitam fessis messoribus undam,
 Sauromatae sumunt, pocula cocta bibunt.
 (p.37) Ebria turba novo potu resoluta quiescit
 et specie leti paene sepulta iacet.
 Sed simul ac surgunt, hesterna venena requirunt,
 880 se bibere insanam namve queruntur aquam.
 Non perit exemplo Icarii, nova pocula miscens,
 sed laudat Bacchum Russia laeta suum.
 A Cerere admixta retinet *Cerevisia* nomen,
 nam faciunt potum numina trina novum.
 885 Inventor lupuli Bacchus, regnator aquarum
 Neptunus iunctus, tertia mista Ceres.
 Alma Ceres nutrit, sed diluit Ennosigaeus,
 insanit Bacchus sollicitatque caput.
 Diva igitur cum divis femina iuncta duobus,
 890 quassa cerebra suo turbine pota quatit.
 Inventor Bacchus, Russos dum cernit ovantes,
 dum sua mortales dona probare videt,
 hanc fatuam vitem lupuletis plantat in altis,
 aeterna ut doni sint monumenta sui.
 895 Succrescunt humuli, circum retinacula quaerunt

- arboris alterius suppetiasque petunt.
 Percipit haec Bacchus, iuvat auxiliumque ministrat,
 sustentat palis insita dona suis.
 Luxuriant lupuli sua sustentacula nacti,
 900 exsuperat palos herba petulca comis.
 Coniugio gaudet, sociis amplexibus haeret
 et sterilis vidua saepe quiescit humo.
 (p.38) Proxima si iuxta corylus sua brachia pandit
 vicinoque salix crescit opaca loco,
 905 corpore lascivo sexcenta volumina flectit,
 contigui trunci concubitusque petit.
 I nunc, arboribus sensum plantisque negato,
 dum specimen sensus haec tibi planta dedit.
 Percipit olfactu longo distantia passu
 910 corpora et obiectum prosequiturque suum.
 Percipit et tactu, dum cingit forte reperta,
 truncos amplexu mordicus illa tenens.
 Tales effectus humano pota cerebro
 exprimit et gyris ebria membra rotat.
 915 Haec docet intempestivas titubare choreas,
 efficit audaces luxuriamque ciet.
 Ad citharam credas hirtum saltare camelum,
 cum Russusque bibax Russaque picta salit.
 Sarmaticus Bacchus, plantatam laetus ob herbam,
 920 Glivitos, lupuli dulcia regna, petit.
 Edocet indigenas lupulum plantare sequacem,
 dum videt inventis prata favere suis.
 Glivitii docti plantare volubile germen,
 mercibus ex istis commoda multa ferunt,
 925 grandia qui nobis lupuli farcimina mittunt
 fertur et in nostrum sarcina longa solum.
 Ex fructu constat geminos, duo numina, fratres,
 invenisse orbi munera laetitiae.
 (p.39) Nam lupulus vitem fraterno imitatur amore

900. ex(s)uperat AC: exuperant B

903. iuxta deest C

907. I nunc C (*metri et sensus causâ*) : Tunc AB

924. istis AB: illis C

- 930 et simili nixu crescere utrumque solet.
 Fulcra petunt vites, adiungit vinitor ulmos,
 fulcra petunt lupuli, mox quoque palus adest.
 Pampinus ut teneram defendit ab imbribus uvam,
 pampinus et lupuli germina crispa tegit.
 935 E radice scatet vitis tellure sepulta,
 e radice humulus vere tepente scatet.
 Tempore quo lupuli, pariter vindemia botri est,
 fructus et autumnii tempore uterque venit.
 Inficiunt uvae densa caligine mentes,
 940 et tuus infatuat pectora, Bacche, cruor.
 Inficiunt humuli caeca vertigine sensus,
 nec sunt Sarmatici regna minora dei.
 Ebrietas igitur fraterno foedere iuncta,
 imperium late totius orbis habet.
 945 Laudemus lupulum, laudent sua pocula Graii:
 praestant laetitiam pocula nostra suam.
 Vinosus vini laudes decantet Homerus,
 et patriae vitem tollat in astra suae:
 est etiam patriae dulcis Cerevisia nostrae,
 950 quam Ceres et Bacchus mistus uterque facit.
 Si, Neptune, modum miscendo in flumine serves,
 tertia pars doni grata futura tui est.
 Sed tua saepe deam flavam commercia vincunt,
 obscuras comitum numina mista tibi.
 (p.40) 955 Nescio quis docuit sidentes urere faeces,
 nescio quis tanti criminis auctor erat.
 Quis prior constituit Bacchum Cereremque cremari,
 quis, precor, appellat vina cremata prior?
 Nam Russis ignota fuit mala pestis et usus,
 960 illius in villis antea nullus erat.
 Divitibus tantum ieiunis gutta dabatur,
 ante alios praesens ut medicina cibos.
 Scilicet est aliquis suppresso nomine daemon,
 talia commentus pocula digna Styge.
 965 Ex atra miserum coxit fuligine potum,

941. humuli *corr. J. II.*: humili *ABC*949. Cerevisia *corr. E.K.*: Cervisia *ABC*

ex volucris fumo miscuit illud opus,
 ut fatuus potor bibat insipiente palato,
 ut vitata malus perluat ora sapor.
 Grex bibulus potans, aliis potanda propinat;
 970 dum libat vulgus tristia vina, sreat.
 Dum bibit, insonti dicit convicia vitro,
 et quod vituperat, poscit emitque merum.
 Increpat et vultu tetrico sua pocula damnat,
 talibus et probris empta venena probat.
 975 Prosequitur ficta tussi raucoque screatu,
 damnatos haustus dum spuit arte, sitit.
 Posteaquam lentum pervadit membra venenum
 et vitiat fumans laesa cerebra vapor,
 augetur sensim perversa cupido bibendi,
 980 exsecrata prius pocula sumpta placent.
 (p.41) Mox tandem furitur maioraque cuncta videri
 incipiunt, mendax occupat ora rubor.
 Excudit aurigam ratio frenosque voluntas,
 excidit ingenuus fronte genisque pudor.
 985 Pro sermone subit clamor, pro voce tumultus
 rixaque pro verbis, pro ratione furor,
 immodicosque iocos mordacia probra sequuntur,
 insulsique sales arma cruenta vocant.
 Nam deus in membris tulit ex ratione triumphum,
 990 et spoliū victae sobrietatis habet.
 Sternit humi victos caenoque fimoque volutat,
 ex hominum formis monstra nefanda facit.
 Crudus ab immundo qui foetet anhelitus ore,
 rostris excipitur, turba canina, tuis.
 995 Non alia virga socios percussit Ulissis,
 non alio Circe carmine monstra facit.
 Dum porcis alios, alios mutavit asellis,
 illos effigiem iussit habere lupi.
 Hos quoque famosam iussit latrare per aulam,
 1000 ad praesepe alios faena comesse iubet.
 Scilicet ebrietas vinumque meracius haustum,
 has peperit formas monstraque saeva dedit.

- Haec est virga minax medicataque pocula Circes,
in rabidas mutant haec aconita feras.
- 1005 Nulla tamen temeta magis quam faecis adustae
ignipotens humor laedere membra solent.
(p.42) Sic pereunt vires, lassum consumitur hepar,
aetatis maior pars potiorque perit.
- Quin etiam Russo (quamvis humus illa recuset
vitem) praecipui copia mellis adest.
Roscida materia et faciendi causa medonis,
provenit haec silvis uberiore favo.
Caelitus irrorat florentes Iuppiter herbas,
quas delibat apis, munera sacra legens.
- 1015 Arboris illa cavae revolans in ventre reponit,
exiguo tecto dulce refigit opus,
mellaque subducens, fumis examina vexat
rusticus et plenum dividit arte penu.
Inde medo coquitur, lupulo cum flumine mixto,
- 1020 eximium potum Russus et inde facit.
Itale, caelesti cedant tua musta medoni,
Itale, tu vinum, Russia nectar habet.
Terra merum profert ex pingui uligine glebae,
ab Iove destillat caelitus ipse medo.
- 1025 Iuppiter est auctor mellis, tu, Bacche, racemi,
tu Iove qui minor es deteriorque deus.
Nam terrestre merum est, certe caelestia mella:
caelestem rorem nemo negare potest.
Utque gravi terra multo subtilior aer,
- 1030 terrigeno praestant sic quoque mella mero.
Talia dat superum Ganymedes pocula mensis,
et florens Hebe fundere mella solet.
(p.43) Namque hominum tellus, aer vindemia divum est,
reliquiae Russo mellis et inde cadunt.
- 1035 Nascitur ergo aliis terrestri palmite vinum,
Russe, bibis nectar deliciasque deūm.
Ambrosiam caeli, nitido quae stillat Olympo,

1019. mixto AB: misto C

1028. rorem AB: vocem C

- Russe, bibis, certe terra beata tua est.
 Omnibus in silvis examina crebra susurrant,
 1040 et querulum lucis murmur ubique sonat.
 Agminibus densis, exesi stipitis antro
 exorditur apum sedula turba favos.
 Saepius obscuris iniussae mella cavernis
 conficiunt, nulli reddere pensa solent.
 1045 Si libet, o lector, commenta citabo vetusta,
 exstat enim dulcis fabula prisca ioci.
 Si magnis narrata viris sunt omnia vera,
 vera etiam dicam, lector amice, tibi.
 Si mentita solent dici regalibus aulis,
 1050 parce, precor, nobis; credula turba sumus.
 Truncus erat, veteri carie consumptus et intus
 a merope et pico fossa caverna fuit.
 Hic ululae nidum legere, cubilia bubo
 lucifugus, coetus fecit asyla sibi,
 1055 ut quoties parvae volucres convicia dicunt,
 cornigerum condant in sua regna caput.
 Illa sed a cunctis domus ut deserta iaceret
 (et vacuus vacui stipitis alvus erat),
 (p.44) mox apibus visa est aptissima regia parcis,
 1060 hic sua densato murmure castra locant,
 et medium regem nova sub penetralia ducunt
 imperiumque cavi stipitis arripiunt.
 Arboris in laxo deponunt ventre labores,
 partitae cellas roscida mella ferunt.
 1065 Portant in medium, in medio portata reponunt,
 lataque convehitur dives in antra liquor.
 Non pendunt homini censum, non parta quotannis
 nec patriae dulces diminuuntur opes.
 Ut solet extincto respublica saepe tyranno
 1070 crescere et excusso vivere tuta iugo
 (censibus haud gravat insolitis exactor avarus:
 arbitrio vivis, iuste colone, tuo,
 horrea stant circum in caelumque minantur acervi,
 crescit ovile, cohors et numerosa gregum),

- 1075 sic florebat apum pubes, ignota colono,
 non timuit praedam fumiferamque manum,
 dum sic augentur, multos congesta per annos
 arboris in vacuae dulcia mella sinu.
 Hic patrum labor est, hic sedula cura nepotum
- 1080 totaque posteritas hic sua mella tulit.
 Tandem complerunt exesam nectare quercum,
 ad summam portam melle referta fuit.
 Impatiens oti populus, cum rege Quirites
 protinus antiquam deseruere domum.
- (p.45) 1085 Esuriens ursus deserta cubilia cernens,
 appetit antiquos aggrediturque favos.
 Saepius assuetum repens ascendit in antrum,
 cum levis esuries hispida membra monet,
 securamque vorat deserto stipite praedam,
- 1090 nec stimulos, nec apum spicula crebra timet.
 Interea silvam Russus perreptat eandem,
 invenit in querna mella vetusta cava.
 Non facilem ascensu portam prorepat ad antri
 et delibatos iam videt esse favos.
- 1095 Inspicit in quercum, cernit flaventia mella,
 cernit, sed manibus promere fata negant.
 Consilium capit in plenum demittit antrum,
 nec nimis infelix mella profunda putat.
 Arboris ergo cavae latam demissus in alvum,
- 1100 decidit in veteres pondus inerte favos.
 Mollibus infixus ceris iugulo tenuis haesit,
 ut lento visco saepius haeret avis.
 Haeret ut in pice vel spissa pinguedine musca,
 nectare sic Russus semisepultus erat.
- 1105 Dicitur illacrimans in eas erumpere voces
 et talis movit forte querela deum:
 “Quid iuvat aurisona retineri compede vinctum?
 Non servitutem vincula fulva levant.
 Torquibus implicito collo praeerumpere vitam
- 1110 quid refert? Funis quilibet ista facit.

1089. vorat AB: vocat C

1097. demittit AB: emittit C

1107. aurisona AC: aurivoma B

- (p.46) Quae mihi mella ferent lentae solacia mortis,
cum sit idem misero quaque palude mori?
Praeterea gravior morte exspectatio mortis,
certo praesentem quam quis adesse videt.
- 1115 Bis moritur longa pallens formidine leti,
praeterea speciem taedia mortis habent.
O deus astripotens, si quae clementia caelo est,
eripe de dulci nunc mea membra luto.
Si sepelire favis hominem fortuna vocatur,
1120 demite fortunam, numina sancta, meam.
Parva dulcia sunt oblata paropside mella,
sed mihi conveniens excidit ore sapor,
dum nunc qua minime vellem, dulcedine mergor:
copia tanta cibi solius oris erat!
- 1125 Dum prandere volo, nunc me mea prandia prendunt,
iugiter hic ceno, nec licet ire domum.
Praeda tenet furem, dominus licet aedibus absit,
mirum fortunae me genus ecce premit;
quin potius poenam sumpsit de fure rapina,
1130 furari ut cessem, me mea praeda vetat
(si, quam non licet auferri, bene praeda vocatur:
sum siquidem praedae praeda dolenda meae).
Et voveo et faciam, si nunc evadere mortem,
o superi, dabitis annuitisque mihi.
- 1135 Cerea dona feram vestris adytisque dicabo,
cereus hoc vobis stipite maior erit.
- (p.47) Mille cados in vestra feram delubra liquentis
mellis et hic vobis grandia templa struam.”
Riserunt faciles divi mendacia vota,
1140 nascitur ex timida relligione iocus.
Dum loquitur, quassari querna cacumina sentit,
audit et horribilem tota per antra sonum.
Desinit usque loqui, tremulo vox restitit ore,
conspicit hirsutum nigra per antra ferum.
- 1145 Scilicet ursus erat, consueta alimenta petivit

1128. ecce *AB*: esse *C*1136. cereus *BC*: cerereus *A*1139. vota *AB*: nota *C*

- nec socium praedae sic cecidisse putat.
 Callida posteriore petens sua pabula parte
 belua sic reditus praemeditata viam est,
 demissa in quercum dum circumlingeret oras
 1150 et premeret pavidum clunibus ora viri.
 Tum miser ille pedem summa vi prendit aduncum,
 corpore quam toto senserat esse super.
 Ursus in obscuro nimium perterritus antro
 effugit ad portam limina nota petens.
 1155 Extrahit ex veteri tabentia corpora limo,
 ex pede pendentem ducit in astra virum.
 Ille fores nactus gaudet, fugit ursus ab antro
 et pendere haerens usque putabat onus.
 Causa licet cecidit, Russus miser ille, timoris,
 1160 urse, tamen fugiens non cecidisse putas.
 Sic laetatus erat superas revocatus in auras,
 oblitus voti rusticus atque precum,
 (p.48) utque volutabro porcus caenoque palustri,
 sic miser ille favis commaculatus erat.
 1165 Exhibuit veniens toti spectacula ruri,
 exposuit casus voce tremante suos.

- Hactenus agresti cecini modulamine silvas
 urbes et vicos dicere tempus erit.
 Principio Russas inter caput extulit urbes
 1170 gentis primus honor, sacra LEONTOPOLIS.
 Salve, suscepti requies et summa laboris,
 o decus antiquae religionis, ave.
 Tu procul olfaciens phaleratos prima prophetas,
 praeccludis portas, urbs bene culta, malo.
 1175 Non lupo imposuit tibi vellere tectus ovillo,
 nosti quod pestis dissimulata venit.
 In media vigilat pater archiepiscopus urbe,
 ordinibus dictat iura beata sacris.
 Inclitus e medio tollit contagia praesul,
 1180 in vicina malum serpere membra vetat,
 pontificemque iuvat lectissima turba senatus,

- non aditum haereseos blandula pestis habet.
 Macte, sacra Leontopolis Marpesia rupes,
 non te de veteri relligione move.
- 1185 Sede sacra celebris, pulchris celeberrima templis,
 turribus et vallis, moenibus, arce potens.
 Moenibus incumbens alta de rupe minatur
 arx e longinquo conspicienda loco.
- (p.49) Huc ego Pieridas deduxi carmine Musas,
 1190 hic pro laurifero taedia monte levant.
 Hospitium vetus agnoscunt urbemque revisunt,
 sacra, fidem, mores et pia scita probant.
 Exclamant: "Iterum, sedes placidissima, salve!"
 Terrarum sortes urbs tua sola tenet.
- 1195 Et quae finitima sparsim regione videntur,
 urbs tua collectim conspicienda dabit,
 in medioque iaces geminarum sola plagarum,
 perpetuae flammae perpetuaeque nivis,
 quippe pruinosis paulo vicinior oris,
- 1200 porrecta ad Boreae frigida regna crucis.
 Dona sub ignivomo quae sunt generata coluro,
 haec ultro tellus mittit adusta tibi.
 Et quae sunt gelido passim generata sub axe
 munera, sponte tibi terra nivosa vehit.
- 1205 Non gemmae tibi, non extractum montibus aurum
 desunt, quas vel opes orbis uterque parit.
 Et tua caeruleas feriunt fastigia nubes,
 culminibus pulsan aethera tecta suis.
 Summa Trias colitur summa reverenter in Aede,
 1210 regifico sumptu templa dicata tenet.
 Nomina praeterea templo veneranda Synaxis
 ac titulos Christi nobile Soma dedit.
 Regula Bernardi, tetricae durissima vitae,
 praecipua nutrit sobrietate patres,
- 1215 contentos modicis et prorsus ab orbe remotos,
 quos ex praescripto tegmina gilva tegunt,
 emendicatosque cibos emptosque pudore

1196. urbs AB: urbi C

1201. coluro AC: Colure B

- parcius acquirunt et reverenter habent.
 Nocte dieque DEUM vigili modulamine placant,
 1220 insomnes noctes ducere saepe solent.
 Saepius et corpus crebra vibice flagellant,
 ultro probra, crucem pauperiemque ferunt.
 Armenus hic etiam crinitus, aromate dives
 innumeras merces ex oriente vehit:
 (p.50) 1225 serica cum xylinis, argenti stamen et auri,
 quas vel humi stratus Turca tapetas habet,
 radices acori, cinamomum, gingiber, illam
 quam vocitat cannam vulgus aromaticam,
 et piper et iecoris rebarbara mite levamen,
 1230 muscati florem virgineique croci.
 Hic sedes posuere sua tellure relictā
 Armenii, pubes ingeniosa virum.
 Huc sibi sacrificos et patria sacra tulerunt
 ritibus atque suis grandia templa locant.
 1235 Hic degit Russus quoque relligione Pelasga,
 hic delubra suo more dicata tenet.
 Hic etiam vanus caenosa suburbia verpus
 irrecutitus habet, foetida tecta colens,
 gens redolens hircum, iugi paedore notata
 1240 et cui perpetuus pallor in ore sedet.
 (p.51) Personat hic etiam rauco synagoga boatu,
 diversis mugit carmine mixta sonis.
 Ex factis infecta facit praepostera turba,
 flagitat e caelo munera missa semel.
 1245 Forte rogas, celebri quid agat Iudaeus in urbe?
 Quid facit in plenum missus ovile lupus?
 Fenore perpetuo claras oppignerat urbes,
 usurisque gravat pauperiemque serit.
 Non secus ut sensim consumit robora cossus,
 1250 atque citam cariem lenta teredo facit,
 et velut a tacita potatur hirudine sanguis
 (carpuntur vires ingenuusque vigor),
 a tineis pereunt vestes, rubigine ferrum:

1232. ingeniosa AB: ingenuosa C

1234. grandia C : granda AB

- sic Iudaeus iners rodere multa solet.
 1255 Saepe facultates privatas arte totondit,
 saepeque communes attenuavit opes.
 Saepius attriti sero sapere monarchae,
 et res ingemuit publica docta malo,
 cum prostrata fuit, tamquam sine sanguine corpus,
 1260 dum totae vires et cruor omnis abest.
 Sed notas pestes, mea dedignare Thalia,
 detestare nefas. Perfida turba, vale.
 A qua digredimur, pulchram redeamus in urbem,
 et reliquum tandem perficiamus opus.
 1265 Curia commemoranda mihi, subsellia, leges,
 arces cum portis magnificaeque domus,
 (p.52) vos quoque Sarmaticis constructae regibus aulae,
 o solium splendens et Iove digna domus,
 deliciae regum, solidis cenacula muris,
 1270 qua recipit solis crebra fenestra iubar,
 ardua procerae nutant fastigia turre;
 fundamenta Stygem, sidera tangit apex.
 Horologus tacite labentes computat horas,
 momentumque sono temporis omne notat.
 1275 Metitur lapsum trutinato pondere tempus,
 serratas agitat iugiter ille rotas.
 Alternis lituus mulcet clangoribus auras
 temporis, et partem praeteriisse monet.
 Horarum recinens incompensabile damnum,
 1280 et quam tempus sit res pretiosa docet.

- Tempus adest etiam surgens memorare ZAMOSCUM,
 quod DEUS auspiciis excitat ipse suis.
 Cuius fundamenta solo sunt iacta refosso,
 sidera Saturni quando benigna micant.
 1285 Mercurio surgunt fora Vertumnoque favente,
 Maia progenitus dum sua regna tenet.
 Dum placidus Iovis atque bilanx Astraera reluxit,
 curia construitur consiliiue domus,
 qua Themis aeternum iusto cum germine regnet,
 1290 qua norint sancti dicere iura senes.
 Moenia bellator Gradivus ahenea iecit,

- hostibus adversis et metuenda dedit.
 (p.53) Hic mihi cara quies, dixit, mea cura Zamoscum,
 parcite iam vestro, Martia bella, deo.
 1295 Urbis adhuc fuerant quondam incunabula nostrae,
 qua nunc has moles surgere forte vides.
 Hic tamen est ingens vis profligata Getarum,
 transiit intactam pertimuitque Scythes.
 Ergo nunc superi delubrum claudite Iani,
 1300 hic Mars emeritus moenia grata colet.
- Tu quoque magna ducum quondam KIIOVIA sedes,
 multa vetustatis quae monumenta vides.
 Antiquum rudus et lateres visuntur in arvis
 atque ruinosi herba profunda locis.
 1305 Plures esse putant Phrygiae vestigia Troiae,
 sed mihi non vulgi fabula vana placet.
 Dic, ubi flumina sunt rufas causantia lanas,
 ut tua, Xanthe, greges pota colorat aqua?
 Da fontes, Idae, mihi; da Simoentides undas,
 1310 queis vicina fuit Troia vetusta locis.
 Tu Tartaros proprio suffers Kiiovia tergo,
 saepe pharetratos proteris ipsa Scythas.
 Saepe tuis praesens insultat moenibus hostis,
 perque tuos campos barbara turba furit.
 1315 Armatus serit, armatus metit arva colonus,
 assuetumque premit plena pharetra latus.
 Agricolae revehunt venali sanguine messes,
 sanguine convectas atque tuentur opes.
 (p.54) Saepius assueto dirimuntur prandia bello,
 1320 hostibus et coxit saepe colona dapes.
 Deformes Tartari, mala gens, assueta rapinis,
 crebros excursus in tua rura facit.
 Assuevere vado transire Borysthenis undam,
 quae speciem iusti praebuit alta maris.
 1325 Ignibus exurunt villas et arundine figunt

1294. iam AB: cum C

1299. Iani C : Lani AB

1319. dirimuntur AC: derimuntur B

- aetas aut morbus quos vetat arma sequi.
 Velocesque feruntur equis, ita spicula vitant,
 quove pedes ducunt, quove procella rapit.
 Turpiter attonso volitat coma vertice monstros
 1330 rarsaque cultellis colla rubere solent.
 Non secus ac raris crinito vertice fibris
 cepa rubet, reliquo corpore glabra manens,
 sic quoque caesariem succinctam, barbata, nutris,
 rara quatit raso vertice silva comam.
 1335 His alitur gemino discrimine pendula mystax,
 porrigitur longus partem in utramque pilus.
 Hisque genae leves, tonsa lanugine mentum,
 imberbes Tartaros saepe putabis anus.
 Praeterea nigro tanti Kiiovia Russo est,
 1340 quanti christicolis Roma vetusta fuit.
 Quippe etiam Russo sua non miracula desunt,
 quaeque sua merito iactet in urbe, dabit.
 Est ibi scrobs ingens terris hypogaea sub altis:
 hic videas veterum prisca sepulcra ducum
 (p.55) 1345 heroumque stupenda solo Libitina sub imo,
 indubia servat corpora tota fide,
 quae nulla carie consumi posse videntur,
 quae praetensa vitro saecula longa vident.
 Talia sunt equidem multis hypogaea stupori,
 1350 cuius nam artificis foderit illa manus?
 Nam protenduntur longo infinita recessu,
 non regum sumptus tanta parare potest.
 Ast ego crediderim faceremque probabile multis,
 quod nullam iusti causa stuporis habet.
 1355 Sunt amnes in summa qui tellure feruntur,
 suntque sub occulto flumina caeca solo,
 saepeque siccatur cedentibus alveus undis,
 saepe novos rivos amnis apertus habet.
 Cum se fluminibus vallis declivior offert,
 1360 saepius antiquam deseruere viam.
 Hoc etiam pacto terrestria crede fluentia,
 qua novus offertur currere saepe specu.

1348. vident AC: ridet B

1362. specu AB: specus C

- At vetus arescit cedente cuniculus unda,
terrestresque vias antraque sicca facit.
- 1365 Praesertim, si terra tenax aegreque fatiscens,
aeternis cameris fornicibusque manet.
Sic ego Russorum credo remanere *Pieczaras*,
quas illi tanta religione colunt.
Vena fuit laticis quondam tellure latentis,
1370 sed modo dumtaxat terra cavata manet.
(p.56) Posteaquam rapidus torrens Acheronta petivit,
siccam speluncam sorpta reliquit aqua.
- Quis, vicina, tuas dicet, CAMENECIA, laudes?
Ex solido muros pumice sola colis.
- 1375 Tu colis in solido portas adamante recisas,
urbs non facta manu, sed tibi nata tua est.
Non hominum ingenium, sed te natura locavit,
non ars te peperit, machina iugis eras.
Excisa in vivo tua propugnacula saxo,
1380 unus et ingens est urbs tua tota lapis.
Non homo te struxit, sed te DEUS ipse creavit,
non homo te capiet, ni DEUS ipse velit.
Et tua toti sunt aequaeva exordia mundo;
non homo natus erat, urbs tua nata fuit.
- 1385 Cumque senescentis venient incendia mundi,
urbs tua cum muris haec liquefacta cadet.
Ante omnes urbes primum tua moenia surgunt,
post omnes urbes ultima sponte cadent.
Non metuant homines, metuant tua moenia divos,
1390 si pro te DEUS est, urbs tua salva manet.
Si DEUS est hostis, frustra tua moenia iactas,
nam qui conditor est, ultor hic esse potest.
Est etiam tibi pontificis, Camenecia, sedes,
floret et in muris sacra cathedra tuis.
- 1395 Quis te praetereat, LUCEORIA digna Camenis?
Tu quoque sacrati praesulis ora vides.

1368. illi AB: ibi C

1381. Deus ipse corr. Th. Sacré: ipse Deus ABCE

1395. Luceoria BC: Luctoria A

- (p.57)
- Quis taceat cinctam duplicato flumine BUSCAM,
 quam Bugus effusis ornat amoenus aquis?
 Non licet antiqui laudes reticere SOCALI,
 1400 quamvis famosa clade tacenda fuit.
 Sunt tamen hic Divae celeberrima templa parentis,
 quae genuit salva virginitate DEUM.
 HRODLA grues limosa palustri caespite gignit,
 quas plures gelido Strymone nutrit aves.
 1405 Cinctaque caenosa numeretur BELZA palude,
 Belza palatino nomine clara mihi.
 Tuque Promethepolis, vulgo PREMISLIA dicta,
 carminibus non es praetereunda meis.
 Nam tua dulcifluus demulcet moenia Sanus,
 1410 in te pontificum bina cathedra sita est.
- Sunt etiam Russis multa salsedine fontes,
 ex quibus erumpit copia multa salis.
 Et primum puteis felix DROHOBICIA salsis,
 inde salem patrium Russia tota vehit.
 1415 CHELMA procul multis albescit candida cretis,
 effoditur toto candida terra solo.
 Antiquos titulos Chelmensi praesul ab urbe,
 praeterea Chelmae nil nisi nomen habet.
 Transtulit antiquam pia CRASNOSTAVIA sedem,
 1420 pontifici nomen iussit habere vetus.
 Hac regione ferunt caesas lapidescere pinus,
 quod nunquam potui cernere, saepe lego.
 (p.58)
- Inclita diffuso quoque Crasnostavia stagno,
 hinc quoque perpetuum moenia nomen habent.
 1425 Aggeris obiecto fluvijs facit aequora dorso,
 absorbet silvas prataque mersit Aper.
 Unda facit gremio campos Aprugna liquentes
 lataque piscoso vortice stagna facit.
 Squamigeros quamvis omnes piscantur alumnos,
 1430 suppeditant cunctis libera stagna satis.
 Vidi ego multiplices concessio flumine pisces

1414. patrium BC: patrum A

1425. obiecto AB: abiecto C

- et vidi vetito saepe perire lacu.
 Scilicet omnibus est praeterfluus amnis apertus,
 communi fluvio publica dona fluunt.
- 1435 Ut licet aereo tractu captare volucres
 et capere incertas nemo vetabit aves,
 sic captare licet per publica flumina nantes,
 incertos pisces quis prohibere potest?
 Publicus est lacus aeterno stans aggere cinctus
- 1440 et fluvius rapidae fossa perennis aquae est.
 Nemo fodit fluvios, aeternas nemo lacunas,
 libera mortali nemo elementa vetet.
- Caetera non memoro, quamvis memorare decebat,
 quae dignum Musis oppida nomen habent.
- 1445 Ne festinanti pariam tibi taedia, lector,
 oppida Russorum consule pauca boni.
 Nunc magis ingenium et varios mirabere mores,
 quae tibi nunc facili commemorabo stilo.
- (p.59) Quamprimum paret materna lapsus ab alvo
- 1450 infans ac tepidis rite lavatur aquis,
 et vixdum cecinit primam puer ore querelam,
 quam natura homines ipsa noverca docet,
 continuo fertur sacris lustrandus in undis
 ad divos latices spiritualis aquae.
- 1455 Rustica progenies rudibus gestata lacertis
 hospes et hoc primum lumen in orbe videns:
 maesta rudimentum vitae lamenta sequuntur,
 copia non ipso limine parva mali est.
 Femina gestatrix lacrimis blanditur obortis,
- 1460 deplorans pueri fata futura canit:
 “Siste, puer, lacrimas, o mens praesaga laborum,
 o lacrimis sortem vaticinare tuam.
 Incipis a gemitu, simili quoque carmine vitam
 claudes, o matri spes pretiosa tuae.”
- 1465 Talia cum dicit, mox oscula anilia subdit,
 rugosis labris os puerile premens.
 Labra puer mandit crebro poppysmate, matris

- ubera nota putans deliciasque suas.
 Plus alimenta vocat, quam labra carentia succo,
 1470 nec cessare queri, nec reticere volens.
 Forte per appensum currunt in flumine pontem,
 quem subter placido labitur unda sono.
 Obstetrix puero fletu irritata minatur:
 “Desine flere, ne in hanc praecipiteris aquam.
 (p.60) 1475 Piscibus et te fluctivagis, infantule, monstris
 exponam, moneo; si sapiis ipse, tace.
 Desine, parve puer, tristem compesce querelam,
 ne fias avidis praeda pusilla lupis.
 Floscule, te Stygio fortasse venefica visu
 1480 fascinat et visu tabida membra facit.
 Infelix oculus perimens immanibus hirsquis,
 aspectus labem sentiat ipse sui.
 Desine, parve puer, crescit mihi parvula neptis,
 ut gracilis crescat, fascia stricta facit.
 1485 Hanc tibi, parve, dabo, faciles modo comprime fletus:
 ha ha ge, conticuit condicioque placet.”
 Tandem anus infantem templis bipatentibus infert,
 quae tua firma colit, Russe, superstitio.
 Accolit intonsus moderans ea templa sacerdos
 1490 et caput et pascit squalida barba comam.
 Est numerosa domi ex fecunda coniuge proles,
 circumstat tepidum turba pusilla focum.
 Nam fas est, Veneris primum dissolvere ceston,
 Russe, sacerdotes, semiprofane, tuos.
 1495 Non tamen est licitum nexus iterare iugales,
 si tibi decessit, *pope*, marita prior;
 sique pudicitiae libaverit alter honorem
 et spolium victae virginitatis habet,
 hanc tibi coniugio scelus est petiisse, sacerdos,
 1500 sed casto coniunx casta legenda tibi est.
 (p.61) Intrat anus, supplex puero baptismata poscit;
 quam prece non potuit, munere sentit opem.

1470. cessare AB: cessari C

1482. aspectus AB: adspetus C

1493. primum corr. J. II.: primam ABC

- Saepe solet Russos inter de nomine quaeri,
 augurio nomen quaerere saepe solent.
- 1505 Erroris retinent vestigia multa vetusti,
 multa ex gentili traditione tenent.
 Sacrificus tingit puerilia corpora, lymphis
 humectat frontem, pectus et ora sacris.
 Vagit ab insolito perculsa infantia fonte,
 1510 involvunt madidum candida pepla caput.
 Nomine laeta novo, puris mundata lavacris,
 rustica progenies itque sacrata domum.
 Nonque suis pedibus repetit puer ubera matris,
 quem tremulis cubitis curva reportat anus.
- 1515 Russigenas pueros agrestior educat esca
 et Lacedaemonio vivere more solent.
 Disciplina prior corylos frenare lupatis
 et varios baculis conglomerare gradus.
 Hic pueri primum cursus imitantur equinos,
 1520 dant celeres gyros indomitique volant.
 Sessor equum gestans equitem se tergo vectum
 credit, iners lignum mandere frena docet.
 Russia quin etiam patriis vestigia fixit
 legibus inceptam continuatque viam.
- 1525 Quas oriens dedit, observat sine crimine mores
 et semel acceptae relligionis iter,
 (p.62) quamvis Romani reprehendat circulus orbis
 et feriat quaedam fulmine pauca levi,
 quae retinent confisi traditione minores,
 1530 ut fert simplicitas credulitasque virum.
 Longa tamen (mirum) Russi ieiunia servant,
 anticipant festos sobrietate dies.
 Contenti saturant corpus frugalibus escis,
 quas ager aut modicus protulit hortus opes.

1503. quaeri *AB*: queri *C*1511. Lavacris *AB*: lacertis *C*1512. itque *AC*: itaque *B*1515. educat *corr. J. II.*: educet *ABC*1516. et *AB*: e *C*1518. varios *BC*: vario *A*

- 1535 Cauliculus rapi cibus est, nasturtia, fungi,
 fermentata meri complet et unda vices.
 Interea carnis lactisve quiescit abusus,
 pingua non illis esse alimenta licet.
 Sic lacti vituloque simul ieiunia parcut
 1540 et pecoris dives crescere ovile sinunt.
 Non sic haeretici, qui laxavere capistra
 et concesserunt libera frena gulae.
 Quaeque dies lacrimis est excipienda refusus,
 insignis maesto funere, CHRISTE, tuo,
 1545 qua decet infami subducere pabula ventri,
 ne saturum carnis luxuriaret onus,
 tunc, tunc haereticæ instaurant convivia mensae
 cœnaque tunc solito lautior esse solet.
 Lautæ popina cibus et carne renidet adusta,
 1550 cum decuit gelidos igne carere focos.
 Praeterea Russi non tantum sanguine fratres
 fiunt nec iunctos linea sola facit,
 (p.63) ast ultro citroque fides promissa Ruthenos
 coniunctos fratres et data dextra facit.
 1555 Sic quoque devinctas sociat data dextra sorores
 et talis nexus sanguine maior erit.
 Perpetem amicitiam fore pollicitantur ad aras
 atque sacramento constabilire solent.
 Libera coniugii dantur divortia Russo,
 1560 raro divertet, qui *pobratimus* erit.
 Dicitur his etiam solers industria furtum
 atque refurari est talio pulchra viris.
- Philtæ veneficum Russis dominantur in oris;
 est quoque sagarum Russica terra ferax.
 1565 Vidi ego decrepitas matres volitare per umbram
 et vidi volucres tempore noctis anus.
 Vidimus e sudo pluvias deducere caelo
 incantatrices carmine saepe suo:

1535. cauliculus AB: caulicus C

1550. carere AC: cavere B

1552. linea sola C (*metri causâ*): sola linea AB

- flumina cum ventis et mixta tonitrua nimbis,
 1570 heu segeti, grando carmine iussa nocent.
 Vidimus et niveum fluxisse e fune cruorem,
 ubere non vaccae copia tanta fluit.
 Saepe furens iuvenem per carmen amica reduxit,
 quamvis caeruleum trans mare vectus erat.
 1575 Non levibus pennis tantum praetervolat ales,
 ut fers mancipium, dire Cupido, tuum.
 (Ut solet) ardebat furibunda Fidora Fidorum,
 Russa genus flammae non patiensque suae.
 (p.64) Non potuit tectum bene dissimulare furorem,
 1580 exseruit sese dissimulatus amor.
 Munere consilium tandem mercatur anile,
 tali conductam voce Fidora rogat:
 “Orcipotens mater, tristis tibi paret Avernus;
 carmine, dum cantas, nigrum Acheronta moves.
 1585 Dic quibus in terris nostri desertor amoris
 improbus, aut quo sit lentus in orbe, refer.
 Quamvis Oceani superavit litora, ducas,
 fac redimat mortem lassus ut ipse meam.
 Per freta, per scopulos una revocabis in hora,
 1590 protinus et lentum, quo cremor igne, crema.
 Eripe (nam meus est), quaecumque elementa morantur,
 aer aut tellus, aut habet unda virum.
 Respice semianimem, mater longaeva, Fidoram,
 quam certum est, si tu non miserere, mori.”
 1595 Cui respondet anus: “Praestes modo munera matri,
 quid possint, artes experiere meas.
 En tuus affuerit tibi me cantante Fidorus,
 quem tibi si rapuit Tartarus ipse vomet.
 Conscius hunc aer, reddet tibi conscia tellus,
 1600 reddet delicias aequoris unda tuas.
 Tu modo nascentem patiens operire Dianam,
 dum venit ex imo semirotunda mari.
 Tunc ego cum milio diversa legumina miscens,

1576. Dire AB: dive C

1580. ex(s)eruit AB: exercuit C

1587. ducas AB: durus C

1592. Ante aer C ponit quo

- imponam testis haec aconita novis.
- (p.65) 1605 Post haec nocturna Manes affabor in umbra;
 nemo tibi visus voce locutus erit.
 Umbra dabit vocem, referent responsa tenebrae,
 obrepent oculis et simulacra tuis.
 Hic tellure fremens veniet latratus ab ima,
 1610 mugiet obscenas nox imitata feras.
 Terraque dissiliens formas producet inanes
 et nova succedet, dum prior umbra cadet.
 Dum portenta ferent oculis ludibria nostris,
 ne, precor, attonita mente, Fidora, time.
 1615 Praesentes animos retine, meditare Fidorum,
 sit tibi caelestis mentio nulla dei.
 Confugis ad Manes, ergo obliviscere divos,
 non est cum superis infera iuncta manus.
 Si DEUS auxilium tulerit, revocabit Avernus,
 1620 si feret Orcus opem, mox DEUS ipse negat.
 Tempore noctis humi tuto prostrata sedebis,
 securos tendes, recta sed ipsa, pedes.
 Tunc se prona dabit revoluta fimbria veste,
 subsident gremio tegmina fluxa tuo.
 1625 Hic ego cum milio delecta legumina ponam,
 qua tunicae molles inguina parte tegunt.
 Nulla supposita ferverescent semina flamma,
 cruda reposta sinus in cavitate tui.
 Continua ingenti sonitu quotientur in olla,
 1630 fervescens milium talia verba dabit:
 (p.66) ‘Urimur, ut venias, sic uritor ipse, Fidore;
 te tuus ignis avet, te tua flamma vocat.
 Si propius venies, ipso salvaberis igne,
 uret et absentem flamma remota magis’.”
 1635 His dictis animavit anus scelerata Fidoram,
 his dictis abiit spe saturata domum.
 Mergitur interea renovandus in aequore Titan,
 inficis occiduas, Phoebe, rubore plagas,

1610. nox AB: vox C

1611. terraque C : terraeque AB

1629. continua A: continuo BC. Continua refertur ad semina.

1633. propius AB: proprius C

- solaque natos perimit nigredo colores,
 1640 nec veram faciem rebus adesse sinit.
 Omnia rite silent, frater tenet omnia Mortis
 Somnus et emulcet corpora lassa virum.
 Sola canis solers ruris custodia latrat,
 vix folium ludens aura fragore quatit.
 1645 Eiulant, furor in promptu, stomachantur in auras,
 ducitur in longas ira canina moras:
 cum proprio sonitu noctis rixantur in umbra,
 aemula sic gliscit lis sine fine canum.
 Garrula respondet crebris latratibus Echo,
 1650 irritat rabidos vana puella canes.
 Intempestiva rabie latronibus obsunt
 restituuntque bona credita cuncta fide.
 Ominis infausti queritur de culmine bubo,
 protrahit in maestos carmina dira modos.
 1655 Fecundos gemitus hoc tempus amantibus affert,
 qui maesti viduum nocte cubile premunt.
 (p.67) Ergo suspirat spe plena Fidora maritum.
 Anxia promissam, dum gemit, orat opem.
 Volvitur huc illuc, plumae lapis esse videntur,
 1660 incubat alternis partibus atque gemit.
 Nunc melius pronam meliusque iacere supinam,
 sollicitudinibus fessa Fidora putat.
 Obicis officio perfungitur ulva palustris,
 ulva per impulsum clam reseranda levem.
 1665 Portat anus herbas admixtaque verba venenis,
 promissa veniens ut medeatur ope.
 Daemonas alloquitur, tenebrosae noctis amicos,
 larvarum videas murmura lenta sequi.
 Hispidus apparet caper atro corpore, villi
 1670 dependent longi, lumina saeva micant,
 oraque scintillant, revomunt incendia nares,
 ardua terribili cornua fronte patent.
 Diriguere comae, sequitur formido stuporem,
 sola anus accedit colloquiumque petit.

1645. eiulant AC: evigilant B

1646. ducitur BC: dicitur A

- 1675 Alloquitur monstrum, veniendi causa rogatur,
pandit anus causam, talia verba refert:
“I caper, i velox, incertum missus in orbem,
dulce refer dorso, vector, amoris onus.
Invenies aliquo non tardus in orbe Fidorum,
1680 hunc sua fac foveat mox ut amica sinu.
Per mare, per scopulos una portabis in hora,
dormiat aut vigilet, tu mea iussa face.”
(p.68) Paruit extemplo domina mandante capellus,
baiulus obsceni ponderis exit equus.
1685 Interea bene potus erat sub nocte Fidorus,
oblitus veteris tutus amoris erat.
Et nova grata magis veteri successit amicae,
igne recens prisco dulcior ignis adest.
Ebrius ille miser nova post convivia surgit,
1690 urgebant ad opus viscera plena suum.
Excubat exspectans imo sub limine custos,
supponens oneri dorsa pilosa suo.
Vix pede signavit vestigia prima Fidorus,
corripit assurgens corpus inerme caper.
1695 Inscius hic ridet, verum ratus esse capellum
casuque in dorsum se cecidisse putat.
At cum sub pedibus silvas et flumina cernit,
tum Stygium sero percipit esse pecus.
Sub pedibus turres altique cacumina montis,
1700 audax aethereum belua sulcat iter.
Ergo timet, tardum sequitur formido stuporem
et pavor in terram desiliisse vetat.
Continuo apparent noti fastigia tecti,
in quo pervigilans usque Fidora iacet.
1705 Mox reminiscitur obliti succensus amoris,
ad notae positus limina nota domus.
Caetera quis nescit? Nostrae reticere Camenae,
caetera nunc aliis conicienda sinam.
- (p.69) Restat Russiacos in funere dicere fletus,
1710 exsequiasve solent quo celebrare modo.
Cum volat exanimi postremus anhelitus ore,

- vitalis linquit frigida membra calor,
 Mox anus ingeminat doctas mercede querelas
 nonque suum deflet femina iussa virum.
- 1715 Venales lacrimas invitis torquet ocellis
 et querulos luctus anxia fingit anus.
 Conductis pretio resonat singultibus aether,
 ex oculis emptae progrediuntur aquae.
 Et lamentatrix lugubria carmina miscens
- 1720 exprimit in fletu talia verba suo:
 “Heu moreris, coniunx, moreris, fidissime coniunx,
 ibis in aeternas, non rediture, domos.
 Cui viduata domus parebit? Cui mea proles?
 Quis pingues agros te moriente colet?
- 1725 Quis pecudes pascet? Quis promet stipite mella?
 Quis calathos plectet caseolisque meis?
 Miror cur moriari amens, quasi plurima desint,
 non te viventem pressit acerba fames.
 Commoda fert hortus, fert commodi plurima campus,
- 1730 multa repostata tibi sunt alimenta domi.
 Sunt matura operi bis septem colla iuvenum,
 sunt quinquaginta libera colla iugo.
 Ad mulctram veniunt viginti vespere vaccae
 et totidem medio corpora lecta die.
- (p.70) 1735 Sus quoque dependet tuguri de parte suprema,
 est in fiscellis caseus ecce meis.
 Parturit exercens crebras gallina querellas,
 edit stramineis ova relictata toris.
 Et Capitolinus tacite mihi parturit anser,
- 1740 occultat nido callidus ova suo.
 Dulces exercent apiaria nostra susurros,
 truncus habet flavas ventre cavatus opes.
 Heu moreris, coniunx, moreris, fidissime coniunx,
 ibis in aeternas, non rediture, domos.
- 1745 Cui mea colla viro cedent stringenda lacertis?
 Cuius in amplexus ibo relictata viri?
 Certe ego perpetuos producam te sine luctus,

1716. querulos *AB*: querelas *C*1734. corpora *AB*: corpore *C*1740. ova *AC*: ora *B*

- nil erit, o coniunx, te sine dulce mihi.
 Ferreus, heu miserae, clausit tua lumina somnus,
 1750 verba tibi infelix non valitura loquor.
 Iamque vale longum, somno requiesce perenni,
 surdus es in voces ferreus ipse meas.”
 Haec lamentatrix tumulo prostrata sepulti,
 hoc repetit lacrimans verba subinde modo.
 1755 Interdum petiere viri morientis amici,
 praecipue si quis ditior ille fuit,
 ut vel ab intonso scribatur epistola *popo*,
 talia vel *popus* verba sonora canat:
 “Petre, tibi claves dedit omnipotentis Olympi
 1760 CHRISTUS, clavigerum te iubet esse poli.
 (p.71) Obstruis et reseras magni penetralia caeli,
 tu servas postes et pia templa DEI.
 Desiit in vivis exsistere noster Ivanus,
 suscepit vobis connumerandus iter.
 1765 Vir bonus atque colens prisca pietate *Cerequam*,
 quem tenuit Graecae relligionis amor.
 Hunc tu, Petre, virum noris caeloque receptes
 aequus et intranti ianitor esse velis.
 Cum superosque petet liquidumque per aera tendet,
 1770 Petre, tuo felix astra favore petat.
 Da, precor, Ivanum ventis migrare secundis
 atque patrocinio protege, Petre, tuo.
 Nam vivus magna te relligione colebat
 et studuit semper, Petre, placere tibi.
 1775 Longa tibi, Petre, devotus ieiunia traxit,
 assuetus vetitis abstinuisse cibus.
 Ergo dum veniens portas pulsabit Olympi
 ad vestrasque fores cum novus hospes erit,
 voce verecunda te compellabit Ivanus,
 1780 ne saevus timido portitor esse velis.
 Voce (precor) leni pulsantis nomina disce
 et respondentis consule verba boni.

1749. lumina AB: limina C

1759. omnipotentis corr. J. IJ. (*metri causâ*): omnipotens ABC. Cf. etiam Verg. Aen. 10,1 et 12,791: omnipotentis Olympi

- Non orator enim fuit, ast operosus arator,
 non rigidus censor dicta pudica notes.
- 1785 Non orator enim fueras, cum retibus undam,
 Petre, tuum studium sollicitare fuit.
- (p.72) Unica te magnum fecit confessio Petrum,
 qua Dominum agnoscis, vox rudis atque brevis.
 Agricolam, piscator, ama; communia vobis
- 1790 haec duo, simplicitas ipseque CHRISTUS, erant.
 Haec dum scripta leges, voti reminiscere nostri
 et commendatum suscipe, Petre, virum.
 Agnoscas animam secum mea scripta ferentem
 aethereaque favens in regione loca.”
- 1795 Praeterea exanimi dat vile numisma sacerdos,
 ut melius longum perficiatur iter,
 ut possit Stygium Russus persolvere naulum,
 tranet ut ad superos Elysiumque nemus.
 Quin etiam mos est morientum pascere Manes,
- 1800 portari tepidos ad monumenta cibos:
 creduntur volucres vesci nidoribus umbrae
 ridiculaque fide carne putantur ali;
 - scilicet oblitus modo se petiisse, Ruthenûm
 ut cassas animas Petrus in astra vehat.
- 1805 His tamen in terris convivia sera sepultis,
 vivere quos caeli rentur in arce, parant.

Sed iam Russorum modulatus carmine mores,
 hic finem faciam; lector amice, vale.

(p.73)

TEMPUS ESSE LIBRUM AC TESTEM
 ACTIONUM NOSTRARUM,
 CUIUS LONGUM VOLUMEN DISCUTIET DEUS,
 CUM IUDICABIT ORBEM TERRARUM
 (Eiusdem auctoris)

- 1 Tempus erit rerum liber immensumque volumen,
 quod vitas hominum et labentia continet acta

- mensurisque suis testis fidissimus ambit.
 Hoc olim DEUS, hoc utetur codice iudex,
 dum varios hominum mores et crimina discet.
 5 Temporis excutiet motum longumque volumen
 praeteritasque vices lucem revocabit in unam.
 Explicitumque legent, heu conscia pectora, librum:
 dum quos glutivit natos, excernet in auras
 falcifer ille, Κρόνον Graii cognomine dicunt.
 10 Nam Saturnus edax tempus designat avarum,
 sub quo cuncta mori nascique parente videmus.
 O igitur, tempus moneo reverenter habete,
 si quae iudicii tangit vos cura supremi.

6. Similia — Commentaria

CARMEN DEDICATORIUM.

6. Sen. *Phedr.* 4, 16: faciem ad serenam subito mutatur dies.
 10. Stat. *Theb.* 552: profundum nemus.
 Verg. *Aen.* 7, 515: silvae profundae.
 21-22. Cf. *Vulg.* Lc 21, 2-3 (J. II.).

ROXOLANIA

Roxolania (class.) sive Russia Rubra (vulg.) = Ucraina; cf. commentarium in v. 1339.

- 1 sqq. Cf. laudes patriae apud recentoris aevi poetas, exempli causa F. Petrarcae *Epist.*, lib. II, *Luchino Vicecomiti Mediolani domino*, lib. III, *Ad Italiam ex Gallis remeans*, [in:] Francisci Petrarchae Florentini *Opera* (Basileae 1582), pp. 97-110; Pauli Crowsensis *Carmina* 39, 1-24 (ed. M. Cytowska, Varsoviae 1962).
 Verg. *Georg.* 4, 429: felices silvae; Mart. 13, 21, 1: felices horti.
 2. Hor. *Epist.* 1, 10, 14: rure beato.
 3. Ov. *Met.* 11, 121; 13, 639: Cerealia munera; *ib.* 11, 22 et *Fast.* 6, 391: Cerealia dona.
 7-8. Verg. *Aen.* 2, 260: laeti...cavo se robore promunt;
 Hor. *Carm.* 2, 19, 12: truncis lapsa cavatis...mella; Sil. 7, 190: cavata quercus.
 Cf. Alexander Guagninus, *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio* (Cracoviae 1578): (Podoliae regio) Mellis silvae passim abundantissimae, stipitibus enim cavatis ubique mella roscida depromuntur.

9. Mart. *Spectac.* 10, 6: Arctoi soles, et sidera.
10. Helice = Ursa Maior, Arctos.
Manil. 1, 503: Arctos...contenta suos in vertice flectere gyros.
11. Leontopolis = Leopolis (class.), Pol. Lwów, olim Regni Poloniae urbs et Roxolaniae metropolis, nunc ad Ucrainam pertinet. Cf. vv. 31-38. 1169-1280.
13. Zamoscum (= Zamoscium) = Pol. Zamość, Regni Poloniae urbs. Cf. vv. 1281-1300.
15. Verg. *Aen.* 12, 745: ardua moenia; *ib.* 3, 574: (Aetna) sidera lambit.
19. Val. Flacc. 6, 462: orae (Argolicae); Ov. *Met.* 15, 276: Argolicis in arvis.
- 21-22. Ov. *Fast.* 2, 250.: vivi fontes; Verg. *Georg.* 2, 243: dulcesque a fontibus undae; *ib.* 4, 161: aquas dulcis; cf. Ov. *Met.* 5, 256 sqq.; Paulus Cropsensis, *Carmina* 47, 2 (ed. M. Cytowska, Varsoviae 1962): Bellerophonteis labra rigaret aquis.
Aquae Hippocrenes, fontis in Helicone monte prorumpentis, quem Pegasus, alatus Bellerophontis equus ungulae ictu elicuisse ex monte traditur.
23. scătŭrĭgĭne (correptio metrica): scătŭrĭgĭne (class.)
29. Maenala, Arcadiae mons altissimus, Pani consecratus est.
Ov. *Met.* 1, 216: Maenala transieram latebris horrenda ferarum.
- 31 sqq. Mons Leoninus sive Mons Leonis (Pol. Góra Lwa), a Leone, Leopolis conditore dictus vulgo Mons Harenarius (Pol. Góra Piaskowa) appellatur et iuxta urbem invenitur. Acernus tamen non Montem Leonis, sed eminentissimum scopulum Leopoltanum, in quo arx bene munita constructa est et superior appellata, describit. Hic mons ab ea arce Arx superior (Pol. Wysoki Zamek) nuncupatus est. Vide *Typum civitatis Leopoliensis*, [in:] Georg Braun, Franciscus Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Coloniae, 1613). Cf. vv. 1186-1190.
Ov. *Met.* 1, 315-316:
Mons ibi verticibus petit arduus astra duobus,
nomine Parnassus, superantque cacumina nubes...
Cf. Laurentius Corvinus, *Carmina* 2, 25-26, [in:] *Carmina duo ex codice Wratislaviensi*, ed. G. Krókowski (Varsoviae, 1951):
Est mons aerius, lapidosus vertice caelum
Pulsans aethereum, nomine dictus Atlas.
38. Ov. *Fast.* 3, 316: Arbitrium est in sua tela Iovi.
- 43-44. Cf. laudes Thuringiae Trebelii et Silesiae Casparis Ursini, [in:] G. Ellinger, *Die neulateinische Lyrik Deutschlands in der ersten Hälfte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, Leipzig 1929), tom. 1, pp. 481, 488.
Verg. *Georg.* 3, 356: Semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora Cauri...
46. Tib. 1, 4, 62: aurea dona.
- 47-48. Ov. *Met.* 9, 666: Lene spirans Favonius; Catull. 64, 282: Aura parit flores tepidi fecunda Favoni.
Ov. *Met.* 8, 225: rapidi vicinia solis.
52. Hor. *Epist.* 2, 2, 198: grato tempore.
53. Carcinus = Cancer.
Cf. Lucan. 9, 536: Carcinus ardens.

54. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 224 et Ov. *Met.* 15, 113: anni spem.
 57. Fama: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9, 473 sqq.; Ov. *Met.* 12, 39.
 59-62. Verg. *Georg.* 3, 352-356:
 Illic clausa tenent stabulis armenta, neque ullae
 aut herbae campo apparent aut arbore frondes;
 sed iacet aggeribus niveis informis et alto
 terra gelu late septemque adsurgit in ulnas.
 Semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora Cauri.
 Cf. Ov. *Trist.* 5, 2, 64-66:
 ...haec gelido terra sub axe iacet
 – nec me tam cruciat numquam sine frigore caelum,
 glebaque canenti semper obusta gelu.
 Cf. Ov. *Pont.* 2, 7, 72: frigore perpetuo Sarmatis ora riget.
Ib. 4, 10, 31: hic agri infrondes.
 63. Verg. *Aen.* 6, 550: rapidus amnis.
 67. Verg. *Georg.* 2, 144: armenta laeta; *ib.* 1, 423: laetae pecudes.
 71. Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 92 et Ov. *Met.* 1, 168: cara pignora.
 Verg. *Georg.* 1, 5-6: o carissima mundi lumina.
 73. Verg. *Aen.* 5, 722 et Ov. *Met.* 1, 168: caelo delapsa; Hor. *Carm.* 3, 4, 1:
 (Calliope) descende caelo.
 75 sqq. Cf. vv. 817-834.
 Bistricius = Pol. Bystrzyca, fluviolus in flumen Wieprz dilabens.
 turris i. e. turris aquae: cf. Andreas Cellarius, *Regni Poloniae descriptio*
 (Amstelodami 1659), p. 197: (Lublina) Visu dignae sunt Turris aquae et
 Papyri seu Chartae confectio. Vide *Typum civitatis Lublinensis*, [in:]
 G. Braun et F. Hogenberg, *op. cit.* Aquaeductus Lublini exstructus est
 anno 1531.
 Cf. A. Cellarius, *op. cit.*, p. 194: *Lublinum*. Inter Polonici Regni civitates
 praecipui nominis numerata, licet spatio non usque adeo grandi compre-
 hendatur, caeterarum tamen nulli vel situs amoenitate, vel coeli salubri-
 tate, vel soli fecunditate, vel ulla alia re aut necessitatem, aut vitae huma-
 nae voluptatem et delectationem spectante cedit. Altis moenibus, et
 profundis fossis saepta et sumptuosis ac pulchris aedificiis fulgens exor-
 natur adhuc plurimum arce in elato colle propter piscinam cubante et natu-
 rae et artis adiumento prope admodum munita, ex qua pons in urbem
 ducit. Sumptuosis aedificiis et altis turribus surgens et Regiae aulae com-
 morationem admodum commodam exhibet, et omnem impetum hostilem
 defensione sua eludit.
 78. Verg. *Georg.* 2, 243: dulces undae.
 81. cannalibus (metri causâ) = canalibus (class.).
 83. Ripa stat: sigmatismus.
 caedivis = caeduis (class.).
 87. legêre = legerunt.
 95. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3, 392: Pan Deus Arcadiae.
 Ov. *Fast.* 2, 268: Faunique bicornes; *Met.* 1, 192-193:
 Sunt mihi semidei, sunt rustica numina, Nymphae
 Faunique Satyrique et monticolae Silvani.

96. Hamadryades = Nymphae silvestres, quae in arboribus habitabant.
105. Verg. *Aen.* 5, 591: irremeabilis error.
109. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 5, 333: poscitur Aonides; *ib.* 6, 2: carmina Aonidum.
Stat. 1 *Silv.* 5, 3, 122: Aonides sorores.
112. Cf. v. 307 sqq.
- 119-120. Ov. *Met.* 10, 53: adclivis trames; Verg. *Georg.* 1, 108: clivosi trami-
tis undam; Ov. *Fast.* 2, 316: garrulus rivus.
- 121-124. Tib. 1, 3, 57-58:
...passimque vagantes
dulce sonant tenui gutture carmen aves.
Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 513-515:
(philomela)...at illa
flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
integrat, et maestis late loca questibus implet.
127. Verg. *Ecl.* 1, 57: nec gemere aeria cessabit turtur ab ulmo.
128. parix, -icis (orig. inc.) = Parus maior. Vide *Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis*, fasc. Paniscardus — Parrula (Hafniae, 1987), col. 369, *Dipl.* Henr. II 80 (a. 1004): ut nemo...aviculam inquietare que dicitur *parix* sive capere presumat; et *Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, vol. VII — fasc. 1(52) (Kraków 1992), col. 94 (J. II).
132. Verg. *Georg.* 2, 328: avia tum resonant avibus virgulta canoris.
- 135-136. Cf. vv. 95-96.
Silvani (Nom. plur.) = dii silvarum, teste Plin. *Nat.* 12, 2.1. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 1, 193: monticolae Silvani.
140. = v. 90.
143. Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 59: alternis dicetis: amant alterna Camenae.
147. Stentor, qui fuit in exercitu Graecorum (Hom. *Il.* 5, 758) voce adeo immani, ut quinquaginta simul vociferantium clamores vinceret. Cf. Iuv. *Sat.* 13, 112: Tu miser exclamans, ut Stentora vincere possis.
- 155-158. Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 39: incipiant silvae primum surgere; *Aen.* 5, 95: genium loci.
- 162-164. Iapetus = Titan, Promethei pater. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1, 3, 27: audax Iapeti genus (= Prometheus).
Bastarnae vel Basternae, populi Sarmatiae, sive ut Recentiorum aliqui volunt, Germaniae in Sarmatia Europaea, qui eas regiones antiquitus incoluisse videntur, quae nunc Podolia vel Ucraina appellantur, ad Carpates montes, inde Basternicas Alpes dictas. Memorat Ptolem. lib. 3, cap. 5; Plin. 4, 13.
Cf. Ov. *Trist.* 2, 195-198:
longius hac nihil est, nisi tantum frigus et hostes
et maris adstricto quae coit unda gelu
hactenus Euxini pars est Romana sinistri:
proxima Basternae Sauromataeque tenent.
165. Hamaxobii vel Amaxobiae, populi Sarmatiae, qui ad Pontum habitabant: Plin. 4, 5, 21; Ptolem. 3, 5, 19.
Cf. Mel. 2, 1, 2: Sauromatae..., quia pro sedibus palustra habent dicti Amaxobiae.

167. *Ov. Met.* 9, 707: nomen avitum.
171. Cf. *Iuv. Sat.* 4, 41-44:
 Neque enim minor haeserat illis,
 quos operit glacies Maeotica, ruptaque tandem
 solibus effundit torrentis ad ostia Ponti,
 desidia tardos et longo frigore pingues.
Verg. Georg. 3, 349: Scythiae gentes Maeotiaque unda.
172. *Verg. Georg.* 1, 370: Boreae truci; *Ov. Met.* 15, 603: trux Eurus; *Plin. Nat.* 2, 36, 1: truces venti.
173. *Ov. Pont.* 4, 10, 39-40:
 Proxima sunt nobis plaustri praebentia formam
 et quae praecipuum sidera frigis habet.
186. Litavi = Lithuani.
187. Mosochi = Mosc(h)i.
Ov. Met. 14, 797: rigidis Sabinis.
192. Getarum sive Dacorum nomine designantur ab antiquis plerumque utriusque Istri fluminis ripae incolae.
199. *Verg. Georg.* 2, 110: crassisque paludibus alni nascuntur.
201. Dolabris: prima syllaba producta.
202. S. F. Klonowic vel Acernus (ab acere).
205. *Verg. Aen.* 8, 674: delphines aequora verrebant caudis
- 208-210. *Verg. Georg.* 1, 169-170:
 Continuo in silvis magna vi flexa domatur
 in burim et curvi formam accipit ulmus aratri.
- 211 sqq. *Verg. Georg.* 3, 536: (boves) contenta cervice trahunt stridentia plaustra; *Ov. Trist.* 3, 10, 59: stridentia plaustra.
 Cf. A. Guagninus, *op. cit.*: (Ducatus Samogitiae) Currus leves absque ullo ferri ministerio conficiunt et omnia compangunt arboreis gomphis et ligna coacta vicem ferri complent. Rotasque ex uno ligno in gyros aptas contorquent. Pinguedine vel pice unquam (= *nunquam*) linunt currus, quando multi insimul vehuntur mirus concentus quidam querulosorum axium longe auditur. Decem versus *Roxolaniae*, qui haec verba sequuntur, in nostro apparatu critico collocamus: vide vv. 267-270.
212. *Ov. Met.* 5, 645: levem currum.
216. *Ov. Met.* 15, 81: prodiga tellus.
- 221-227. penŭ (correptio metrica; Nom. sing.) = penus (class.; Gen sing.: -us, -i, -oris).
 septipedalis, -e = septempedalis, -e (class.).
Verg. Georg. 2, 189: curvis aratris; *Ov. Met.* 15, 123: curvi aratri.
235. seu = et (Rec., Eccl.): cf. *Cassian. Coll.* 6, 11, 5; 8, 8, 1.
238. crescere sponte: sigmatismus.
- 243-244. arbusta = arbores silvestres.
 Cf. *Ov. Met.* 5, 388: silva coronat aquas.
 Russus curvat etiam fagos novellas, quae arboribus cinctae in umbra crescunt et tenerae atque flexibiles sunt.
249. Cf. vv. 252. 295.
Verg. Georg. 1, 175: suspensa focus explorat robora fumus

252. Cf. v. 249.
265. terebrum, -i = terebra, -ae (class.): cf. Hier. *Is.* 12, 44, 12.
269. colassa (= plastrum): Russ. коляска, коляса.
271. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 177: Cerealia arma; *Georg.* 1, 160: quae sint duris agrestibus arma.
279. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 45-46: depresso incipiat iam tum mihi taurus aratro ingemere.
- 281-284. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 181-185:
tum variae inludant pestes: saepe exiguus mus
sub terris posuitque domos atque horrea fecit,
aut oculis capti fodere cubilia talpae,
inventusque cavis bufo et quae plurima terrae
monstra ferunt...
290. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 7 et Ov. *Met.* 5, 572, *Fast.* 4, 547: alma Ceres.
- 293-294. Cf. A. Guagninus, *op. cit.*: (Podoliae regio)...terra tamen dura et petrosa nimis, adeo ut bisseos boves coloni araturi aratro iungere cogantur. Attamen intollerabile pondus boves anhelantes testantur.
295. Cf. v. 249.
305. Cf. v. 226.
306. Cf. v. 211.
- 307-310. Cf. v. 112.
Verg. *Georg.* 2, 526-527:
...pingues in gramine laeto
inter se adversis luctantur cornibus haedi.
Cf. A. Guagninus, *op. cit.*: (Podoliae regio) Prata quoque mirum in modum luxuriantia, adeo ut bovis cornua vix e gramine apparent.
Etiam Matthias Miechovita, *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* (Cracoviae 1517), ed. W. Mitzler de Kolof, [in:] *Historiarum Poloniae et Lithuaniae scriptorum [...] collectio* (Varsoviae, 1761), tom. 1, p. 204: Gramen quoque, et pascua tam cito ac uberrime fundit et prodit, ut perticam in tribus diebus supercrescendo contegat, et aratrum in locis graminosis derelictum in paulo pluribus diebus graminibus sepiat, et cooperiat.
314. Cytisus (κύτισος), genus frugis, qui nascitur inter campos, et silvas, pabulo pecudum, maxime vero ovium et caprarum conveniens.
330. Verg. *Georg.* 2, 529: pecoris magistris.
335. Cf. v. 330
- 337-338. Ov. *Met.* 3, 20-22:
bos stetit et tollens speciosam cornibus altis
ad caelum frontem mugitibus impulit auras
atque ita respiciens comites sua terga sequentes.
349. Ov. *Met.* 2, 270: torvo vultu.
363. matus arandi (Rec., Eccl.) = matus arando (class.)
367. Verg. *Georg.* 3, 53: et crurum tenuis a mento palearia bovis pendent.
394. Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 21-22: Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae ubera.
399. Verg. *Ecl.* 5, 39: spinis acutis.
- 407-408. Cf. vv. 325-326.
413. Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 60-61: densas frondes.

421 sqq. Galatea nympa marina celeberrima apud poetas, Nerei ac Doridis filia. Galatea etiam lactis dea gregumque patrona habebatur. Vide in *Scholiis in Theocritum* (*Ecl.* VI 1). Itaque Acernus cum lactis copiam, qua Russia abundat, et eius usum latius expediat, Galateam lactis gregumque deam invocat et fabulam de amore Polyphemi, quo in candidam Nereidem ardebat, inserit. Theocritum (*Id.* XI) et Ovidium (*Met.* 13, 750 sqq.) maxime imitatur, sed unus inter poetas, ut nobis videtur, Galateam lactis gregumque deam celebrat. Cf. Anthonius Thylesius Consentinus, *Cyclops. Galatea*, [in:] *Carmina illustrium poetarum italorum* (Florentiae, 1719-1726), tom. 9, p. 248 sqq., 253 sqq.; Ioannes Baptista Pigna, *Galatea*, [in:] *Carmina illustrium poetarum italorum* (Lutetiae, 1577), p. 291 sqq.; Petrus Bembo, *Galatea*, [in:] *Carmina illustrium poetarum italorum* (Florentiae, 1719-1726), tom. 2, p. 122 sqq.; etiam recens exstat editio, [in:] Pietro Bembo, *Carmina*, Parthenias, Collezione di poesia neolatina, 1 (San Mauro, 1990), pp. 13-15.

Acernus Galataee nomen, quod a verbis Graecis γάλα (lac) et θεά (dea) ducit, cum littera *h* scribit, id est *Galathea*.

Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 37 sqq.

422. Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 39: Huc ades, o Galatea.

441. Ov. *Met.* 15, 605: fluctus aequorei.

442. Cf. Theocr. *Id.* 11, 54: ὅμοι ὅτ' οὐκ ἔτεκεν μ' ἅ μᾶτηρ βράγχι ' ἔχοντα.

447. Verg. *Aen.* 7, 691 et Ov. *Met.* 10, 639. 655; *ib.* 12, 72: Neptunia proles.

449-450. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 1, 71-73.

451-452. Cf. vv. 445-446.

456. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 508: rupe sub aeria.

Trinacria iuga (Τρεῖς ἄκραι) = Sicilia, nomen Siciliae dictum a tribus eius promontoriis: Pachyno, Peloro, Lilybaeo.

457. Cf. S. F. Klonowic (Acernus), *Victoria Deorum* 24, 524 (ed. B. Milewska, Wratislaviae 1986): dimobilis Aegle (= nomen meretricis apud Martialem).

460. Cf. vv. 449-450.

479. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 44: insanus amor; *Aen.* 2, 343: insano amore.

Ov. *Met.* 9, 519: insani amores.

480. Cf. v. 469.

485-486. Cf. v. 425.

489. Cf. Lucianus, *Ἐνάλαιοι διάλογοι* 1.

490. Doris (Gen. sing. -idos), nympa marina, Nerei et Doridos filia, Galataee soror.

crudivorus = Graec. ὠμοβόρος, cf. Lucianus, *Ἐνάλαιοι διάλογοι* 1, 4.

493. Ov. *Met.* 13, 839: Iam, Galatea, veni.

503-504. Cf. Lucianus, *Ἀληθῆς ἱστορία* 2, 3.

511 sqq. Cf. Plin. *Nat.* 8, 37: Bovae (boae)...aluntur primo bubuli lactis suco, unde nomen traxere.

Verg. *Georg.* 4, 408: squamosus draco.

515. Verg. *Aen.* 5, 84 et 7, 353: lubricus anguis.

536. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 66 et Ov. *Met.* 7, 247: tepido lacte.

570. gurgulio = curculio.

- 577 sqq. Cf. Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Romae 1555), Lib. 13, cap. 46: *De magnitudine et bonitate caseorum*.
591. Plin. *Nat.* 28, 133: e lacte fit et butyrum, barbarum gentium lautissimus cibus.
601. Cf. *Carmen dedicatorium*, v. 3.
603. Montani in Carpatibus habitantes, praecipue Dacoromani, Slavi et Poloni, e lacte ovillo, cui nonnumquam lac vaccinum admiscent, caseum mollem et salsum faciunt, quem *brinzam* appellant.
brinza: vocabulum origine Dacoromanicum '*brînză*'; Russ. брынза, Pol. bryndza.
607. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 285-286: altius omnem expeditam prima repetens ab origine famam.
616. Cf. v. 200.
Verg. *Aen.* 6, 550 et 11, 298: rapidus amnis.
618. Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 24: arguta fistula.
623. haeducus (= haiducus s. heiducus): vocabulum origine Hungaricum '*hajdú*', Pol. hajduk (saec. XVI^o et XVII^o: puer armatus, custos, miles pedestris Hungarico ritu vestitus), Angl. Haiduk. Vide *Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, vol. IV — fasc. 5(33) (Kraków 1977), col. 709.
Circa a. 1560 Acernus in Hungaria fuit et in oppido Pezinok (= Hung. 'Bazin'), quod nunc ad Slaviam pertinet, commoratus est: vide S. F. Klonowic (Acernus), *Worek Judaszów* (Kraków, 1600), ed. K. Budzyk et A. Obrębska — Jabłońska (Wrocław, 1960), p. 142, vv. 31-32.
- 629-632. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 8, 183 sqq.; *ib.* 8, 227-230:
...nudos quatit ille lacertos
remigioque carens non ullas percipit auras,
oraeque caerulea patrum clamantia nomen
excipiuntur aqua quae nomen traxit ab illo.
Ov. *Met.* 6, 398 et *Trist.* 3, 3, 61: vacua in aura.
- 641-652. Plin. *Nat.* 16, 247: Omnino autem satum nullo modo nascitur nec nisi per alvum avium redditum, maxime palumbis ac turdis; haec est natura, ut nisi maturatum in ventre avium non proveniat. *Ib.* 248: Hoc est viscum pinnis avium tactu ligandis iugulandis oleo subactum, cum libeat insidias moliri.
657. Ov. *Met.* 2, 247: viscera matris.
658. fulvae opes = aurum.
repperiantur (metri causâ) = reperiantur (class.).
662. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 394 et 9, 638: aetheria plaga.
678. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* 3, 9, 24: arbor amoena comis.
682. Verg. *Georg.* 3, 385: pabula laeta.
687. Antipodae dicuntur terrae incolae, qui contra nos positi sunt contrariis vestigiis, vel qui adversa nobis, ut Cicero loquitur, urgent vestigia: cf. Cic. *Acad.* 4: Nonne etiam dicitis esse e regione nobis, e contraria parte terrae, qui adversis vestigiis stent contra nostra vestigia, quos Antipodas vocatis?
693. Ov. *Met.* 14, 93: deforme animal.
694. Mart. *Spectac.* 10, 6: Arctoi soles, et sidera.
Lucan. 1, 53: Arctous orbis.

702. Hybla, mons Siciliae, thymo et melle abundans.
Cf. Mart. 7, 88: Pascat et Hybla meas, pascat Hymettos apes.
Verg. *Georg.* 1, 54: Hyblaeis apibus.
703. Ov. *Met.* 15, 383: fetus melliferarum apium.
705. Plin. *Nat.* 8, 129: ursae favos expetunt.
- 707-714. Cf. Plin. *Nat.* 8, 126: Hi sunt candida informisque caro paulo muribus maior, sine oculis, sine pilo, ungues tantum prominent; hanc lambendo paulatim figurant.
Verg. *Georg.* 3, 247: informes ursi.
716. Cf. vv. 49-50.
Lucr. 1, 355: rigidum frigus.
- 717-718. Cf. Plin. *Nat.* 8, 127: priorum pedum suctu vivunt.
730. Prop. 3, 10, 23: tibia rauca.
742. Ov. *Trist.* 3, 7, 3: dulci cum matre.
745. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 350: motus incompositos.
764. micasse = micavisse.
765. Aesonides = Iason.
Ov. *Met.* 7, 164 et 8, 411: Aesonides.
Cf. Ov. *Met.* 7, 1 sqq.
767. Ceremissi, populi Moscoviae Orientalis in ripa Volgae septentrionali. Cf. A. Guagninus, *op. cit.*: (Ceremissi) longe lateque in vastis silvis sine ullis aedibus habitant. Omnes tam viri quam feminae cursu velocissimi sunt sagittariiue peritissimi, arcum nunquam de manibus deponunt [...]. Artificium laborque eorum feras venari et sagittis figere, quorum (sic!) carne vescuntur pellibusque vestiuntur, ac ea isdem pro tributo magno Duci Moschorum pendunt.
- 769-778. Cf. Serv. ad *Aen.* 3, 209 et *ib.* 10, 350: Zetes et Calais: aut certe in Hyperboreis montibus nati, unde est origo venti Boreas.
Cf. Ov. *Met.* 6, 702-719.
Ov. *Met.* 1, 64-65: Scythiam Septemque triones horriferae invasit Boreas. sudificus (Rec.) = sudus, serenus, tempus serenum faciens, cum scilicet nulla est pluvia.
779. sqq. Psychus = Graec. ψυχος.
Crystallus = Graec. κρύσταλλος.
Auus = Graec. αὔος.
Tres venti, Boreae socii, qui Psychus, Crystallus et Auus vocantur, ab ipso Acerno conficti esse videntur. Fortasse poeta hanc fabulam de ventis componens fabulas de Cyclopibus, qui in Vulcani officina ferraria laboraverant, ante oculos habuit: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 170-175; *Aen.* 8, 416-422. 449-453.
781. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 18: liquidi fontes.
783. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 517: Hyperboreas glacies; *ib.* 3, 196-197: Qualis Hyperboreis Aquilo cum densus ab oris incubuit.
808. multa i.e. multa animalia silvestria, quorum pelles in pretio fuerunt.
811. sabellus, -i: aliter zebellinus, mus silvestris; cf. R. Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 318. 388 (J. II.).
816. Ov. *Met.* 13, 899: placidis undis.

- 817 sqq. Cf. vv. 75-88.
 Cf. A. Cellarius, *op. cit.*, p. 197: Ad eos (mercatus) accurrunt ex remotissimis etiam terris mercatores, Germani, Graeci, Armeni, Arabes, Moschi, Turcae, Galli, Itali et Angli.
818. Litavi = Lithuani.
823. Sabaei = Arabes.
824. repperiuntur (metri causâ) = reperiuntur (class.).
825. Seres, pluraliter populi in Asia Scythica apud Indiam.
 Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2, 121: velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres.
827. Verg. *Georg.* 1,66: et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.
828. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 224: mare velivolum; Ov. *Pont.* 4, 16, 21: velivolique maris vates.
829. Ov. *Met.* 1, 64-65: Scythiam Septemque triones horrifer invasit Boreas.
- 833-834. Vinum ex Hungaria et Europa occidentali in Poloniam importatum potabatur praecipue a nobilibus; plebei cervisia et melle contenti erant.
835. Verg. *Georg.* 3, 526-527: atqui non Massica Bacchi munera; Ov. *Met.* 12, 578: munera Bacchi.
837. Methymna, urbs in insula Lesbo, ubi bonum vinum nascitur.
838. Filius Semeles = Bacchus.
 De vinis: cf. S. F. Klonowic (Acernus), *Victoria deorum* 28, 293-331 (ed. B. Milewska, Wratislaviae, 1986).
- 839 sqq. Cf. Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Romae, 1555), Lib. 13:
 – cap. 24: *De modo coquendi medonem Polonico vel Lithuanico more*
 – cap. 26: *De praeparatione hordei et aliarum frugum, pro cerevisia decoquenda*
 – cap. 27: *Adhuc de frugum praeparatione pro cerevisia in diversis et distantibus provinciis conficienda*
 – cap. 28: *De cerevisiae decoctione vario modo*
 – cap. 37: *De ritu bibendi septentrionalium populorum*
 – cap. 41: *De turpissima speciebus ebriosorum.*
842. lupulus (vulg.) = humulus lupulus.
858. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 96: flava Ceres.
870. Brito = Graec. βῆρυς.
871. tempestas animi i.e. lupulus, e quo Poloni et Russi cerevisiam conficiunt; cf. vv. 839-842.
- 883-888. Cer(e)visia, vox Gallica vetus, qua Galli nostri potum, qui ex hordeo conficitur, nuncupabant, ut auctor est Plinius lib. 22, cap. 25. Isidorus lib. 200 rig., cap. 3: Cerevisia, a Cerere, id est fruge vocata: est enim potio ex seminibus frumenti vario modo confecta.
 Verg. *Aen.* 8, 77: regnator aquarum.
 alma Ceres: cf. v. 290.
 Ennosigaeus (Ἐννοσίγαιος) = Neptunus. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 15, 456; Iuven. 10, 182: Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum.
891. Cf. v. 885.
905. Cf. v. 123.
920. Gliviti: cives Gliviti (= Pol. Gliwice), Silesiae urbis.

928. Cf. v. 835.
931. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 2: ulmis adiungere vites.
949. Cf. v. 883.
953. Dea flava = flava Ceres, cf. v. 858.
- 955 sqq. De ebrietate: cf. Lucr. 3, 475 sqq.; Ioannes Dantiscus, *Carmina* 7, 13-32, *ib.* 42.2, 799-818 (ed. S. Skimina, Cracoviae 1950); Sebasianus Harnmoldus Tubingensis, *De vitanda ebrietate*, [in:] *Delitiae poetarum Germanorum* (Francofurti, 1612), pars III, pp. 563-564.
957. prior: synaeresis.
958. vina cremata (vulg.) = vina adusta, aqua vitae (Angl. brandy).
- 959 sqq. Cf. A. Cellarius, *op. cit.*, p. 43: Ad ebrietatem proni convivii et computationibus crebris delectantur. Vulgo ipsi solemne est quotidianis ingurgitationibus vinum adustum, aut spiritum, vi destillatum haurire.
966. Verg. *Georg.* 2, 217: fumos volucris.
970. vina sreat: sigmatismus.
972. vītūpērat (productio metrica): vītūpērat (class.).
977. Postēāquam (correptio metrica vel synaeresis): Postēāquam (class.).
- 995-1004. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 10, 133-574.
Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 70: carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulixi.
Ov. *Met.* 14, 294-295: ad insidiosa pocula.
Petron. 134: Phoebeia Circe carminibus magicis socios mutavit Ulixis.
1006. ignipotens humor = vinum adustum.
1011. roscida materia = mel.
Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 30: roscida mella.
Cf. S. F. Klonowic (Acernus), *Victoria deorum* 29, 237 (ed. B. Milewska, Wratislaviae, 1986): Ros et flos est materies innoxia mellis. De apibus et melle: cf. *ib.* 29, 235 sqq.
medo, -onis (m) = hydromel, melicraton, aqua mulsa; cf. Isid. *Etym.*, lib. 20, cap. 3, parag. 13.
Cf. Martinus Cromer, *Polonia sive de situ, populis, moribus, magistratibus et Republica Regni Polonici libri duo* (Coloniae, 1578), ed. W. Czermak (Kraków, 1901), Biblioteka Pisarzów Polskich, tom. 40, p. 48: Mel quoque itidem cum lupulo aqua decoctum in frequenti usu est, Russis praesertim et Podoliis, apud quos permagna est apum et mellis optimi ex dictamno et aliis bene olentibus herbis ac floribus collecti copia. Nec Prussis et Masoviis mel deest, qui et ipsi itidem id decoquant, *medonem* vulgo vocant. Solet autem is condiri Varsoviae peculiariter succo e cerasiis rubive malis expresso, aut aromatibus, et pro ratione condimentorum, kerstrangi, malinici et troinici nomen accipit. Cf. etiam commentarium in v. 839 sqq.
1015. Cf. vv. 7-8.
1016. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 202: ipsae...cerea regna refigunt.
1025. Ov. *Met.* 1, 615: Iuppiter auctor.
1027. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 1: aerii mellis caelestia dona.
1031. Ov. *Met.* 10, 160-161:
... qui nunc quoque pocula miscet
invitaeque Iovi nectar Iunone ministrat.
Hom. *Il.* 4, 3-4: πότνια Ἥβη νέκταρ ἐφνοχόει.

1041. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 43-44:
...penitusque repertae
pumicibus cavis exesaeque arboris antro.
1042. Tib. 2, 1, 50: compleat ut dulci sedula melle favos.
- 1045 sqq. Cf. Olaus Magnus, *op. cit.*, lib. 18, cap. 28 et 29, lib. 22, cap. 19; Paulus Jovius, *Moschovia* (Basileae 1561), pp. 23-24: Regio enim tota fecundissimis apibus plena est, quae non in manufactis agrestium alvearibus, sed in ipsis arborum cavis probatissima mella conficiunt; hinc per silvas et opacissimos saltus, frequentia ac nobilia apum examina ramis arborum pendentia videre est, quae nullo aeris crepitu colligere sit necesse. Reperiuntur saepe favorum ingentes massae arboribus conditae, veteraque mella deserta ab apibus, quum singulares arbores in vastis nemoribus rari agrestes minime perscrutentur, ita ut in admirandae crassitudinis arborum stipitibus permagnos mellis lacus aliquando reperiant. Retulit, et cum multo omnium risu, Demetrius legatus, ut est ingenio comi et faceto, proximis annis vicinae suae agricolam quaerendi mellis causa in praegrandem cavam arborem superne desiliisse, eumque profundo mellis gurgite pectore tenuis fuisse haustum, ac biduo vitam solo melle sustinuisse, quum vox opem implorantis in ea silvarum solitudine ad viatorum aures penetrare nequivisset; ad extremum vero desperata salute, mirabili casu, ingentis ursae beneficio inde extractum evasisse, quam forte eius beluae ad edenda mella more humano se demittentis aversos renes manibus comprehendisset et eam subito timore exterritam ad exiliendum tum tractu ipso, tum multo clamore concitasset.
- 1057 sqq. De apibus: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 149 sqq.
1059. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 4: apibus parcis.
1064. Cf. v. 1011, v. 1028.
1065. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 157: et in medium quaesita reponunt.
1073. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 162: minantur in caelum scopuli.
1078. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 101: dulcia mella.
1081. Cf. v. 1041.
- 1083-1084. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 201-202:
...ipsae regem parvosque Quirites
sufficiunt, aulasque et cerea regna refigunt.
- 1085-1086. Plin. *Nat.* 8, 129: ursae favos expetunt.
1100. inerte (Nom. sing. neutri) = iners (class.).
Fortasse poeta hunc Ovidii versum (*Pont.* 1, 10, 14): *stabit et in stomacho pondus inerte diu*, in mentem revocans erravit et *inerte* ad *pondus* retulit. Hic *inerte* etiam metri causâ collocatur: cf. v. 370.
1102. Cf. v. 649 sqq.
1108. servitutem (productio metrica): servitutem (class.).
1111. Ov. *Met.* 15, 236: lenta morte.
1139. Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 9: faciles Nymphae risere.
- 1169 sqq. Cf. Matthias Miechovita, *op. cit.*, p. 204: In medium Russiae tendendo, est Leopoliensis terra, et urbs in ea bene munita eodem nomine nuncupata: habens duo castra, superum et inferum, et est metropolis Russiae.
Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1, 24: Verum haec tantum alias inter caput extulit urbes.

1170. Cf. v. 11.
1171. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 393: is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.
- 1173-1176. *Vulg. Mat.* 7, 15: Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces.
1179. Cf. Ioannes Alnpekius, *Topographia Civitatis Leopoltanae* (ca a. 1603-1605), ed. S. Rachwał, [in:] S. Rachwał, *Jan Alnpek i jego "Opis miasta Lwowa" z początku XVII w.* (Lwów, 1930), p. 17: ...in cuius (= Fori) orientali parte domus decora Archiepiscopalis.
1183. Marpessus est mons lapideus in Paro insula. Inde Marpesius, id est mar-moreus.
1184. veteri (Abl. sing.) = vetere (class.).
- 1186-1188. Cf. A. Cellarius, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-313: Arces duae, una intra moenia, altera extra, illa in monte edito, ad decimum etiam milliare remotis, tempestate serenior, conspicua, ut et fossa profunda, secundum nonnullos duplex, murusque multis turribus firmatus ipsam ab incursu hostium tutam praestant.
- 1197 sqq. Cf. I. Alnpekius, *op. cit.*, p. 17: Hic (= in Foro) videre licet turbam mercatorum omnium gentium, qui ad Emporium ex tota fere Europa et Asia confluerunt, maxime vero Graecorum, Turcarum, Armenorum, Tartarorum, Moldavorum, Hungarorum, Germanorum, Italorum.
1200. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 370: Boreae de parte trucidis.
Ioannes Cochanius, *Epinicion, Duodenarius* 67, 793-794, [in:] *Jana Kochanowskiego Dzieła wszystkie. Wydanie pomnikowe* (Varsoviae, 1884), tom. 3: in Borealia rursum frigida regna remisit.
1203. Ov. *Pont.* 4, 15, 36 (2, 10, 48): gelido sub axe.
- 1207-1208. Cf. vv. 1183-1184 et vv. 15-16.
- 1209-1210. Summa Aedes i.e. Ecclesia Metropolitana primo Sanctissimae Trinitatis (circa a. 1360), deinde Deiparae Virginis Augustae (ante a. 1384), opus magni sumptus, magnae Regum Casimiri et Wladislai Jagiellonis liberalitatis.
- 1211-1212. Ecclesia Corporis Christi ante annum 1392 aedificata Religiosorum Fratrum Sancti Dominici sedes fuit.
1220. Verg. *Aen.* 9, 165-166: noctem ducit insomnem.
1225. xylinum (ξύλινον) = cottonum (vulg.).
1227. Acorum sive acoros (ἄκορος): herba foliis iridis, angustioribus tamen et longiore pediculis, radice nigra, et minus venosa, gustu acri, odore non ingrata, et ructum facile ciente (cf. Plin. *Nat.* 25, 100. 157). Putatur autem eadem esse, quae in officinis calamus aromaticus dicitur. Ad usum acori radix: Plin. *Nat.* 26, 74. tormina discutit; *ib.* 80. urinam ciet; *ib.* 91. testium tumores sanat; *ib.* 45. tenesmo...bibitur; *ib.* 127. sanat duritias et collectiones omnes; *ib.* 137. prodest contusis; *ib.* 163. cutis vitia omnia...emendat.
gingiber (vulg.) = zingiber (ζιγγίβερις), cf. Plin. *Nat.* 12, 14.
1228. canna aromatica (vulg.) = Andropogon Schoenanthus, herba habens folia odorata, e quibus oleum premebatur.
1229. rebarbara (vulg.) = rhabarbarum.
1230. flos muscati (vulg.) = flos myristicae.

virgineus crocus: Crocus a Croco puero (ut poetae fabulantur), qui cum Similacem puellam tenerrime deperiret, amoris impatientia versus est in florem sui nominis (Ov. *Met.* 4, 283).

1233-1234. Cf. I. Alnpekus, *op. cit.*, p. 19: Armenorum Ecclesia est versus Septentrionem satis larga, opus non contemnendi sumptus, in qua illi cum summa devotione sacra sua obeunt.

1235-1236. Pelasgus = Graecus.

Cf. A. Cellarius, *op. cit.*, p. 313: In eadem parte (i.e. orientali) et nonnulli Russi habitantes pulcherrimum templum lapide a turri exurgens possident.

1237 sqq. Cf. I. Alnpekus, *op. cit.*, p. 18: Versus Eurum nulla est Ecclesia Catholicorum, regio plena Iudaeorum, qui libertatibus, quas a Casimiro Magno, rege Polonorum, habent maximas, allecti ex omnibus plagis mundi huc confluxere. Synagogae binae Procerum indulgentia concessae.

Vetere synagoga incensa (a. 1571), famosa synagoga Rosae Aureae anno 1582 constructa est.

Cf. S. F. Klonowic (Acernus), *Victoria deorum*, cap. XIV (Cracoviae post 1587):

Interea celebres usuris aggravat urbes,
Miris aucupiis captans ignobile lucrum,
Et quamvis mercatur aquas, mercatur et auras,
Mercatur pacem, et pretio venalia iusto.
[...] Unde tamen mercetur, habet placetque monarchas,
Undeque consueti iactat sua semina lucri;
Quos dum praefecti spoliant, spoliantur ab illis,
Non etiam fiscus tali securus ab arte est,
Omnes usque adeo violentum fascinat aurum.
Ib. 26, 246-254 (ed. B. Milewska, Wratislaviae, 1986):
En Iudaeus iners et mundi totius exul,
Exemplum saeculi iugisque rapina potentum
Urbibus in mediis ingentem condidit opum vim,
Quos numerare nequit, nummos metitur acervis,
Attamen infamis trepidat, fugat aura paventem.
Quamvis divitias Iudaica strangulet arca,
Non animos addit famosa pecunia genti.
Non servile caput semper conquexit (!?) et ima
Figitur in terra dubitans attollere vultum.

1238. irrecutitus = non circumcisis: hic fortasse spiritualiter, in corde, in Christo, quod Iudaei Christo non crediderunt; cf. *Vulg. Dt.* 30, 6, *Rm.* 2, 28 sqq., *Col.* 2, 11, *Phil.* 3, 3; cf. etiam vv. 1243-1244.

1240. Ov. *Trist.* 3, 9, 18: pallor in...ore sedet.

1246. Cf. vv. 1175-1176.

1265. Cf. A. Cellarius, *op. cit.*, p. 316: Curia sive Domus iudiciorum pulchra et alta turri conspicua est.

1271-1272. Verg. *Georg.* 2, 291-292:

aesculus in primis, quae quantum vertice ad auras
aetherias tantum radice in Tartara tendit.

1273. horologus = horologium (class.).
- 1281 sqq. Cf. vv. 13-14. Cf. M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska* (Warszawa, 1843-1846), tom. 2, pars 2, p. 796: Anno Christi MDLXXX Ioannes de Zamoscio Regni Poloniae supremus Cancellarius de sua pecunia munire colonosque convocare coepit et nomen Zamoscium Novum indidit.
1285. Vertumnus, deus temporum anni et messis.
- 1297-1298. Getae ad septentrionalem Histri ripam habitabant.
Getae, Scythae = Tartari.
Tartari erant populi partis Sarmatiae Europaeae, moribus omnique crudelitatis genere efferatissimi, incertis vagantes sedibus, e praeda vic- titantes, improvisis incursionibus maxime noxii, profundis oculis et capite circum tempora presso. Nemo veterum hac usus est appellatione, quod vox novicia est.
De Tartaris cf. etiam Matthias Miechovita, *op. cit.*, p. 185 sqq; et vv. 1311-1338.
- 1301 sqq. Cf. A. Guagninus, *op. cit.*: Kiovia vetustissima amplissimaque urbs ligneis saeptis circumdata, olim totius Russiae Metropolis, ad fluvium celeberrimum Borysthenem sita [...]. Eam quondam magnificam et plane Regiam fuisse ipsae civitatis ruinae, et monumenta, quae sex miliaribus patent, indicant. Apparent hodie in vicinis montibus et colli- bus ecclesiarum monasteriorumque et aedificiorum desolatorum vesti- gia.
1311. 1321. Tārtaros, Tārtari (correptio metrica): Tārtari
Cf. commentarium in vv. 1297-1298.
1323. Borysthenes = Dniepr fluvius.
1335. mystax = Graec. μύσταξ. Vide J. IJsewijn, "Mystax", *Latinitas*, 13 (1965), pp. 219-220 (J. IJ.).
1338. Tārtaros: cf. v. 1311.
- 1339-1340. Roxolania sive Russia Rubra etiam Russia Nigra appellabatur, cf. A. Cellarius, *op. cit.*, p. 310: *Russia Rubra ab argilla russa, aliter Nigra, quia silvis oblecta*. Inde Roxolaniae incolae nonnumquam Russi nigri vocabantur.
Unus totius Russiae Metropolita olim erat, qui sedem suam primo in Kiovia Russiae Lithuanorumque metropoli civitate retinebat, tandem Wolodimiriam (a. 1299), postremo Moschoviam (a. 1328) translatus est.
- 1343-1348. scrobs = scrobes, cf. Prisc. 7, 40 (Keil 1, pp. 320-321) (J. IJ.).
Cf. A. Guagninus, *op. cit.*: Praeterea Cavernae quaedam subterraneae vastissimae longo tractu subter terras extensae, quas quidam octuaginta miliaribus protendi dicunt, in his plurima antiqua sepulchra corporaque illustrium quondam Russiae virorum (quamvis antiquius posita) carie tantum consumpta integra tamen apparent, praecipue vero duorum quo- rundam Principum cadavera vestibus gentili more prout vivi ambulabant integra veluti recens posita apparent. Sicque insepulta in specu iacent, quae peregrinis et advenis a monachis Ruthenici ritus ostenduntur.
1367. Pieczarae (i.e. Cavernae): Russ. Пещеры, Печеры.
1371. Posteāquam: cf. v. 977.

- 1373-1394. Camenecia = Pol. Kamieniec Podolski, Regni Poloniae urbs.
Cf. A. Guagninus, *op. cit.*: Civitas Moldaviae finitima Divinaque fere manu inter arduas clivosasque rupes condita, portas solummodo duas habet. Arx quoque natura et oportunitate loci rupe petrosa undique cincta quam una cum civitate Smotricz fluvius praeterlabitur, fossaque profundissima naturali cingitur. Arx ipsa muro propugnaculisque munita. Civitatem vero rupes altissima, saxosa, accessuque ardua inexpugnabilem facit, quam ita suo ambitu includit, ut minime aedium quamvis eminentiorum tecta appareant. Saepius ab ea Tartari, Valachiisque et Turcae cum ingenti strage et dedecore repulsi et refugati sunt.
v. 1388. ultima sponte: sigmatismus (et correptio metrica)
1395. Luceoria sive Luceovia = Pol. Łuck, Regni Poloniae urbs.
- 1397-1398. Busca sive Buscum = Pol. Busk(o), Regni Poloniae urbs.
Cf. A. Guagninus, *op. cit.*: Civitas inter lutosas paludes ex quibus Bug fluvius oritur.
- 1399-1402. Socalum = Pol. Sokal, Regni Poloniae urbs.
famosa clades: Anno 1519 apud Socalum exercitus Polonorum cum innumerabilibus Tartaris proelium atrocem commisit et ab eis devictus est.
Divae celeberrima templa parentis: In insula, quam Bugus fluvius duorum alveorum complexu claudebat, templum Fratrum Observantium, qui vulgo Bernardini nuncupabantur, fuit. Hoc in templo miraculosa imago Beatae Virginis Mariae inveniebatur.
- 1403-1404. Hrodla = Pol. Horodło, Regni Poloniae urbs.
Strymon, fluvius Thraciae ex Aemo monte profluens, et Thraciam, et Macedoniam separans.
Verg. *Georg.* 1, 120: Strymoniaeque grues; *Aen.* 10, 265: Strymoniae grues.
Cf. A. Guagninus, *op. cit.*: Civitas stipitibus praeacutis circumsaepa, arcem in colle Bugo praeterfluam habet.
- 1405-1406. Belza = Pol. Bełz, Regni Poloniae urbs.
Cf. A. Guagninus, *op. cit.*: Civitas lignea, ampla in planicie sita. Arcem ligneam lutosus paludibus late stagnantibus circumdata habet, quam nequaquam Tartarica sagitta attingit.
Regnum Poloniae in palatinatus (= satrapias) divisum est. Palatinus (= satrapes, vulg. voievoda) ductor copiarum sui palatinatus in expeditionibus bellicis fuit. Palatinus et palatinatus Belzensis a Belza, civitate principali, nomen suum traxerunt, inde *Belza palatino nomine clara*.
palatinus, -a, -um: adiectivum a *palatino*.
- 1407-1412. Premisla = Pol. Przemyśl, Regni Poloniae urbs, quam Acernus Promethepolim (a Prometheo) appellat.
Sanus = Pol. San, Poloniae fluvius, qui in Vistulam affluit.
Cf. A. Cellarius, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-324: ...duorum Episcoporum Catholico-Romani et Graecanici seu Russici sedes, in solo admodum fertili accumbit Sano fluvio, ex Carpathis montibus haud procul a Teissae fluminis scaturigine erumpenti, et prope Sendomiriam in Vistulam aquas suas praecipue vero frumentum et salem, qui hic artificiose coquitur, commode in Poloniam et Prussiam mittere solent.

- 1413-1414. Drohobicia = Pol. Drohobycz, Regni Poloniae urbs.
Cf. A. Guagninus, *op. cit.*: (Drohobicia) salsis fodinis clara.
- 1415 -1418. Chelma = Pol. Chełm, Regni Poloniae urbs.
Cf. A. Guagninus, *op. cit.*: Civitas saeptis circumdata, sede Episcopali clara, arx in eminentiore colle sita lignea, argilla oblinita quattuor miliarii aspectus illius patet.
Anno 1490 episcopatus Crasnostaviam translatus est.
- 1419 sqq. Crasnostavia = Pol. Krasnystaw, Regni Poloniae urbs.
Cf. A. Cellarius, *op. cit.*, p. 341: Crasnostavia sinistro Vepro assidens civitas ac Chelmensis Episcopi sedes.
Aper = Wieprz fluvius.
Aprugna = Aprinus (adiectivum ab Apro).
1435. Verg. *Catal.* 22: aereus tractus.
1440. Prop. 3, 5, 30: perennis aqua.
1448. commemorabo stilo: sigmatismus (et correptio metrica)
1449. Quamprimum (postcl.) = ut primum, cum primum.
- 1457-1460. Cf. Hesiodus, *Opera et dies* 100-104.
- 1481-1482. hircus (hircus) = caper, i.e. diabolus, cf. v. 1669 sqq. Cf. etiam Polonorum proverbium: "diabolum in oculis habere", i.e. infestis oculis conspiciere, malitiam tegere. Homo, qui sagae oculos intuebatur, in eorum pupillis non suam formam, sed diabolum sub hirci imagine videre posse credebatur.
1496. popus, -i (= попо, -onis): Russ. поп (vocabulum origine Graecum 'πάπ-πας'), sacerdos Ruthenici ritus.
- 1531 sqq. Cf. A. Guagninus, *op. cit.*: Rutheni in ieiunio prout in caeteris caeremoniis a Romanis crepant, quattuorque ieiunia magna, quibus carnibus abstinent, habent.
- 1553-1560. pobratimus: Russ. побратимъ, amicus firmus ac fidelis, paene frater; *pobratimi* fraterno foedere iungentes amicitiam sempiternam sibi spondebant.
Cf. Hesiodus, *Opera et dies* 706-709.
- 1563-1572. Tib. 1, 2, 43-52:
Hanc ego de caelo ducentem sidera vidi,
fluminis haec rapidi carmine vertit iter,
haec cantu finditque solum manesque sepulcris
elicit e tepido devocat ossa rogo;
iam tenet infernas magico stridore catervas,
iam iubet aspersas lacte referre pedem.
Cum libet, haec tristi depellit nubila caelo;
cum libet, aestivo convocat orbe nives.
Sola tenere malas Medae dicitur herbas,
sola feros Hecatae perdomuisse canes.
1563. veneficum: *fi* syllaba irrationaliter producta.
- 1573 sqq. Cf. Theocr. *Id.* 2; Verg. *Ecl.* 8; Hor. *Epod.* 5.7
1574. Verg. *Cic.* 390: per mare caeruleum.
1585. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 104: Dic quibus in terris.

1593. Verg. *Aen.* 4, 686: semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fovebat.
 1601-1602. operire (metri causâ): operire (class.).
 Theocr. *Id.* 2, 10-11:
 Νῦν δὲ νιν ἐκ θυέων καταθύσομαι ἀλλά, Σελάνα
 Φαῖνε κακὸν· τὴν γὰρ ποταεῖσομαι ἄσυχχα, δαῖμον...
 Diana = Lunae dea, Luna; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 8: Tu modo nascenti.
 1605 sqq. Hor. *Serm.* 1, 8, 40-41:
 singula quid memorem, quo pacto alterna loquentes
 umbrae cum Sagana resonarint triste et acutum.
 1617. Cf. v. 1605.
 1619. Cf. vv. 1583-1584.
 1625. sqq. Cf. vv. 1603-1604.
 Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 80-83:
 Limus ut hic durescit et haec ut cera liquescit
 uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore.
 Sparge molam et fragiles incende bitumine lauros:
 Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum.
 1641-1642. Hom. *Il.* 14, 231: Ὑπνῷ ξύμβλητο, κασιγνήτῳ Θανάτοιο.
 Ov. *Met.* 8, 824: lenis adhuc somnus placidis Erysichthona pennis mul-
 cebat.
 1653-1654. Verg. *Aen.* 4, 462-463:
 solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo
 saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces.
 1673. Cf. Ov. *Pont.* 5, 122 et *Fast.* 3, 332: deriguere comae.
 1742. Cf. v. 7.
 1749. Verg. *Aen.* 10, 745; *ib.* 12, 309: ferreus somnus.
 1755 sqq. Cf. *Anglorum navigatio ad Moscovitas* (ca a. 1600), [in:] *Historiae Ruthenicae scriptores exteri, saeculi XVI*, ed. W. Starczewski, vol. 1. 2 (Berolini et Petropoli, 1841), p. 12: Defunctorum cadavera oculis condunt: ac manui cadaveris codicillos indunt; horum summa est: defunctum fuisse Russum, Russorum fidem amplexum, ac in eadem fide decessisse. Hae litterae divo Petro mittuntur. Lectis litteris mox (ut illi aiunt) admittitur, et ut sincerioris fidei sectatori, beatior etiam sedes quam Latinis Christianis conceditur.
 1765. Cerequa: Russ. Церковь, Церква, aedes sacra Christianorum ritu Graeco.
 1769. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 404: liquido in aere.
 1804. cassae animae = animae defunctorum.

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ITALIAM VESTRAM AMO SUPRA OMNES TERRAS!
LIPSIUS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS ITALY AND ITALIAN
HUMANISM OF THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In Roma quaerere Romam cogimur
Lipsius, *Elegia ad I. Lernutium de Urbe Roma*

After his studies at the Collegium Trilingue at Louvain, the twenty-year-old Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) realized his dream to see and visit the homeland of humanism, Italy. In part, this visit was an escape from both the personal problems which Lipsius had to face after the death of his parents and the social and political turmoil of his country which was toiling under the harsh regime of the Duke of Alva. However, Lipsius was also attracted in a more positive way by Italy, that 'fertile soil where those illustrious classical authors once lived and where he could meet many known humanist scholars such as Muretus'¹.

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¹ Cf. J. Lipsius, *De recta pronuntiatione Latinae Linguae dialogus*, cap. I: "Adolescens in Italiam cum venissem, acre desiderium mihi res antiquas noscendi, et viros, qui eas docti. Inflammabar cupidine doctrinae veteris, et magni apud me omnes illi, qui in ea essent magni. Inter quos M. Antonium Muretum iure censebam". In this article we shall refer to the letters of Lipsius by the numeration presented by A. Gerlo and H. D. L. Vervliet, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse 1564-1606* (Anvers, 1968), preceded by the abbreviation ILE (*Iusti Lipsi Epistolae*). In the series of the ILE the following have already appeared: A. Gerlo, M. A. Nauwelaerts, H. D. L. Vervliet, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae. Pars I: 1564-1583* (Brussel, 1978); M. A. Nauwelaerts, S. Sué, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae. Pars II: 1584-1587* (Brussel, 1983); S. Sué, H. Peeters, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae. Pars III: 1588-1590* (Brussel, 1987); J. De Landtsheer, J. Kluyskens, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae. Pars V: 1592* (Brussel, 1991); J. De Landtsheer, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae. Pars VI: 1593* (Brussel, 1995); J. De Landtsheer, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae. Pars VII: 1594* (Brussel, 1997); and J. Papy, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae. Pars XIII: 1600* (Brussel, 1999). Below reference will be made to Lipsius' own letter-collections between parentheses using the following abbreviations: *Cent. Belg.* = *Epistolarum Centuriae ad Belgas* (Antverpia, 1602); *Cent.*

Lipsius' stay and experiences in Italy, and especially Rome, are well known from the studies of Mgr. J. Ruyschaert and Prof. H. D. L. Vervliet², which offer a detailed and critical survey of Lipsius' activities in the *Urbs domina* and of his relations with famous Cardinals and scholars such as Granvelle, Orsini, Sirleto, Manuzio, Mercuriale, Farnese and Benci. It is less known, however, how Lipsius' attitude later changed towards the Italy he had once visited with such enthusiasm and from which he had departed with extremely good memories. Indeed he never returned to Italy, and this despite the many invitations — fifty to be exact — which he received³. So, it has remained a key question until today why Lipsius actually never again crossed the Alps⁴.

To answer this question, we shall initially give a short survey of the many dispersed utterances which Lipsius made about his beloved Italy. Then we shall discuss his planned journey to Italy on the occasion of the Holy Year and the reasons why it was cancelled; indeed we shall offer two new hypotheses for the reasons which may have contributed to his remaining at Louvain.

In the second part of this study, we shall offer a close reading of Lipsius' *Centuria ad Italos et Hispanos*, the letter-collection which is primarily concerned with this planned journey to Italy and its cancellation. We shall see that the discrepancies between the different levels of information — the *prima facie*, bare historical facts, Lipsius' version of them, and Lipsius' literary and strategical reconstruction of this — lead to the question of why Lipsius so carefully recycled his letters on this

Germ. = *Epistolarum Centuria ad Germanos et Gallos* (Antverpiae, 1602); *Cent. Ital.* = *Epistolarum Centuria ad Italos et Hispanos* (Antverpiae, 1601); *Cent. misc.* = *Epistolarum selectarum centuria miscellanea*, pars I (Lugd. Batavorum, 1586); pars II (Lugd. Batavorum, 1590); pars III (Antverpiae, 1601); pars IV-V (Antverpiae, 1605-1607). The later collections published by P. Burmannus, *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum tomi V* (Leiden, 1724-1727), and by G. Delprat, *Lettres inédites de Juste Lipse concernant ses relations avec les hommes d'Etat des Provinces Unies des Pays-Bas, principalement pendant les années 1580-1597* (Amsterdam, 1858) will also be referred to in an abbreviated form.

² 'Le séjour de Juste Lipse à Rome (1568-1570) d'après ses "Antiquae lectiones" et sa correspondance', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 24 (1947-1948), 139-192; *Lipsius' jeugd, 1547-1578. Analecta voor een kritische biografie*, Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 31, 7 (Brussel, 1969), pp. 24-29.

³ Cf. P. Bergmans, *L'autobiographie de Juste Lipse* (Gent, 1889), pp. 66-67.

⁴ J. Fabri, 'Autour de l'Année Sainte. Le pèlerinage "jubilaire" de Juste Lipse pour l'Année Sainte 1600', *Les Études classiques*, 18 (1950), 257-268, gives a bare and incomplete chronological survey of Lipsius' correspondence discussing his plan to visit Rome on the occasion of the Holy Year, bereft of any elucidating analysis.

matter in a separate *Centuria*. It will be apparent that this letter-collection functions as an apologetic document in accordance with the social conventions of the humanist *Respublica litteraria*, and thus must lead to a new interpretation of Lipsius' epistolary *persona*.

I.

Lipsius' eulogy of the ideal Italy

As we have seen, Lipsius travelled to Italy, and more specifically to Rome, as a young man, to return from it with fine memories as an adult. Certainly, his stay in the capital of Antiquity laid the foundations for his future life as a scholar, for most of Lipsius' important philological and antiquarian works resulted from his contacts with prominent Italian humanists and from the access he had to their libraries or archaeological treasures. Nevertheless, Lipsius' *peregrinatio* also left him with a sense of regret. In the dedication of his *De Amphitheatris* to Abraham Ortelius, Lipsius complains that he did not pick enough fruits from his stay in Italy, for he was still too young to understand fully the objects of his study⁵.

Consequently, in Lipsius' correspondence there are many passages where the city of Rome, as the place where he once had thoroughly enjoyed living, as well as Italy as a whole, are referred to with great yearning: 'If I had the age and the strength I once had', Lipsius wrote to Janus Duystius in June 1587, 'then I would wander through my favourite places and embrace the men whose names invigorate me and brighten me up'⁶. Equally important is Lipsius' letter to Franciscus Raphelengius from February 1592: 'You can take my word for it, if my health and this body of mine were a little bit stronger, I would pass the Alps eagerly and leave behind me these odious plottings'⁷. Lipsius, indeed, 'loves Italy

⁵ Cf. J. Lipsius, *De Amphitheatris* (Antverpiae, 1584), f. 3: "tamen, ut adolescentia nostra tunc fuit, nec abdita illa et a fronte remota rerum penetravimus, nec cum accuratione satis excerpimus quidquid faceret ad meliorem usum. Scilicet erravi eundem errorem, quem plerique hodie mihi compares, et pueritiam adolescentiamque peregrinationibus dedi, quae iudicium et dilectum profecto quaerunt, id est, virum". Cf. ILE II, 84 01 05 O. See also ILE III, 88 09 02 M (= *Cent. misc.*, II, 47): "O Italia, quam vidi olim, non pernovi!".

⁶ Cf. ILE II, 87 06 01 D (= *Cent. misc.* II, 38): "O utinam anni et vires mihi quae olim! Profecto lustrarem amata mihi loca et amplecterer viros, quorum nomen me recreat et diffundit".

⁷ Cf. ILE [92] 01 08 R (= Delprat, pp. 71-72, 43): "Mihi crede, si firmior paullo valedudo et corpusculum hoc esset, ego alacriter trans Alpes et post terga relinquerem odiosas

above all other countries'⁸. Never did his love for this country⁹, 'the most beautiful and most cultivated of all'¹⁰ diminish. And yet, Lipsius never accepted the frequent invitations that came from Rome, as well as from Bologna, Milan, Verona, Pisa and Padua¹¹.

So, what is one to think of Lipsius' wishful reply to Flaminius Morus, the *Doctor Medicinae* who undertook negotiations for the appointment of Lipsius at Bologna¹²: 'O Italy where I once lived, if I could just see you now! If only I could set my eyes upon some of those famous men who love me so'¹³? And what about Lipsius' statement that at one time he longed and even tried to become a new Italian citizen because there were only incessant and ruinous wars at home¹⁴? For sure, all his life the peace-loving Lipsius complained about the troubles in his own country and he even confessed he would prefer to be removed from his native country against his will if War continued to hold it firmly in its grasp¹⁵. Lipsius' Italian friends knew his loathing for violence and used it regularly, but in vain, as an argument to attract Lipsius to their 'quiet' regions. 'The Southern Netherlands are burning with war', Benci wrote in 1587, 'aren't you going to leave?'¹⁶. However, despite his deep admi-

tot factiones". Lipsius gives the same reason in his letter to Francesco Benci for not accepting the invitation of Ferdinand the Granduke of Tuscany, cf. ILE V, 92 01 06 (= Burman, I, p. 74, nr. 68).

⁸ Cf. ILE 91 04 14 M (= *Cent. Ital.*, 1): "Italiam vestram amo supra omnes terras".

⁹ Cf. ILE V, 92 06 23 M (= *Cent. Ital.*, 7): "Ego Italiae amorem non exui".

¹⁰ Cf. ILE 02 10 05 B (= *Cent. misc.* IV, 37): "Talis Italia erit, o pulcherrima et cultissima terrarum!".

¹¹ Cf. H. Bouchery, *Waarom Justus Lipsius gevierd?*, Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 9 (Brussel, 1949), p. 38, n. 3. See also Nicius Erythraeus, *Pinacotheca III* (Cologne, 1648), p. 5, who gives a catalogue of the invitations sent to Lipsius: "*Guilielmus, Boiorum Dux; Ernestus, ejus frater, Ubiorum Eburonumque Antistes; Wolfgangus Theodericus Salisburgensium, Iulius Herbipolensium, Praesules; Christianus, Saxoniae Dux; Clemens VIII, Pont. Max.; Henricus IV, Galliae Rex; Ferdinandus, magnus Dux Etruriae; S.P.Q. Venetus; Patavini; Bononienses aliique, quos longum esset omnes referre*".

¹² Cf. ILE 94 06 03; 95 01 31 M; 95 03 17 M; 95 04 13 M; 95 08 02 MOR.

¹³ Cf. ILE 94 07 29 M (= *Cent. Ital.*, 18): "O Italia, quam olim insedi, si nunc videam! si oculis usurpem insignes aliquot viros, mei sic amantes".

¹⁴ Cf. ILE 04 09 19 (= *Cent. misc.* V, 54): "Olim optavi et conatus etiam sum inserere me Italiae vestrae novum civem... Quid enim apud nos nisi assidua et quidem calamitosa bella?".

¹⁵ Cf. ILE VI, 94 11 13 G (= *Cent. misc.* III, 15): "Ego ab Italis varie vocor, Pisas, Patavium, Mediolanum; tenet patria, a qua tamen vel invitav avellam si possidet et mancipio habet eam Mavors".

¹⁶ Cf. ILE II, 87 07 12 (= Burman, I, p. 67, epist. 62): "Sed ardet Belgium bello. Nonne istinc pedem?".

ration and love for Italy, Lipsius once again refused. So, Lipsius' decision to visit Rome on the occasion of the Holy Year (1600) came as a great surprise for both his fellow-countrymen and his Italian friends. But is it necessarily surprising for modern readers of Lipsius who have the benefit of hindsight?

Lipsius' planned visit to Rome during the Holy Year

Let us first see how Lipsius disseminated his plans for a journey to Italy, before we bring together, in the second part of our study, the elements needed for a deeper analysis of the puzzle that they present.

When in April 1598 Lipsius sent a copy of his *Admiranda sive De Magnitudine Romana Libri Quattuor*, a series of dialogues on the grandeur and the power of Rome, to the Roman Cardinal Francesco Sforza¹⁷, he was in return invited to Rome to participate in the festivities of the Holy Year¹⁸. Therefore, Lipsius requested his friend Nicolas Oudaert, Canon of St Rombaut's at Mechlin to persuade Otho Hartius, who was a member of the Great Council, to support his planned visit¹⁹. For Lipsius had not forgotten that he was not free to leave the Spanish Netherlands or to remain abroad: "te Belgam et Regis subditum esse: Patriam non debere relinquere, ut te ad exteras nationes conferas... Licere Principi subditos suos egressos revocare et migrare volentes retinere, ne ea quae soli Patriae debent cum exteris communicent". These were the words with which Jacques de Carondelet had paraphrased the admonitions of Christophe d'Assonville, councillor of the Private Council²⁰.

Lipsius, however, did not wait for Oudaert's reply, and only three days after he had sent his request, he asked Henricus Stravius to convey his acceptance of Sforza's invitation²¹. Lipsius himself gave much publicity to his intentions and directly informed his old Italian friends: Giambattista Sacco and Juan Fernandez de Velasco at Milan²², the Jesuit Antonio Possevino at Mantua²³, Hieronymus Mercurialis at Pisa²⁴ and

¹⁷ Cf. ILE 98 04 22 S (= *Cent. Ital.*, 52).

¹⁸ Cf. ILE 98 01 15 (= Burman, II, p. 39, epist. 752): "te proximo anno, quem vocant sancto, ut apud me Romae diverseris invito".

¹⁹ Cf. ILE 99 01 22 (= *Cent. Belg.*, II, 44).

²⁰ Cf. ILE VI, 93 06 19.

²¹ Cf. ILE 99 01 25 S (= *Cent. Belg.*, II, 45).

²² Cf. ILE 99 01 21 S (= *Cent. Ital.*, 65); 99 01 21 F (= *Cent. Ital.*, 61).

²³ Cf. ILE 99 01 29 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 62).

²⁴ Cf. ILE 99 02 01 ME (= *Cent. Ital.*, 68).

even Paolo Monelia at Genoa²⁵. When Lipsius also informed his friends in the Spanish Netherlands²⁶, they tried to explain to Lipsius that the planned journey was dangerous and could not possibly be executed. They also asked whether Lipsius would ever return to the Netherlands — a question to which Lipsius gave the simple answer: “redire mihi quidem certum est nec ullae blanditiae aut promissa me sistant, immo nec retardent”²⁷, and he arranged all the financial and practical aspects of his project²⁸. From the moment Lipsius directed his ‘formal’ request to Christophe d’Assonville²⁹, he explained his motives as threefold: his *pietas* (*religio*), the invitations from Italy, and his good health, all of which impelled him to undertake the journey³⁰. When other invitations followed, Lipsius’ decision seemed to be confirmed: he accepted them all without exception³¹.

A few months later, however, Lipsius did not seem as determined as before, despite a new invitation from Verona by Pierre della Faille³². According to Lipsius the reason for his hesitation was obvious: in Italy the plague had broken out³³. After enquiring with Pedro de Grassis about the epidemic³⁴, Lipsius reported the news to Jan van Drenckwaert, the Treasurer of the Spanish Netherlands³⁵, as well as informing Otho Hartius of his revised decision: “Here is what you are eager to hear. At this

²⁵ Cf. ILE 99 02 01 MO (= *Cent. Ital.*, 67); ILE 99 07 24 L (= *Cent. misc. III*, 50).

²⁶ Cf. ILE 99 01 22 (= *Cent. Belg.*, II, 44); 99 03 11 B (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 34); 99 04 18 (= *Cent. Belg.*, III, 48); 99 04 25 R (= *Cent. Belg.*, II, 47).

²⁷ Cf. ILE 99 03 11 B (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 34).

²⁸ Via his nephew Jan de Greve Lipsius sent a lot of shipments to Rome, cf. ILE 99 03 29 (original letter kept at Brussels, Royal Archives, ms. 200 A, fol. 72-72v); Galesloot, 301, n. 2. Lipsius also asked the States of Brabant to pay his expenses, cf. ILE 99 00 00 B (= Burman, II, p. 47, epist. 761).

²⁹ Cf. ILE 99 04 25 A (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 35).

³⁰ Cf. ILE 99 04 25 A (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 35); 99 04 18 (= *Cent. Belg.*, III, 48); 99 05 18 (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 36); 99 06 24 A (= *Cent. misc. III*, 41).

³¹ Lipsius received invitations from Ascanio Colonna (ILE 99 04 20 C; *Cent. Ital.*, 69), Federico Borromeo (ILE 99 04 30 B; *Cent. Ital.*, 73) and Cesare Baronio (ILE 99 06 22; Burman, I, p. 658, epist. 621) from Italy; Marcus Welser (ILE 99 04 16; *Cent. Germ.*, 52) and Thomas Mermann (ILE 99 06 24 M; *Cent. Germ.*, 55) from Germany; Claude Boucault (ILE 99 08 02; *Cent. Germ.*, 57), Claude Groullart (ILE 99 05 21; *Cent. Germ.*, 53) and William Barclay (ILE 99 06 01 B; Burman, II, p. 29, epist. 741) from France.

³² Cf. ILE 99 07 24 L (= *Cent. misc. III*, 43).

³³ Cf. ILE 99 07 16 S (= *Cent. Belg.*, III, 50).

³⁴ Cf. ILE 99 07 25 G. A copy of this letter written by Lipsius’ secretary is kept at Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 3(4), fol. 120.

³⁵ Cf. ILE 99 07 25 D (= *Cent. misc. III*, 42): “Litteras ex Italia nudius tertius accepi, quibus significant et pestem in aditu atque ore Italiae saevire incipere... Itaque addunt deliberari Romae, an sacer annus in alterum sequentemque non sit prorogandus”.

moment we are not going to Italy. I have received some letters from Rome, of which I send you a copy. So you can see for yourself that the plague has broken out or is threatening to break out"³⁶.

Thereafter, many letters were sent from Louvain to make the cancellation known to several often anxious friends: to his nephew Jan de Greve, his pupils and friends Johannes Woverius, Johannes Oranus, William Barclay, Johannes Baptista Baronius, Hendrik and Jacob Uwens, Willem Scarberger, Marcus Welser etc³⁷.

While most of Lipsius' friends were pleased with this sudden change of his plan, the disappointment in Italy was great. Most of all perhaps for the Milanese Cardinal Federico Borromeo, who would so gladly have welcomed Lipsius at the opening of his *Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*³⁸. In addition, the humanists and scholars in Rome would — in unison with Lipsius — voice their disappointment for months. "Omnia fert aetas", Lipsius would write, regretful but at the same time resigned, to his friend Jan Bernaerts in January 1600³⁹. There are doubts, however, about the sincerity of Lipsius' regret.

Lipsius' apparent reason(s) for cancelling his journey

Until now, it has remained a mystery why exactly Lipsius cancelled his intended journey to Rome. There are many 'reasonable' explanations, most of which are stated by Lipsius himself. We shall pass them under separate review here first, before proposing two new, but complementary hypotheses.

We have seen how, time and again Lipsius puts forth his poor health and the plague in Italy as the main reasons for cancelling his journey to Rome⁴⁰. In a letter to his student Franciscus Hovius, staying at Bologna

³⁶ Cf. ILE 99 07 25 H (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 37): "Ecce fortasse quod libenter audias, in Italiam nunc non imus. Litteras accepi ex ipsa Urbe, quarum exemplar ad te mitto; et videbis morbo, qui est aut imminet iure nos terreri, imo et teneri".

³⁷ Cf. ILE 99 07 26 G (original letter at Brussels, Royal Archives, ms. 200 A, fol. 77); 99 07 26 W (= *Cent. misc. III*, 44); 99 07 27 (= *Cent. misc. III*, 45); 99 07 30 B¹ (= *Cent. Germ.*, 56); 99 07 30 BA (= *Cent. Belg.*, III, 51); 99 08 01 U¹ (= *Cent. misc. III*, 46); 99 08 01 U² (= *Cent. Belg.*, II, 51); 99 09 03 S (= *Cent. misc. III*, 50); 99 09 13 W (= *Cent. Germ.*, 58).

³⁸ Cf. ILE 99 04 30 B (= *Cent. Ital.*, 73).

³⁹ Cf. ILE 00 01 14 B (= *Cent. misc. III*, 54); the quotation is after Vergil, *Eclogues*, 9, 51.

⁴⁰ Cf. ILE V, 92 06 23 M (= *Cent. Ital.*, 7); V, 92 06 24 N (= *Cent. Belg.*, III, 3); 94 10 12 W (= *Cent. Germ.*, 17); 95 05 26 CA (= *Cent. Ital.*, 25); 95 08 09 C (= *Cent. Ital.*,

at the time, he even stressed there was no other reason for his change of heart than his failing health⁴¹. As we shall see later, however, this is nothing but a pretext which Lipsius readily used in the *Centuria ad Italos et Hispanos* to decline invitations.

We have also indicated that, on the other hand, there was anxiety in the Netherlands about whether Lipsius would ever return from Italy⁴². Moreover, would Lipsius — who himself supposed that his absence would last half a year⁴³ — be able to interrupt his lectures at the university for so long? And would the Jesuits be prepared to let the rehabilitated Lipsius go at the risk of never seeing him again?⁴⁴ Lipsius' symbolic value for the university of Louvain and the Catholic Netherlands seems to have been too important, and Lipsius himself makes a vague reference to the (possible) refusal of the authorities to issue him with a visa to leave the country⁴⁵.

Lipsius notably had already been refused such a visa in 1595: in a letter to Ulysse Aldrovandi, for instance, Lipsius had expressed his regret that he could not go to Bologna: "I used to write to you with pleasure, now I write with sorrow and tardily. The reason is that I cannot want what you want and that I am forced to inform you of something against your feeling. What is it? I avoid mentioning it in vain: I am not coming... because there is the wish of someone above and against me, against whom we do not fight. It is the King and his Council, who are holding me here... We must succumb, my Aldrovandi, to so great an authority, although I do love Italy and your Bologna most deeply"⁴⁶. In

40); 99 07 25 D (= *Cent. misc. III*, 42); ILE 99 07 27 (= *Cent. misc. III*, 45); 99 09 03 S (= *Cent. misc. III*, 50); 99 09 26 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 76); 99 11 06 (cf. A. Roersch, 'Lipsiana', *Le Musée Belge*, 16 (1912), 129-133).

⁴¹ Cf. ILE 99 09 26 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 76): "nec aliam [*sc. causam*] tu aut alii quaerite, non reperietis".

⁴² Cf. ILE 99 03 11 B (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 34); 99 03 26 (= *Cent. Belg.*, II, 46); 99 04 18 (= *Cent. Belg.*, III, 48); 99 06 24 A (= *Cent. misc. III*, 41).

⁴³ Cf. ILE 99 04 18 (= *Cent. Belg.*, III, 48); 99 04 25 A (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 35); 99 04 25 R (= *Cent. Belg.*, II, 47).

⁴⁴ Cf. Fabri, 'Autour de l'Année Sainte', 258.

⁴⁵ Cf. ILE 99 03 26 (= *Cent. Belg.*, II, 46): "Denique patria haec est, quam non omitto aut desero, quam diu ea me non deserit aut spernit... At vero peregrinari mihi et vel animi causa (omitto religionem) menses paucos non concedere, quae (ut leviter dicam) inhumanitas sit?".

⁴⁶ Cf. ILE 95 06 20 AL (= *Cent. Ital.*, 24): "Quod libente animo ad vos soleo, dolente et tardante nunc scribo. Causa, quia quae vultis velle non possum et cogor nunciare, quod sit praeter animi vestri sensum. Quid id est? Frustra circumeo: me non venire... quia aliquis supra nos et contra nos vult, cui non repugnamus. Rex est et eius Consilium,

the next letter of his collection *Epistolae ad Italos et Hispanos*, Lipsius repeated this regret to Giacomo Maria Campanacci, the secretary of the Bolognese senate. This time, he made an all-out effort to persuade his correspondent of the sincerity of his motives: "You call me to that place where men of the first rank from Italy, or rather Europe, lived. I have a high regard for it and (as God is my witness) my mind commands and urges me to accept. But why should I conceal it? I am restrained and obliged by my affairs, my wife and family, by the King and the States of the country, and — finally — by my health". Lipsius' rhetorical skill does not come to an end here, for he continues: "You are pulling me from afar, but they who are here pull me back more powerfully and claim me for themselves. I beseech you, most judicious man, do consider these constraints too, and remember that to break them is not only the mark of a courageous man, but also of a happy one. This, at last God perhaps denied me (whom I for the rest invoke as my witness) that I should reach the height of bliss between those prominent men and those summits of Italy, if I could grow old in your city"⁴⁷. In order not to offend Lipsius too much by his refusal, King Philip II honored him in June 1595 with the title of *Historiographus Regius*⁴⁸. By this mark of honour Lipsius was 'bound' to the Spanish monarchy, and thus to the Spanish Netherlands, until his death. Nonetheless, in 1600, Lipsius did

qui me hic sistunt... Succumbimus, mi Aldroande, tam grandi auctoritati, etsi Italiam et Bononiam vestram in intimis istis sensibus amamus". The original letter is kept at Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, ms. R. 94 sup., fol. 268, and dated 22 May 1595.

⁴⁷ Cf. ILE 95 05 26 CA (= *Cent. Ital.*, 25): "Vocatis enim in locum, quem primarii Italiae, vel Europae potius, viri insederunt, quod magni equidem facio et (testor Deum) iubet hic animus et impellit parere. Quid tamen dissimulem? Teneor et obligor a rebus meis, ab uxore et familia, a Rege et Ordinibus patriae, denique a valetudine... Trahitis vos absentes, isti praesentes validius retrahunt et assertum eunt sibi. Obsecro te, Vir prudentissime, tu quoque haec considera et cogita rumpere ista non fortis solum viri esse, sed felicitis. Hoc postremum Deus fortasse mihi abnuit (quem alioqui testor) cumulum me felicitatis habiturum inter insignes istos viros et Italiae apices, si in urbe vestra conenseam". The original letter is kept at Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, ms. R. 94 sup., fol. 273v, and dated 26 May 1595. Lipsius repeats his excuses in his letter to Innocentius Malvasia (ILE 95 05 21 M (= *Cent. Ital.*, 31), focusing this time upon the restraining role of his ageing wife and his patrimony.

⁴⁸ Cf. ILE 96 02 19 M (= *Cent. Ital.*, 42): "Sed id consilium... Rex meus abruptit, qui hic esse voluit, et ut honestissime possem effecit... Historiographi me sui titulo donavit". King Philip II appointed Lipsius as *Historiographus regius* on the 14th of December 1595, after Lipsius' dedication of his *De Militia Romana* on the 16th of June 1595 (BBr 3, 1002-1003). Lipsius reiterates King Philip II being the reason for his stay in the Netherlands in ILE 95 06 26 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 29); 95 05 21 M (= *Cent. Ital.*, 31); 95 05 21 P (= *Cent. Ital.*, 33); 95 08 09 C (= *Cent. Ital.*, 40).

not feel too anxious to comment upon the allowance he received from the Spanish King: it only had been a sop to dissuade him from moving to Italy at a time when he actually could have accepted invitations from different universities⁴⁹. A striking example in case is Pope Clement VIII's special invitation to Lipsius, which he did not renew when his ambassador informed him on Archduchess Isabella's predilection for Lipsius. When being informed of the Pope's possible interest, Isabella should have reacted — so Miraeus recounts in his funeral oration held for the Infante in 1634 — by simply interdicting Lipsius to leave the country, for 'the Southern Netherlands were illuminated by Lipsius as gold by a gemstone'⁵⁰.

However much these reasons may be of importance, one of the reasons why Lipsius never actually returned to Italy despite the countless rhetorical eulogies in his correspondence, seems also to be related to his personal view of the Italy he left as a young scholar.

A new hypothesis: Lipsius' personal view on Italy

Unsurprisingly, Lipsius' admiration for Italy and Rome — just as Scaliger's⁵¹ — was nearly completely focused on Roman antiquity. As with Erasmus, we are confronted here with a typical humanistic form of blindness: such humanists only have eyes for the old ruins, and are apparently blind to the brilliant new culture of 16th- and 17th-century Rome.

So it was in vain that Lipsius looked in contemporary Italy for its past greatness (*magnitudo*). Therefore, a first distinction has to be made

⁴⁹ Cf. ILE 00 09 25 M (= *Cent. Belg.*, II, 66): "Ab aula subsidia, quae fuerunt. Nam cur mutant? Historiographi quidem titulo ea mihi data, sed reipsa velut pensatio aut praemium mansionis, cum Itali, ut scis, maiora longe offerrent, et animus aut aetas tunc non abhorrebant peregrinari".

⁵⁰ Cf. A. Miraeus, *Serenissimae Principis Isabellae Clarae Eugeniae Hispaniarum Infantis Laudatio Funebris* (Antwerp, 1634), p. 9: "Cumque [Petrus] Toletanus [i. e. Isabellae Legatus] ab ea legatione in Belgicam redux, Pontificis studium atque affectum erga Lipsium Isabellae explicuisset, illa iterum amare sese atque aestimare Lipsium professus, atque ut aurum inclusa gemma, sic Belgicam illo viro illustrari dictitans, numquam sese permissurum asseruit, ut alio migraret". See also A. Delvigne, *Les oraisons funèbres des souverains des Pays-Bas aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Étude historique, littéraire et bibliographique* (Bruxelles, 1885), I, pp. 210-211.

⁵¹ Cf. A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship. I: Textual Criticism and Exegesis*, Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford, 1983), p. 119: "More interesting to Scaliger than Italian scholars were the material remains of the ancient world that he encountered everywhere in Italy".

between Lipsius' views on ancient and on contemporary Italy. This explains, for instance, Lipsius' quasi lyrical evocation of his delightful visit of Lake Trasimene, Cannae, Alba Longa, Tibur and Baiae. For Lipsius, to think of Italy is to drag up reminiscences of its past: Pliny's villa, the ruins of the villas of Cicero and Varro. Even the simple remains of temples, theatres, triumphal arches, tombs or inscriptions stirred his vivid imagination and aroused his scholarly interest⁵². This is also the purport of Lipsius' argument at the beginning of his *Admiranda* (I, 1): "In reality, these broken and crumbled constructions are still pervaded with the spirit of ancient Rome". Contemporary Italy, therefore, was only of importance in so far as it could bring him in touch with famous scholars of antiquity such as Sigonio and Muretus⁵³. However Italy, once holding the sceptre in the field of the liberal arts, was in decline. Already in 1588 Lipsius wrote to Jacopo de Corbinelli, a man of letters from Florence who was in charge of the upbringing of Catherine de Medici's son in Paris, that he had always loved the Italian people, but especially those men who were most worthy of the ancient Italy such as Corbinelli himself. Unfortunately, that Italy had faded away sighed Lipsius at the end of his letter⁵⁴. When congratulating Cardinal Ascanio Colonna who in 1600 received holy orders, Lipsius made a similar point: Colonna was a worthy descendant of the ancient Roman orators with his *Oratio in funere Philippi II catholici regis* (which was published at Rome in 1599), but through his recently achieved priesthood he was at once a leading representative of the new Rome⁵⁵.

⁵² Cf. ILE I, 78 04 03 (= *Cent. misc.* I, 22), famous letter written by Lipsius to Philippe de Lannoy who himself wanted to travel to Italy: "Illic Trasymenum miserantibus oculis subiicies, aut aeternum imperii vulnus Cannas; hic magis laetis Albanum aut Tybur, aut nobiles Baias. Plinii alibi mansio et Virgilii aut Propertii patria tibi ostendetur; alibi rudera Varronianae aut Tullianae villae. Quanti et quam arcani gaudii ista visio?... Iam coloniae illae veteres, iam templa, theatra, arcus, sepulchra, lapides, quam non et doceant mirifice et delectent?". This letter, reprinted many times and translated into English (1592) and French (1619) (BBr 3, 1086), became one of the first guidebooks to Italy, cf. L. Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Wien, 1959), pp. 136-137.

⁵³ Cf. ILE I, 78 04 03 (= *Cent. misc.* I, 22): "Quis non... redeat prudentior a Sigonio, disertior a Mureto?".

⁵⁴ Cf. ILE III, 88 04 00 C (= *Cent. misc.* II, 5): "Gentem vestram amavi semper et ex ea illos maxime, qui veteri illa Italia digni... O Italia, Italia illa prisca, ubi es?".

⁵⁵ Cf. ILE 00 02 08 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 86): "Felicem ingenii praedico et Roma illa vetere dignam prolem, hac quidem in parte. Nam et novam hanc etiam ornas et pietatis munia, qua dote commendatur, ipse usurpas atque illustri exemplo aliis praeis". In ILE 00 09 07 A (= *Cent. Ital.*, 97) Lipsius counted Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini as one of Rome's worthy descendants: "qui eximie unus retinet priscam et Romanam illam non probitatem solum, sed libertatem et candorem".

Moreover, it was only by being the seat of the Papal throne that some of Italy's past splendour could be retained by Rome. Not that Lipsius regretted that the *Urbs urbium*⁵⁶ was the centre of Catholicism; he just stated that this was the only brilliance it had not lost; despite the Reformation that had divided Christian unity, Rome had kept its 'statut cosmique et solaire de maîtresse de l'univers'⁵⁷. Therefore, a second distinction had to be made between Rome as the most admirable centre of the Roman Empire and Rome as the centre of true religion⁵⁸. So, when Lipsius' former student Johannes Baptista Baronius reached Rome (after a stay at Paris and Bologna⁵⁹) together with his friend Guillaume Richardot, Lipsius clearly brought out this contrast: "I am glad you reached Rome, once great, august, most admirable; now holy, pious, venerable"⁶⁰. As a postscript to his letter, Lipsius even put his statement into phaleucian verses, clearly alluding in a negative way to Janus Vitalis' *Elogia* (Rome, 1553), *Roma prisca* and *Roma instaurata* and Hildebert de Lavardin⁶¹:

Ergo vos habet illa magna Roma?
 Florens olim opibus, superba tectis,
 Laeta civibus? Urbium Urbs, et orbis
 Princeps? olim ea, nunc modestiores
 Inscribit titulos: pia atque sancta
 Et sedes adeo ipsa sanctitatis⁶².

So, you are staying at that great Rome,
 Once flourishing by its power, splendid by its buildings,
 Delighted by its citizens? Town of towns and
 First town of the world? Once these, but now it

⁵⁶ Title of honour for Rome used by Lipsius in ILE V, 92 07 16 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 3). In ILE 95 10 22 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 36) and ILE 99 04 30 B (= *Cent. Ital.*, 73) he calls Rome the *Urbs domina*.

⁵⁷ Cf. J. Solé, *Les mythes chrétiens de la Renaissance aux Lumières*, L'aventure humaine (Paris, 1979), p. 94.

⁵⁸ Cf. ILE 00 02 07 S (= *Cent. Ital.*, 85): "Romae, id est, in luce illa gentium, in arce olim imperii, nunc pietatis".

⁵⁹ Cf. ILE 00 12 06 B (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 58) and 02 10 05 B (= *Cent. misc.* V, 37).

⁶⁰ Cf. ILE 03 03 16 B (= *Cent. misc.* V, 18): "Gaudeo Romam venisse, illam olim magnam, augustam, super-admirandam; nunc sanctam, religiosam, venerandam".

⁶¹ On Vitalis and Hildebert, see G. H. Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey. Joachim du Bellay and the 'Antiquitez de Rome'* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 56-57 and 104-111.

⁶² Cf. J. Papy, 'La poésie de Juste Lipse. Esquisse d'une évaluation critique de sa technique poétique', in: C. Mouchel (ed.), *Juste Lipse (1547-1606) en son temps. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 1994*, Colloques, congrès et conférences sur la Renaissance, 6 (Paris, 1996), 163-214 (p. 200, nr. 106; dated 16 March 1603).

Bears more modest titles: pious and saint,
And seat itself of sanctity.

Clearly, Lipsius's 'philological' longing and nostalgia for Rome's vanished glory clashed with his personal experience of a changing Roman humanism. He thought that the few brilliant Italian celebrities of the time were incapable of keeping Italian intellectual life flourishing. According to Lipsius, numerous rulers of city states in a divided, yet rather peaceful Italy neglected the liberal arts and did nothing for their encouragement⁶³. Lipsius envied the Italians the stable situation in which the sciences could flourish — a peace of which the Netherlands were deprived for so long⁶⁴. Yet despite this stability philology and literature in Italy no longer occupied the same high level.

In the philological studies of Lipsius' day, however, Italy still played an important part. Scholars as Orsini, Manuzio, Latini, Agustín and others were all rightly held in high esteem, even though the Italian superiority was contested for more than a century by French humanists such as Budé, Dorat, Lambin, Turnèbe, Estienne and — above all — by Muret, according to whom "Rome n'était plus Rome"⁶⁵. Lipsius still appreciated the philological skill of the Paduan scholar Gian-Vincenzo Pinelli⁶⁶,

⁶³ Cf. ILE 94 07 29 A (= *Cent. Ital.*, 17): "At nobis ignoscendum est nostrisque, quos civilis iste Mars vexat et avertit ab omni honesta atque alta cogitatione; vestri Dynastae, in gremio ipso pacis, cur neglegunt? Cur Italiae hanc famam detrahunt, non coluisse solum semper, sed excitasse ingenia et artes?". On the problem of a divided Italy without a capital and its cultural consequences in the late 17th and early 18th century, see for instance F. Waquet, *Le modèle français et l'Italie savante. Conscience de soi et perception de l'autre dans la République des Lettres (1660-1750)*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 117 (Rome, 1989), pp. 22-23; 41-45; 370-371. An example of warlike *Dynastae* is to be found in the family d'Este who were trying to recover the lost territory (in 1598) from the Pope, cf. Waquet, *Le modèle français et l'Italie savante*, p. 381.

⁶⁴ Cf. ILE 94 09 01 B (= *Cent. Ital.*, 19): "O Italia semper hoc nomine felix, quod non ingenia solum habuisti, sed etiam qui faverent et fovèrent! Nobis hoc deest, libere dico, qui diuturno isto bellorum aestu involvimur, et perit apud nos quidquid elegans aut honestum".

⁶⁵ Cf. F. Simone, 'Rome n'est plus Rome: un des thèmes de la crise selon le témoignage des humanistes français', *Annales de l'Université Jean Moulin. Langues étrangères*, 2 (1975), 99-109; Id., 'Italianismo e anti-italianismo nei poeti della Pléiade', in: *Atti del Colloquio Italo-Francese "La Pléiade e il Rinascimento francese"*, 16 marzo 1976 (Roma, 1977), pp. 7-38.

⁶⁶ Through Orsini Lipsius knew Pinelli by name at the time of his stay in Italy, cf. ILE 99 12 01 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 78): "Nam ego tuum nomen ab adolescentia prima et novi et amavi". In a letter to Mercuriale Lipsius called Pinelli one of the most important Italian philologists of his time, cf. ILE III, 88 09 02 M (= *Cent. misc.* II, 46): "valde rogarem in Viri magni Vinc[enti] Pinelli amicitiam me insinuare, quem ego iure aestimo inter Italo-

to whom he sent his former students Thomas Segetus⁶⁷ and Franciscus Sassenus⁶⁸. But the Venetian Republic — declining as a consequence of the discovery of America and of its defeats in the Turkish wars — shared the common fate of the Italian peninsula: the death of Pinelli in 1601 marked symbolically the end of Venice's role as the 'southern capital of the *Respublica litteraria*'⁶⁹. Next to Pinelli's achievements, Lipsius also valued positively the notes on Tacitus by the Florentine diplomat and scholar Curtius Pichena, who had been able to consult two important *Medicei*-manuscripts dating from the fourth century. All the same, Lipsius revised his own commentary on Tacitus just to show the reader the ingenuity of his own conjectural readings, for hundreds of his own corrections made by pure intuition and reasoning are confirmed by the old manuscripts Lipsius himself never saw⁷⁰. The textual criticism of

rum primos". See also ILE 99 03 27 P (= *Cent. Ital.*, 66): "Si quis in Italia hodie veteri et merita fama est, ego eum te censeo, Vincenti Pinelle".

⁶⁷ Thomas Seget(us) (Segatte) a Catholic convert from Calvinism, attended the Scots' College at Louvain. In 1598, on the 28th of December, Lipsius sent Segetus his *Testimonium*, which mentioned that Segetus was a student in Lipsius' *contubernium*, cf. ILE 98 12 28 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 63). From December 1598 Segetus was at Padua as a student and as the librarian of Pinelli. In his letter, dated 27 March 1599, Lipsius thanks Pinelli for his hospitality towards his former pupil Segetus, cf. ILE 99 03 27 P (= *Cent. Ital.*, 66). On Segetus, see E. Rosen, 'The Correspondence between Justus Lipsius and Thomas Seget', *Latomus*, 8 (1949), 63-67, and J. Papy, 'The Scottish doctor William Barclay, his *album amicorum* and his Correspondence with Justus Lipsius', in D. Sacré - G. Tournoy (eds.) *Myrica Latinae. Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Jozef IJsewijn*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 15 (Leuven, 1998, in the press).

⁶⁸ Franciscus Sassenus (Louvain 1578-1620) obtained the degree of *Doctor Medicinae* at Padua and became professor at Louvain (1618-1620). In March 1599 Lipsius recommended his pupil Sassenus to Pinelli at Padua, cf. ILE 99 03 27 P (= *Cent. Ital.*, 66).

⁶⁹ Cf. F. Waquet, 'L'espace de la République des Lettres', in: H. Bots — F. Waquet (eds.), *Commercium litterarium, 1600-1750. La communication dans la République des Lettres/Forms of communication in the Republic of Letters. Conférences tenues à Paris 1992 et à Nimègue 1993/Lectures held at the colloquia Paris 1992 and Nijmegen 1993*, Studies Pierre Bayle Institute, 25 (Amsterdam, 1994), p. 187, who refers herself to M. Fumaroli, 'Venise et la République des Lettres au XVIe siècle', in: V. Branca — C. Ossola (eds.), *Crisi e rinnovamenti nell'autunno del Rinascimento a Venezia* (Firenze, 1991), pp. 343-357.

⁷⁰ Cf. ILE 00 11 14 M (= *Cent. Belg.*, III, 68), letter to Balthasar Moretus: "Vidi Curtiana ad Tacitum et bona insunt, sed plura hercules a tam vetusto exemplari exspectabam. Illud mihi delectationi, et paene dicam gloriae, vel centenis locis comprobari ab eo coniecturas nostras, quas solo ingenio duce et timide saepe ponebamus. Ultimam editionem nostram non vidit atque in ea multa seria et nova repperisset. Dissentit a me saepicule. Cuique sua iudicia". Lipsius repeated this judgement on Pichena, *a secretis* of Ferdinand de' Medici, in the *Ad Lectorem* of his Tacitus (posthumous ed. 1607): "Pichena tamen super omnes, adiutus a Florentino bonae notae codice, qui in Medicaea bibliotheca asservatur et qui centenis locis coniecturas nostras... confirmavit"; cf.

Pietro Vettori, finally, was in Lipsius' good books as well, contradicting the judgement of Adrien Turnèbe who took every opportunity to praise the philological achievements of his fellow-countrymen⁷¹ and by that way already announced the ever growing anti-Italian French attitude resulting in the motto "l'Italie, c'est rien"⁷². However, in general, Lipsius reproached the Italians for their laziness: most difficulties — especially with authors such as Propertius — were sidestepped by them, even by Vettori⁷³. At the same time the reputation of Italian philology was badly damaged by Carlo Sigonio's falsification of Cicero's (lost) philosophical treatise *De Consolatione*. Having eagerly read the copy, sent to him by Joachim Camerarius, Lipsius immediately discovered that the text was spurious; thanks to his acuity he could even identify Sigonio as the perpetrator. Lipsius was followed in his judgment by Riccobonus⁷⁴, so that Sigonio had to confess and Lipsius sighed: "What do the Italians think? That the Transalpine nations are all idiots?"⁷⁵.

J. Ruyschaert, *Juste Lipse et les Annales de Tacite: une méthode de critique textuelle au XVI^e siècle*, Humanistica Lovaniensia, 8 (Louvain, 1949), pp. 33-34 and 138-143; M. Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics. Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton, 1991), p. 146, n. 33.

⁷¹ Cf. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, p. 94.

⁷² Cf. Waquet, *Le modèle français et l'Italie savante*, pp. 253-265.

⁷³ Cf. J. Lipsius, *Variae lectiones*, II, 25: "cum in reliquis auctoribus pristinae dignitati restituendis tot acerrimorum hominum nostra aetate laboraverint ingenia, Propertio tamen qui opem aliquem afferre conatus sit, Muretum unum excipio, adhuc vidi neminem. P. sane Victorius, magnus cumprimis vir... cum in Graecis et Latinis auctoribus partim castigandis, partim interpretandis studiose versatus sit, attamen tot voluminibus Variarum lectionum suarum Propertium hunc nostrum semel modo, atque id quasi praeteriens, nominavit. Quid existimem? Contemtumne a Victorio Propertium? Difficile est credere. Neglectum? Ne id quidem, qui in longe inferioribus auctoribus operam suam et diligentiam testatam relinquere voluit. Sed, si veritas dicenda est, refugerunt a Propertio tamquam a scopulo aliquo et hic ipse quem dico Victorius et hactenus eruditi alii".

⁷⁴ Cf. ILE II, 84 05 17 (= *Cent. misc. I*, 75): "Libellum a te missum falsi Ciceronis, cum iis quae adiuncta, accepi et legi lubens. O duram frontem Sigonii, qui hoc pertendit! Sed sentire eum ita serio, vix fides. Quid autem ais de altero illo Riccoboni responso, si vidisti? Satin' ut acriter et veris armis in Sigonium itur? Ait non obscure: illum ipsum auctorem esse laudatae Consolationis". On this topic, see also W. Mc Cuaig, *Carlo Sigonio. The Changing World of the late Renaissance* (Princeton, 1989), pp. 291-326.

⁷⁵ Cf. ILE II, 84 09 19 (= *Cent. misc. I*, 66), letter to Janus Guilielmus, dated 19 September 1584: "Litterae tuae nuperrimae suaves; celasti in iis me de Epistola in Sigonium, quam missam tamen e Britannia vidi. Gaudeo conspirare te mecum, cuius iudicium super ea Consolatione credo te iam vidisse... Agnosco stylum disiunctum, otiosum, lentum et illam (audeo apud te dicere) Sigoneitatem. Quid sibi volunt Itali? Transalpinos omnes esse fungos?". Compare with Scaliger's experience with Victorius and Sigonio who persecuted him when his notes on Varro's *De re rustica* and Festus appeared and labelled his work as mere divination and guess-work. In this context Scaliger reacted on the Italians who 'generally call all races located outside Italy barbarians'; cf. Grafton, *Joseph*

As in other countries⁷⁶, Lipsius regretted the murk in the literary circles of Italy. The reason for this — so he wrote to Orsini — was unclear to him, but it certainly was a European symptom⁷⁷. In the case of poetry, for instance, Lipsius could only mention two exponents of importance: Marcus Antonius Bonciarius (1555-1616), whom he calls a ‘Homer’ on Italian soil⁷⁸, and Laurentius Gambara (1506-1585), one of the poets from the circle of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and author of *De navigatione Christophori Columbi*⁷⁹. The decease of the latter — already called “princeps poeta” by Lipsius in an earlier letter to Orsini⁸⁰ — was regarded by Lipsius as a great loss for Italian literature⁸¹, while he ‘forgets’ (?) the names of Stella, Statius, Tasso, Palearius, Capilupus and many others. In other literary areas, however, Lipsius’ utterances are even more dispirited. Possible leading figures are indeed to be found in

Scaliger, p. 223 (and 339, n. 185, referring to Scaliger, *Epistolae* (Leiden, 1627), p. 60: “qui omnes extra Italiam positas gentes barbaras vocare solent”). Scaliger, obviously, takes up Erasmus’ opinion. See, for instance, Erasmus’ *Laus Stultitiae* (LB IV, 448 B): “sibi suavissime blandiantur omnes quod soli mortalium barbari non sint. Quod quidem in genere felicitatis, Romani primas tenent, ac veterem illam Romam adhuc iucundissime somniant”, and *In Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos* (LB VI, 633 B): “Italus coeteros omnes ut barbaros ac pene pecudes adspernatur et horret”; both passages are referred to by L.-E. Halkin, ‘Erasmus et l’Europe’, in: *Nationale Erasmus-Herdenking Brussel, Gent, Luik, Antwerpen: 3-6 juni 1969. Handelingen — Commémoration Nationale d’Érasme, Bruxelles, Gand, Liège, Anvers: 3-6 juin 1969. Actes*, Interuniversitair Centrum voor Geschiedenis van het Humanisme — Centre Interuniversitaire d’Histoire de l’Humanisme (Brussels, 1970), p. 95, n. 97. See also J. Papy, ‘Lipsius and Marcus Welser: the Anti-quarian’s life as *via media*’, in M. Laureys et al. (eds.), *The World of Justus Lipsius: A Contribution towards his Intellectual Biography. Proceedings of a Colloquium Held under the Auspices of the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome (Rome, 22-24 May 1997)* (Bruxelles - Brussel - Rome, 1998), pp. 173-190.

⁷⁶ Cf. ILE 00 11 20 W (= *Cent. Germ.*, 73), letter to Marcus Welser: “Addo, quod etiam tempora et aevum video (falsus Calchas sim) quibus brevi non dicam pretium, sed vix vita sit optimis artibus, quas ivimus et imus cultum. Tenebrae et barbaries imminet et diffundent se per Europae nostrae campos”.

⁷⁷ Cf. Lipsius, *Epistolicae Quaestiones*, II, 5: “Idem in Europa aliqua est, in qua an bello, an alia caussa: iacent omnes litterae”.

⁷⁸ Cf. ILE 05 10 16 BO (= *Cent. misc.* V, 71), letter to Bonciarius: “O Italiae tuae (patere me sic loqui) Homere”.

⁷⁹ Modern edition by C. Gagliardi, *Lorenzo Gambara, De navigatione Christophori Columbi*, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Progetto Strategico “Italia-America Latina” (Roma, 1993).

⁸⁰ Cf. ILE I, 70 09 19 O; Ruyschaert, *Séjour*, pp. 170-171. On Lipsius’ acquaintance with Gambara and other Roman poets from Orsini’s circle during his stay at Rome, see J. Papy, ‘Justus Lipsius as a Translator of Greek Epigrams’, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 42 (1993), 274-284.

⁸¹ Cf. J. Lipsius, *Epistolicae Quaestiones*, II, 5, letter to Fulvio Orsini: “doleo primum utriusque nostrum caussa, qui amicum, deinde Italiae vestrae, quae poetam amisit”. This passage is also cited by Gagliardi (see n. 79), though the reference given by her is not correct.

several domains: the orator Vestrius-Marcellus Barbianus⁸³, the philosophers Cardinal Gabriel Palaeotus⁸⁴, Aeneas Vizanius⁸⁵ and Antonius Persius⁸⁶, the Neapolitan historian Julius Caesar Caracciolus⁸⁷, the physician and philosopher Andreas Chioccius⁸⁸, the professor of medicine Johannes Costaeus⁸⁹ and his colleague Melchior Zoppius⁹⁰. However, the fact that Lipsius is calling most of them the only bright spot in Italy's darkness⁹¹, illustrates the coaxing character of his *Centuria ad Italos et Hispanos*⁹². Therefore, Lipsius' conclusion is in line with the old topos of declining culture: Italy was no longer 'the foster mother of the *mores* and sciences of Antiquity'⁹³. Just as Erasmus had done some fifty years before him, Lipsius looked in vain for the great generation of humanists from the 15th century which had disappeared for ever. To the literary mastery of Tasso — to name but one example — the northern

⁸³ Cf. ILE 01 07 18 (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 92) and 06 02 27 V (= Burman, II, p. 176, nr. 848).

⁸⁴ Cf. ILE 95 05 08 (= Burman, I, p. 665, nr. 628); 95 12 01 (= Burman, I, p. 737, nr. 697); 96 03 02 P (letter kept in manuscript at Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms. Lips. 4); 96 07 21 P (= *Cent. Ital.*, 44); 97 01 09 P (letter kept in manuscript at Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms. Lips. 4).

⁸⁵ Cf. ILE 95 01 13 VI (original letter kept at Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms. Lips. 4); 95 03 02 V¹ (= *Cent. Ital.*, 22); 95 03 02 V² (copy of this letter kept at Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms. Lips. (13), fol. 38v-39 and 3(14), fol. 22v); 95 05 01 V (original letter kept at Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms. Lips. 4).

⁸⁶ Cf. ILE 03 11 02 (= *Cent. misc.* V, 36).

⁸⁷ Cf. ILE 03 09 05 (= *Cent. misc.* IV, 79).

⁸⁸ Cf. ILE 03 04 16 (= *Cent. misc.* IV, 66); 03 09 16 C (= *Cent. misc.* V, 35); 04 02 16 C (= *Cent. misc.* V, 47); 04 03 14 (= *Cent. misc.* IV, 91); 05 12 19 (letter kept in manuscript at Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms. Lips. 3(21), fol. 4 and 3(23), fol. 204).

⁸⁹ Cf. ILE 95 01 31 C; 95 03 02 C; 95 04 13 C; 95 06 26 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 29); 95 07 05; 95 08 02 C (= *Cent. Ital.*, 38).

⁹⁰ Cf. ILE VII, 94 12 26 Z (= Burman, I, p. 668, nr. 631); 95 03 02 Z (= *Cent. Ital.*, 23); 95 04 23 Z (original letter kept at Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms. Lips. 4).

⁹¹ Cf. ILE 97 05 17 O (= *Cent. Ital.*, 47), where Lipsius calls Fulvio Orsini the *fax unica* of Italy, while the others have disappeared and only a few *docti* were left.

⁹² On the cultural impoverishment of Italy in the late 16th century and the 17th century, see for instance the statement of Waquet, *Le modèle français et l'Italie savante*, p. 59: "Ce n'était plus l'enseignement d'un maître prestigieux, d'une autorité de la République des Lettres qui les [sc. les savants français] attirait outrements, mais la légendaire richesse des musées et des bibliothèques".

⁹³ Cf. J. Jehasse, *La renaissance de la critique. L'essor de l'humanisme érudit de 1560 à 1614* (Saint-Étienne, 1976), p. 562. For similar observations — inspired by nationalist and religious antagonisms — made by French and Dutch scholars from the 17th century such as Christophe Dupuy, Gabriel Naudé, le Père Mersenne, Lucas Holstenius and Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, see Waquet, *Le modèle français et l'Italie savante*, pp. 266-270.

humanist was as blind as Erasmus to the creations of Michelangelo and Rafael⁹⁴.

Thus, at first sight it seems all the more remarkable that Lipsius directed no criticism at all at Italian theologians and ecclesiastical historians. Cardinal Baronius' *Annales Ecclesiastici* — admired even by the Protestant Scaliger — were recommended by Lipsius as a first-class work of reference without a hint of criticism⁹⁵, even though Baronius' work served principally as a justification for the ambitions of the papal monarchy; Baronius himself was considered to be the 'fifth evangelist'⁹⁶. Lipsius was equally deferential toward Cardinal Roberto Bellarmine — whom Casaubon so vehemently chided⁹⁷. This brings us to Lipsius' utilitarianism and to a third important distinction to be made in Lipsius' attitude towards the Italians of his days, namely between the so-called *nobiles* and the *vulgus*. More importantly perhaps, it leads us to a valuable second hypothesis explaining Lipsius' final decision not to return to Italy: Lipsius was deeply disappointed with the Italian people of his time.

A second hypothesis: Lipsius' view of the Italian people: of the nobiles, the vulgus and women

In his correspondence Lipsius drew a sharp distinction between the *nobiles* and the *vulgus* of a country. In no way is this division based on wealth or the use of the vernacular; only the intellectual and moral

⁹⁴ On Erasmus and Italy, see J. IJsewijn, 'Erasmus in Rome: a Clash of Humanist Cultures?', in: C. M. Murphy, H. Gibaud, M. A. Di Cesare (eds.), *Miscellanea Moreana. Essays for Germain Marc'hadour*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 61 (Binghamton, N.Y., 1989), pp. 139-151, and Id., 'I rapporti tra Erasmo, l'umanesimo italiano, Roma e Giulio II', in J. Lluís Barona (ed.), *Jozef IJsewijn, Humanisme i literatura neolatina. Escrits seleccionats* (Valencia, 1996): pp. 87-103.

⁹⁵ Cf. 00 12 03 H (= *Cent. misc. III*, 61), letter to Lipsius' student Nicolas de Hacqueville: "nostra haec nova, id est, Christiana, olim ex Eusebio, Sozomeno, pluribus, nunc ex uno Caesare Baronio adstatim haurietur. Et quid in diligentia viri tanta deest? Imo ut supersit vereor".

⁹⁶ Cf. G. Riciperati, 'Caesare Baronio, la Storia Ecclesiastica, la Storia "Civile" e gli scrittori giurisdizionalisti della prima metà del XVIII secolo', in R. De Maio — L. Gulia — A. Mazzacane (eds.), *Baronio storico e la Controriforma. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Sora 6-10 Ottobre 1979*, Fonti e Studi Baroniani, 1 (Sora, 1982), pp. 760-761, who quotes a letter (dated 2 March 1610) from Paolo Sarpi's *Lettere ai gallicani*.

⁹⁷ Cf. I. Casaubon, *Epistolae*, II, p. 522: "Et tamen Baronius Bellarmino melior, homine ad strophas, sophismata, mendacia apto, nulli alii rei idoneo. Norma illi veri est non Sacra scriptura, sed libido Papae".

development, i. e. the knowledge of the *bonae litterae* and philosophy, distinguished these categories from one another.

Unlike the *vulgus*, the class of the *nobiles* is universal. According to Lipsius, a *vir nobilis* from Germany has the same characteristics as one from Italy: they are all aristocrats, or leaders and they all have pure blood. Above all, they love the fame of virtuousness and the cultivation of letters⁹⁸, and are illuminated by the divine spirit — symbolized several times by Lipsius by the metaphor of the Sun shining upon the elected ones⁹⁹. Therefore, Lipsius venerated them all with profound respect and never treated any of them irreverently.

The Roman clergy, likewise, once dragged through the mud in his *Orations* held at Jena and described as *pestis pontificia*, *purpurata Romana bellua*, and *Romana meretrix cum impuro illo grege purpuratorum*¹⁰⁰, is treated with distant veneration following Lipsius' return to the bosom of Catholicism. Addressing the Roman Cardinal Cinzio Aldrobandini Lipsius even declared himself his slave in an enthusiastic rhetorical flourish¹⁰¹. As long as he could secure his own position at Rome and guarantee the admission of his *contubernales* from Louvain who wanted to study in the Holy City, Lipsius seemed to be prepared to do almost anything. Since only as late as 1594 — three years after his conversion — Lipsius' name was removed from the new Index through the mediation of the Jesuit Antonius Possevinus¹⁰². To be sure, oppor-

⁹⁸ Cf. ILE I, 78 04 03 (= *Cent. misc.* I, 22), letter to Philippe de Lannoy: "Nam de nobilibus cur diffitear? Revera optimates illi plerumque optimi: celsi, alti, sinceri; virtutis gloriae, litterarum amantes".

⁹⁹ See, for instance, J. Lipsius, *Epistolicae Quaestiones*, I, 2 (letter to J. J. Scaliger on his new edition of Ausonius): "Scripta tua paucorum hominum sunt. Nec omnes capiunt, nec omnes capiuntur. Μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος"; and V, 17 (letter to C. Valerius; on Turnebus): "Nam quale est quod de optimo uno omnium quos Sol vidit Turnebo scribit".

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Bouchery, p. 65, n. 165; Jehasse, *La Renaissance de la critique*, p. 562 takes Lipsius' utterances in his Jena *Orations* seriously into account to explain his religious crisis and his growing sympathy for Protestantism.

¹⁰¹ Cf. ILE 01 05 01 (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 77): "Itaque ut in pauca sed fida verba conferam, mancipio me tuum habes, imo mancipium, si tamen id verbi tuus meusque ingenuus animus admittat".

¹⁰² Possevinus's *Bibliotheca selecta quae agitur de ratione studiorum in historia, in disciplinis, in salute omnium procuranda* (Rome, 1593) mentioned Lipsius as a proper Roman Catholic. Cf. ILE VII, 94 06 03 (= Burman, I, p. 676, nr. 639), letter from Flaminius Morus to Lipsius: "Imprimatur nunc Romae, ut audio, novus Index eorum qui de religione Christiana male senserunt, inter quos et te adscriptum ferebant... Sed tandem respiravi et hunc mihi scrupulum ademit Possevinus qui nuper in lucem edidit Bibliothecam, in qua te summis laudibus extollit teque Christianum esse clare testatur". See also

tunism is not foreign to Lipsius' unctuous letters to Roman Cardinals, but it remains difficult to fathom Lipsius' true feelings and thoughts in his letters to secular Italian *nobiles* and clergymen alike.

More explicit is Lipsius' view on the Italian *vulgus*, for which he evidently felt a great aversion. As mentioned before, the class of the *vulgus* is not universal, but varies with the national character and — as Lipsius had already stated in his *Epistolicae Quaestiones* — consequently, with the climate. So, the Germans, like all the other Northern people, have intelligence but no sharp judgement; the Italians, on the contrary, being a Mediterranean people, show a special ability to judge whilst the Gauls (including the Netherlands) reconcile both qualities for they are in an intermediate position¹⁰³. In his letter to Philippe de Lannoy from 1578, Lipsius drew attention to the different national characteristics with their specific vices: "So, you are thinking about going to France? You will find levity as well and vanity, which are the vices which are frequent in this (it would be wrong to say, the whole) nation. To Italy? You'll find wantonness and passion. To Spain? A certain pride and African splendour. To Germany? An obsession with banquets and drunkenness"¹⁰⁴. The Italians, moreover, are cunning, sly and good at feigning¹⁰⁵. And, if there are a few honest men, then it is still difficult to discover them,

ILE 99 01 29 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 62), letter from Lipsius to Possevinus: "Publice ostendisti quid de me et religione mea sentire; quae postrema attestatio pergrata mihi fuit".

¹⁰³ Cf. J. Lipsius, *Epistolicae Quaestiones*, V, 12: "Germanis plerisque ingenii celebritas et facilitas quaedam insita ad doctrinam numquam defuit, defuit illud acre et politum iudicium. Idem est in illo tractu omni Septemtrionis. At Italis peculiaris est laus iudicii, sicut et populis iis qui pertinent ad Meridiem aut Ortum. Nostra Gallia interiecta media est et, ut Nonius loqui Ciceronem voluit, amborum quasi cinnus". For a general account of the theories concerning climat, see F. Lestringant, 'Europe et théorie des climats dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle', in *La conscience européenne au XVe et au XVI^e siècle*, Collection de l'École Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 22 (Paris, 1982), pp. 206-226.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. ILE I, 78 04 03 (= *Cent. misc.* I, 22): "Galliam ecce cogitas? levitatem et vanitatem etiam, quae pleraque ea (omni, falso dicam) gente. Italiam? proterviam in ea et libidinem. Hispanias? typhum quemdam, et Africanum fastum. Germaniam? comessationes et ebrietatem".

¹⁰⁵ Cf. ILE I, 78 04 03 (= *Cent. misc.* I, 22): "Nam et inter viros multi tecti, callidi, periti simulare". Compare with Erasmus' negative view on the Italians in his famous dialogues *Ciceronianus* and *Convivium Profanum*; and his letters; cf. IJsewijn, 'Erasmus in Rome', pp. 139-151; L. V. Ryan, 'Art and Artifice in Erasmus' *Convivium Profanum*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 31 (1978), 1-16; J. W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome. Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521*, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 3 (Durham, North Carolina, 1979), pp. 51-52 and 180; Halkin, 'Erasmus et l'Europe', pp. 94-96.

because their good nature is not written all over their face but hidden in their heart. The *mos maiorum* that once made the Italian people superior has gone; instead of positive character traits only defects of character are left. The cause of all this, Lipsius states, is the baleful influence of miscegenation in the last centuries before the fall of the Roman Empire, when Gallic and German tribes infiltrated the Italians. Especially the establishment in Italy of barbarian tribes such as the Goths and Vandals caused the apparent decline in moral standards¹⁰⁶, so that every traveller had to pay strict attention to the moral corruption of the Italian *vulgus*.

The greatest danger, however, threatening the foreigner was Italian women. Almost every time that Lipsius gives his pupils or friends who were contemplating an *iter Italicum* some useful advice, he warns them for the beautiful, but particularly lascivious and insolent, Roman and Venetian 'Venuses', because a stay in that flourishing country also means that 'there are no roses without thorns'¹⁰⁷. He even expresses this view in elegiac distichs, warning his friend Janus Lernutius against 'Venus who is reigning in Aeneas' city'¹⁰⁸. In his letter to his pupil De Lannoy, Lipsius explains that the charm of Italian women is such that one not only needs prudence, but also a considerable amount of good

¹⁰⁶ Cf. ILE I, 78 04 03 (= *Cent. misc.* I, 22): "In vulgo aliter esse observavimus; qui fex et limus, et vere vulgus. Itaque in illis [*i. e. nobilibus*], vetus Italicus aut Romanus sanguis fere apparet; in istis, peream, nisi clarae reliquiae (fidenter dicam) Gothorum, Vandalorum". Lipsius thus shares Erasmus' opinion: "an putas eos qui nunc Romam incolunt, esse priscorum illorum Romanorum posteritatem? Magis arbitror Gottomos esse ac Vandalos", cf. P. S. Allen - H. M. Allen - H. W. Garrod, *Opus Epistularum Des. Erasmi*, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1906-1958), VII, ep. 1840, letter to G. Budé (dated 22 June 1527), first published in Erasmus' *Opus Epistularum* (Basle, 1527), p. 737; the passage is also cited by Halkin, 'Erasme et l'Europe', p. 95, n. 98.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. ILE 99 09 23 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 75), to his pupil Johannes ab Hollant: "quae bona et in rem tuam excerpe; cetera nec tange nec deliba, nam et rosis suae spinae adhaerent atque illas legere licet et ab his non laedi". Compare with Lipsius' advice for Johannes Baptista Baronius who is planning a stay at Paris: "Quod superest, mi Baroni, te ne desere, id est ab animi cura et cultu, ne ad vana et externa diverte. Haec interdum et leviter, illa plurimum et fideliter te habeant, quod gaudio, quod fructui tibi sit in aevum. Mores gentis ad quam tendis, iam sermonibus et iudiciis nostris notos habes. Sunt bona, mala, mixta; inspicere, elige, proba, sed viros reperiens ab ingenio, humanitate, etiam probitate laudandos, atque his adhaere tantum"; cf. ILE 00 11 07 B (= *Cent. Belg.*, III, 66).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. J. Lipsius, *Elegia ad I. Lernutium De Urbe Roma*, v. 30: "Et Venus Aeneae regnat in urbe sui", in: *Iusti Lipsi Musae Errantes. Ex Auctoris schedis partim descriptis, sparsas collegit ac iunctim posteritati edidit Fr. Sweetius* (Antwerp, 1610), pp. 11-12. The poem is to be dated July-August 1572, cf. Papy, 'La poésie de Juste Lipse', p. 185, nr. 5. A more elaborate interpretation together with a translation and annotations (in Dutch) is given by J. Papy, 'Justus Lipsius, Rome en de Romereis: zoektocht naar een oude mythe?', *Kleio*, 26 (1997), 111-126.

luck to sail around this Scylla and Charybdis¹⁰⁹. This is in the first place the logical consequence of Lipsius' general view on women as being capricious, weak, sly, cunning and feeble-minded¹¹⁰. Moreover, is it impossible that the hundreds of 'cortigiane', whose presence was a well-known feature of the Papal States, should not have come to Lipsius' attention (and interest)? Perhaps, Lipsius had at the back of his mind the fate of his young friend Franciscus Martinus, who had entered into a liaison with a noble lady of Naples. Her husband had been informed by a servant of his wife's adultery: he entered the room one night and surprised the two lovers in flagrante. He hauled them out of bed, beat them to death, and threw them naked through the window¹¹¹. Is it worth mentioning that Lipsius while narrating this story to Janus Lernetius literally sighs: "Nosti Italiam, nosti sexum"?

Be that as it may, the fact remains that there were several factors which contributed to Lipsius' aversion for contemporary Italy and its inhabitants. This aversion may well have influenced — in conjunction with the other possible reasons mentioned before — his final decision not to travel to Italy. A closer reading of Lipsius' letter-collection *Centuria ad Italos et Hispanos* may allow a new working hypothesis: did Lipsius truly want to travel to Italy or did he just pretend to be enthusiastic about the repeated invitations he received from several Italian universities and Roman cardinals on the occasion of the Holy Year? If it seems implausible that he should have pretended to be enthusiastic, nonetheless a further question remains: why did he attach such importance to editing a whole *Centuria* of letters, saying first that he would be coming to Italy and, then that he would not?

¹⁰⁹ Cf. ILE I, 78 04 03 (= *Cent. misc.* I, 22): "et inter feminas, formae conspicuae, sed lascivae et procaces. Non feminae, Veneres illae Romanae aut Venetae. Hic Scylla, ibi Charybdis; et duo haec discrimina ut enaviges, opus non prudentia quadam solum, sed dicam fortuna". Lipsius uses the same metaphor in his letter of dedication to Abraham Ortelius of his *De Amphitheatris* (Antwerp, 1584), f. 3-6: "Partem eorum Scylla quaedam libidinum abripuit, partem Charybdis aliarum voluptatum. Nosipsi quod salvi fretum hoc enavimus, nunquam alteri inscripserim quam Bono meo Deo". Cf. ILE II, 84 01 05 O.

¹¹⁰ Cf. J. Lipsius, *Monita et exempla politica*, II, 2: "In faemina omnia levia, mollia, quae amorem, non reverentiam creent... in illis calliditas aut argutiae, imbecillitas deinde iudicii... Septies in die mutant. Raro etiam altum aut honestum spirant, sunt in vanis aut vilibus curis".

¹¹¹ Cf. J. Lipsius, *Epistolicae Quaestiones*, IV, 12.

II

The *Epistolarum Selectarum Centuria Singularis ad Italos et Hispanos* forms a collection of one hundred letters to native Italians or Spaniards, or to acquaintances travelling or living in either Italy or Spain. It was compiled by Lipsius at the end of 1600 and published in Antwerp by his publisher Johannes Moretus in 1601¹¹².

Already in the letter of dedication to Cardinal Federico Borromeo, whom he thanks for his invitation to come to Rome on the occasion of the Holy Year, Lipsius reveals his true purpose. Using the imagery of a Catholic *Militia christiana* and playing on words as *centuria* — *arma* — *miles* — *militent* — *heroica indoles*, Lipsius sees his collection as a light-armed soldier (*levis miles*), placed under Borromeo's command to complete the work begun by Borromeo's illustrious paternal uncle — San Carlo Borromeo — at the Tridentine Council.

From the first letter of the collection onwards, written to Girolamo Mercuriale, an old friend from his days in Rome, Lipsius' intentions become still more transparent. In clear terms Lipsius explains that regretfully he could not accept the invitation of Ferdinand I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, to lecture at the university of Pisa; he alludes to his bad state of health by informing Mercuriale, who was the personal physician to Cardinal Farnese as well as the professor of medicine at Pisa university, of his cure at the baths of Spa. In this first letter, moreover, Lipsius introduces the *Leitmotiv* of the whole collection: *Italiam vestram amo supra omnes terras!*¹¹³ He indicates that it is his most ardent wish to see and embrace his Italian friends, but that the circumstances are not favourable. In the next letter to Mercuriale, the seventh of the collection, Lipsius reiterates his love for Italy and again expresses his regret that he could not comply with the request of Pope Clement VIII to succeed to the chair of Muretus at Rome. The reason of his failing health is also advanced in letters 15 and 16: Lipsius claims to be

¹¹² Cf. F. Vander Haeghen - M.-T. Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica: bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* (Bruxelles, 1964), t. III, pp. 940-941.

¹¹³ Similar utterances in ILE V, 92 06 23 M (= *Cent. Ital.*, 7): "Ego Italiae amorem non exui"; 95 02 22 M (= *Cent. Ital.*, 20): "Ego totam Italiam vestram amo et veneror"; 95 05 21 M (= *Cent. Ital.*, 31): "Consigno hoc iam nunc et testor Italiam a me amari, et in Italia Bononiam"; 95 08 09 C (= *Cent. Ital.*, 40): "Ex animo fateor duo haec magna apud me esse: Pontificem et Italiam"; 98 05 19 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 55): "An ego non libens amatam semper et gustatam aliquandiu Italiam revisam?"

physically unable to come to lecture at the university of Padua and declines the invitation made by the Venetian Republic. The following letters to Ulysse Aldrovandi and the physician Flaminio Morus contain Lipsius' rejection, on the same grounds, of the offer made by the university of Bologna to succeed the recently deceased Thomas Correa, an answer which Lipsius uses over and over again in letters 19 to 44. Then the *valetudo*-topos is pushed temporarily into the background to give way to a new theme that covers the whole of the second part of Lipsius' *Centuria*: Lipsius' intention to visit Rome in the Holy Year 1600 — a theme which is prefaced by the report of the publication of his *Admiranda*, a work containing a wealth of information about ancient Rome¹¹⁴ (letters 48-57) — and his decision to abandon his plan, again for reasons of health (letters 62-100). We have suggested earlier that Lipsius only used *valetudo* as a pretext for staying in the Netherlands. Indeed, a closer look at Lipsius' rhetoric as it is used in these letters, lifts a corner of this veil of dissimulation. In his reply of February 1595 to the papal nuncio, Innocentius Malvasia¹¹⁵, Lipsius makes the habitual claim that he loves and esteems Italy so much that, if he could organize his life as he would, Italy would see him, and keep him, and bury his ashes. Of the many obstacles of his going there he could perhaps remove all but one: his health. Even then, if he should go to Malvasia's famous Bologna, it would not be the Lipsius they knew who was coming but only a shadow of him¹¹⁶. However, the fact that he was growing old and suffering from a lingering disease was not Lipsius' only message albeit a familiar one. What he is actually stating — although indirectly — in this published, rhetorically polished refusal, is that he is a successful and very popular scholar who receives attractive invitations from the most prestigious European universities¹¹⁷. If his fame was already established by the fact of invitation itself (*Quid ad gloriam mihi amplius?*), the publication of

¹¹⁴ On Lipsius' *Admiranda*, see M. Laureys - J. Papy, '“The grandeur that was Rome”: Lipsius' variaties op een oud thema', in R. Dusoïr e.a. (eds.), *Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) en het Plantijnse Huis*, Publicaties van het Museum Plantin-Moretus en het Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, 37 (Antwerpen, 1997), pp. 129-137.

¹¹⁵ Cf. ILE 95 02 22 M (= *Cent. Ital.*, 20).

¹¹⁶ In his letter to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna Lipsius uses the same argumentation: he will reach Italy a skeleton (*monogrammmum hominem*) or a shadow (*umbra*) if he goes there despite his weak health. Cf. ILE 95 08 09 C (= *Cent. Ital.*, 40).

¹¹⁷ In an answer to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, who invited Lipsius to Rome on behalf of the Pope, Lipsius emphatically enumerated the alluring advantages of a stay at Rome: the political stability, a large audience, and the patronage of the Pope; cf. ILE 95 08 09 C (= *Cent. Ital.*, 40).

his polite refusal in a *Centuria* destined for a wider public certainly enhanced it without offending the Italian members of the *Respublica litterarum* (since his *valetudo* excused him).

On a slightly different level, the *valetudo*-theme serves as a reinforcement of the image which Lipsius was creating for himself. This persona was carefully chosen, since it was of great importance to Lipsius' actual situation circa 1600. The reason, namely, why Lipsius selected a specific number of his letters, arranged them in a strategic order and had them published in a separate *Centuria* by the *Officina Plantiniana*, which guaranteed him international diffusion of his work and his *persona*, may be found in his own particular position in the *Respublica litterarum*, that of a prominent professor at Louvain university and of historiographer to the Spanish king. The ambiguity of Lipsius' religious past had to be concealed, because ever since his return from Leiden he was being watched very carefully by the Catholic authorities in the Netherlands and in Rome. So, it might well be true that Lipsius' health was in too bad a state to undertake the exhausting journey to Rome — all his friends seemed to believe him on this score¹¹⁸ — but it certainly was a welcome excuse that enabled him first to express enthusiasm at the prospect of going to Rome in the Holy Year and then to abandon his plans with the same apparent sincerity¹¹⁹. In the *Centuria*, the grounds for such a volte-face were well prepared — Lipsius' failing health scuppering at the invitations from Bologna, Pisa, etc. In letter 91 Lipsius has to decline Spinola's invitation to Spa because of the presence of mutinous troops in Limburg, even though his body is in need of the salutary baths¹²⁰. By the tactical placing of his apologetic letter to Cardinal Federico Borromeo announcing his cancelled visit to Rome¹²¹ just after the letter to Spinola, in which Lipsius was apparently giving an *objective* account of his physical condition, his excuse seems more believable, whilst his true feelings remain hidden.

Lipsius also highlights how he has changed from his old, suspect self. At the beginning of the *Centuria*, Lipsius mentions that he is sending notes for the revision of his *Politica* to Francesco Benci in Rome¹²²,

¹¹⁸ Cf. *supra*, note 29.

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Cent. Ital.*, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73.

¹²⁰ Cf. ILE 00 05 25 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 91).

¹²¹ Cf. ILE 00 06 10 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 92).

¹²² Cf. ILE VI, 93 08 20 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 11); 94 01 31 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 14); 99 09 26 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 76). See also ILE VI, 93 02 10 B; 93 05 30 BEL; 93 05 30 BEN: these

announcing first to Cardinal Baronio that he has become 'pure among the pure' and that he himself has already started the new version in collaboration with the theologian Henricus Cuyckius¹²³. Still more important and placed in the second part of the *Centuria*, is the matter of the publication of Lipsius' *Admiranda sive De Magnitudine Romana*. This was also to be published in Rome on the occasion of the Holy Year for the benefit of the pilgrims, together with the *Vere Admiranda seu de Magnitudine Romanae Ecclesiae Libri Duo* of Thomas Stapleton¹²⁴. If Lipsius' image as a rehabilitated Roman Catholic scholar was thus already consciously being promoted, the letter to Filippo Pigafetta, who was preparing an Italian translation of Lipsius' *Admiranda*¹²⁵, offered the finishing touch: If Lipsius himself could not be personally present in Rome, then at least he would be there through his writings.

A third issue involved in Lipsius' *Centuria ad Italos et Hispanos* is that of Lipsius' role as the mentor of a prestigious circle of students (*contubernium*). Its members all belonged to leading Catholic families who supported the Spanish interests in the Southern Netherlands¹²⁶. Its goal was to form responsible and leading adults. So, despite his personal disillusionment with contemporary Italy, Lipsius had to keep in with his (noble) Italian friends to whom he sent coaxing letters of recommendation for his students or *contubernales*. As we have mentioned before, Lipsius' utilitarianism and opportunism urged him to write to various Italian *nobiles* and Cardinals to make recommendations for Adrianus Romanus, Thomas Fienus, Erycius Puteanus, Nicolaus Micaultius, Thomas Segetus, Franciscus Sassenus, Franciscus Hovius, Johannes Baptista Hansenius, Johannes Hemelarius and many others¹²⁷. It may

letters to Cardinal Bellarmine and to Benci survive only in manuscript; Lipsius did not insert them in his *Centuria ad Italos* because their content was not appropriate for publication.

¹²³ Cf. ILE VI, 93 05 30 BA (= *Cent. Ital.*, 9): "Sum nunc denique purus inter puros".

¹²⁴ Cf. ILE 00 02 07 S (= *Cent. Ital.*, 85). F. Vander Haeghen - M.-T. Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica: bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* (Bruxelles, 1964), t. III., 892-893; H. Hescher, 'Justus Lipsius, ein Vertreter des christlichen Humanismus in der katholischen Erneuerungsbewegung des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch für das Bistum Mainz*, 6 (1954), 196-231 (esp. pp. 207-208).

¹²⁵ Cf. ILE 00 07 31 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 93).

¹²⁶ On Lipsius' *contubernium*, see Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, pp. 14-51.

¹²⁷ We only mention those who occur in the *Centuria ad Italos et Hispanos*; cf. *Cent. Ital.*, 17, 57, 58, 63, 66, 76, 90, 97, 98.

seem paradoxical¹²⁸ that Lipsius did not himself have a high opinion of contemporary Italy, but that at the same time he was convinced of the pedagogical value of young people travelling and studying there¹²⁹. The answer, however, is simple. As a leader of a neo-stoic *contubernium*, Lipsius was in favour of a short, 'methodical' and 'fruitful' *peregrinatio*, because it combined *utilitas* with *voluptas*¹³⁰. He first described his views on this in his famous letter to Philippe de Lannoy of 1578¹³¹, repeating it time and again in letters written to his pupils¹³², in which he always warned them to use and to develop their prudence and moral virtues. As an antiquarian, his predilection for Italy and Rome is also easy to understand. As he expressed in numerous eulogies, Italy was the fortunate parent of the arts and the virtues¹³³, and — following Pliny, Cassiodorus and Ammianus Marcellinus — Rome was the compendium of the world, a universal city common to any, the crown and the pinnacle of all things, a true miracle¹³⁴. So, to study in the capital of Antiquity

¹²⁸ Cf. Jehasse, *La Renaissance de la critique*, p. 419 simply records his astonishment that Lipsius' view on Italy is 'contradictory' in his *Centuria ad Italos et Hispanos*. Jehasse's attitude is comprehensible but incorrect, for he did not see the different levels of information in Lipsius' humanist letter-collection.

¹²⁹ For similar views on the profit and peril of travel to Italy — going back to Horace's *Epistles* (1, 11, 25-27) — in Georgius Fabricius' guide to Rome, *Itinerum liber unus* (Basel, 1551), see Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey*, pp. 70-71.

¹³⁰ N. Doiron, *L'art de voyager. Le déplacement à l'époque classique* (Québec - Paris, 1995), pp. 17-32; Chapitre II: *L'art de voyager avec fruit* de Juste Lipse, offers an interesting analysis of Lipsius' stoic views on travelling.

¹³¹ See on this topic, J. Stagl, 'Ars apodemica: Bildungsreise und Reisemethodik von 1560 bis 1600', in: X. von Ertzdorff - D. Neukirch - R. Schulz (eds.), *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Chloe. Beihefte zum Daphnis, 13 (Amsterdam - Atlanta, 1992), pp. 141-189, and J. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity. The Theory of Travel 1550-1800*, Studies in Anthropology and History, 13 (Chur, 1995). A bibliographical survey is given by J. Stagl - K. Orda - C. Kämpfer, *Apodemiken. Eine rationierte Bibliographie der reisetheoretischen Literatur des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Staatsbeschreibung und Statistik, 2 (Paderborn, 1983).

¹³² See, for instance, ILE 99 01 03 (= *Cent. Germ.*, 48) to Johannes ab Hollant: "At ea familiaris iam paullo nota, tum pedem proferre adsuadeam et Romam petere, illam olim et nunc (etsi in alia potentia) verticem et culmen rerum. Ibi, quidquid laudabile in orbe paene est, videre tibi fas in compendio".

¹³³ Cf. ILE 95 03 02 L (= *Cent. Ital.*, 21), letter to Franciscus Leonius: "In Italia vestra (felice artium virtutumque parente) illi viri sunt quos merito admireris, quos ad imitandum proponas".

¹³⁴ Cf. ILE 95 05 01 C (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 19): "compendium orbis"; ILE 99 01 03 (= *Cent. Germ.*, 48): "verticem et culmen rerum"; Lipsius, *Admiranda*, III, 3: "velut commune totius terrae opidum"; Lipsius, *Admiranda*, III, 5: "universam Romam miraculum esse". Cf. Jehasse, *La Renaissance de la critique*, pp. 562-563. Compare also with

and Christianity, remained a first class option for young scholars. A careful reading of the *Centuria ad Italos et Hispanos*, however, elucidates once again why — after the events — Lipsius inserted these letters in his published collection. Once more, the presentation of Lipsius' Roman Catholic orthodoxy is consolidated by a portrayal of himself as a caring mentor, who sends his Catholic students to Rome. Rome, though full of dangers and vices, remains valuable for education and study, as the centre of Christianity and as a 'compendium' offering the greatest variety. Lipsius is convinced that the ultimate goal (the *finis* or *scopus*), the fruit (*fructus*) of the great effort of travel can be best reached by travelling to Italy. On the one hand the pleasure (*voluptas*) that is attainable there can be avoided by Lipsius' growing adults, whilst utility (*utilitas*) on the other hand lies in the acquisition of true virtue through reasoned travelling¹³⁵, which has — he adds wisely — not to last too long¹³⁶. So Lipsius builds for himself and others an image of a steadfast Catholic professor with a great sense of responsibility, who guides his students on their way to 'prudent' adulthood (their *passage à la vie adulte*), *prudentia* being one of the cardinal virtues of Christianity.

Moreover, the effect of the insertion of the letters to his *contubernales*, who are departing for Rome, within Lipsius' Italo-Spanish

Montaigne, *Essais*, III, 9 ('De la vanité'): "Et puis cette même Rome que nous voyons mérite qu'on l'aime, confédérée de si longtemps et par tant de titres à notre couronne: seule ville commune et universelle... c'est la ville métropolitaine de toutes les nations chrétiennes".

¹³⁵ Cf. ILE 99 01 03 (= *Cent. Germ.*, 48) to Johannes ab Hollant: "Sed falli te nolo, ubi magnae virtutes, magna item fere vitia aut crebra, et curae iudicique tui erit bona excerpere, alia spernere ac vitare. Sicut Ulysses ille blandientes, sed insidiantes scopulos surda aure praetervexit, oculos tantum habuit apertos, sic multa tibi illic (atque adeo in reliqua Italia) obiter videnda tantum sunt, non in aures, minus in animum admittenda". On the use of Ulysses as example, see Doiron, *L'art de voyager*, pp. 21-26 and Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey*, pp. 70-71. See also ILE 98 09 30 M (= *Cent. Ital.*, 59) where Lipsius wishes his friend Nicolaus Micaultius a stay that is *iucunda*, *honest* and *fructuosa*, and ILE 98 12 28 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 63), where Lipsius warns his pupil Thomas Segetus urgently against Italian *vitia* and *luxus*.

¹³⁶ Cf. ILE 99 01 03 (= *Cent. Germ.*, 48) to Johannes ab Hollant: "Iter etiam omne tuum et emansio brevis sit. Biennium si impendis, satis est; ac longior mora oblectare magis potest quam formare". See also ILE 00 03 01 R (= *Cent. Belg.*, II, 60) to Jean Richardot, President of the Privy Council of the Netherlands, concerning the education of his son Antoine: "Peregrinatio in Germaniam et Caesaris aulam mihi probatur, sic tamen ut non nimis diuturna sit. Loca et mores videat, linguam discat, ad nos redeat, sed Italia, Gallia (si voles et Hispania) obiter lustrata". For similar views in Georgius Fabricius (1516-1571) and Adam Siber (1515-1583), see again Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey*, pp. 69-71.

collection as a whole is to repeat the idea of Lipsius' presence-by-proxy in Rome. If he personally cannot travel to Rome, then he will at least be represented there by his works as well as by his students who will be ambassadors for himself and for his stoic programme of education. However, if Jehasse discerned in the *Centuria ad Italos et Hispanos* 'un message de la paix, de fraternité, d'unité, en rappelant sans trêve que, dans la société des hommes, Religion et Politique doivent reposer sur les bases universelles de la Morale' and a 'déclaration d'allégeance'¹³⁷, then the concluding letter of the collection suggests yet another interpretation¹³⁸.

This last letter offers an important key to a correct interpretation of Lipsius' attitude towards Italy in all its complexity. In it Lipsius thanks his pupil William Scarberger for not alarming him with the news of his illness, because he had already feared for his health and fate knowing as he does what can happen even to well-prepared, learned men such as Scarberger on such a long and precarious journey to Italy. In addition, he advises Scarberger not to stay too long in Rome, for he has travelled enough to gain 'enduring fruit' (*solidum fructum*) from the experience. Moreover, just as Lipsius himself, Scarberger is an only son and childless and has reached the age to start a family¹³⁹, so he must return to his homeland where his future lies. In this final letter, the two themes — Lipsius' *valetudo* and his stoic tutorship — are brilliantly combined to close his letter-collection. For, if Scarberger in the prime of his life nearly succumbed to disease on the long journey to distant Rome, how could Lipsius, in the autumn of his life, and suffering from poor health for the last ten years, be blamed for aborting his honest attempt to go to Rome? He could not have construed his excuse in a more ingenious way.

Besides, the stoic Lipsius himself had already gained 'enduring fruit' from Italy in his early days before returning definitively to his homeland to live there stoically committed to *legere, docere, scribere et cetera tranquillum et ab actione remotum esse*¹⁴⁰. Though he himself was

¹³⁷ Cf. Jehasse, *La Renaissance de la critique*, p. 417.

¹³⁸ Sc. ILE 00 09 07 S (= *Cent. Ital.*, 100), to Willem Scarberger, who was in Lipsius' *contubernium* in May 1597 (cf. ILE 97 05 27 HA), and returned after a short interruption in 1599 (ILE 99 09 03 S). After his studies he travelled to Italy from September 1599 until the end of 1600 (ILE 99 09 03 S; 00 12 29 S).

¹³⁹ Same argument in ILE 00 03 01 R (= *Cent. Belg.*, II, 60), to Jean Richardot: "Hic deinde ei sedes, uxor, dignitas sint, te conciliante".

¹⁴⁰ Cf. ILE 00 10 01 (= *Cent. misc. III*, 87).

deprived of descendants¹⁴¹ and his future was but short, Lipsius clearly indicated that his place of residence — after his own long odyssey — was and would always be Louvain, that ancient residence of the Muses¹⁴², that pure Roman Catholic refuge and safe haven situated between contagious regions¹⁴³, where he was leading a stable life as a Christian soldier with a tranquil mind and dedicating himself to God and to his studies¹⁴⁴. At any rate, these studies allowed him to travel in the mind without discomfort and danger. As he had already stated in his letter to Philippe de Lannoy, knowledge and wisdom were to be acquired by reading quietly at home¹⁴⁵. When, writing to Pigafetta, the Italian translator of his *Admiranda*, Lipsius calls him one of the most eminent scions of Italy, because his various and multiple travels (*peregrinatio varia et multiplex*) are complemented by vast erudition (*lectio multa*), Lipsius wishes above all to be instructed by Pigafetta's books and letters, so that he can travel with him by reading in the comfort of his own house¹⁴⁶.

While Lipsius in earlier years wanted to become an Italian citizen, his intended journey to Italy in the Holy Year was clearly meant to be a

¹⁴¹ In three other letters, next to ILE 00 09 07 S (= *Cent. Ital.*, 100), Lipsius gives voice to the fact that his marriage remained childless, namely in ILE II, 84 02 28 (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 1): “me reliquit unum et ultimum Lipsiorum”, in ILE 00 11 16 R (= *Cent. Germ.*, 72): “Liberos tamen nullos genui nec hunc coniugii fructum aut lenimentum Deus dedit”, and in ILE 03 07 05 O (= *Cent. misc. V*, 31): “Etsi proprie mea Lipsiorum stirps defecit et ego ultimus sum huius gentis”.

¹⁴² Cf. ILE 97 08 07 R (= *Cent. Ital.*, 53), to Johannes Ramírez de Arellano: “Lovanium, veterem illam Musarum sedem”. Same expression in Lipsius' letter to Marcus Welsler, cf. ILE 91 11 13 W (= *Cent. Germ.*, 7): “veterem sedem nostram et Musarum, Lovanium”.

¹⁴³ Cf. ILE 95 05 27 M (= *Cent. Ital.*, 28), to Flaminius Morus: “Caput rei pietas, salva mihi est et (spero) erit, nec tu cense eam, ubi nunc sum, ambigam esse aut intutam. Lovanium mihi sedes, ipsum eius domicilium, arx, asylum. Quidquid turbatum in his locis, haec firmiter stetit et vicina omnis contagio aerem hunc non infecit”.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. ILE 99 01 29 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 62), to Antonio Possevino: “Publice ostendisti quid de me et religione mea sentire; quae postrema attestatio pergrata mihi fuit. Nec eius poenitentiam ages, ita Deus me servet. Sum enim et ero in veteribus militiae sacrae castris nec transfuga umquam ad novitates ulla ibo. Tranquillo animo hic vivo, Deo et studiis me consecrans”.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. ILE I, 78 04 03 (= *Cent. misc. I*, 3): “Ad scientiam te nunc eadem manu duco. Quam mirere fortasse, quod peregre quaeram, cum domi illi sedes potius; et haec litterarum studia quiete secretoque magis gaudeant, quam motu aut discursu... Et de libris quidem, nemo it negatum quin domi habeantur tractenturque melius”.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. ILE 00 07 31 (= *Cent. Ital.*, 93): “Hoc etiam, te talem amare atque adeo colere inter eximios Italiae foetus. Non enim lectio tibi solum multa, sed peregrinatio dedit, varia et multiplex, ut audio, per Europae nostrae atque etiam Asiae oras. Faveo. Tu nobis privatim et publice, id est, me ama, me cum aliis doce”.

brief visit only¹⁴⁷ — partly to reassure his fellow-countrymen, partly not to give too much vain hope to his Italian friends. Moreover, when his pupil Erycius Puteanus in 1603 was making enormous efforts to obtain for his teacher and for himself the honorary title of Roman citizen, Lipsius wrote to his student that he would not refuse the title because of the name of Ancient Rome contained in it, but if Puteanus was having to lobby in order to get that mark of honour, he definitely forbade him to insist, because the game was not worth the candle¹⁴⁸, and only true immortality, virtue, and wisdom were worth to be cared about¹⁴⁹.

So, it appears that Lipsius stoically resigned himself to his fate in the Netherlands and that his attachment to his homeland — a feeling already eloquently professed in his *De Constantia*¹⁵⁰ — increased during the last years of his life¹⁵¹. More important to him, however, was the *justification* of his *image*. Louvain, therefore was depicted as a Catholic and loyal town¹⁵², and his own return to his homeland held up as an example

¹⁴⁷ Cf. ILE 99 02 01 MO (= *Cent. Ital.*, 67): “ut otium sit Italiae ipsius et amicorum videndi. Atqui non domicili caussa, ne erres, sed pietatis primo, tum etiam animi caussa veniemus”; 99 02 01 ME (= *Cent. Ital.*, 68): “statui certo (Deus modo et vita velint) in Italiam vestram venire, non habitandi sed visendi et regustandi caussa”; 99 04 20 C (= *Cent. Ital.*, 70): “Nam percurrere Italiam nobis decretum tantum, non hercules insidere”; 99 03 27 B (= *Cent. Ital.*, 71): “O Deus mihi det caput illud Ecclesiae... vel eminus intueri et venerari, vos autem propius adire et alloqui”; 99 04 30 B (= *Cent. Ital.*, 73): “Statui... Italiam vestram et in eo urbem Dominam invisere, quo pietas me primum, sed et cupiditas aliqua (non nego) vos illustra orbis lumina videndi, invitat et trahit”.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. ILE 01 11 02 P¹ (= *Cent. misc. III*, 100). See also T. Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646), considéré spécialement dans l'histoire de la philologie belge et dans son enseignement à l'université de Louvain*, Université de Louvain. Recueil de Travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, 23 (Louvain - Paris - Bruxelles, 1909), pp. 5-6, who dates Puteanus' stay at Rome in 1603. I thank Prof. Dr. D. Sacré for drawing my attention to this fact.

¹⁴⁹ Also clearly stated by Lipsius in his *Ad Italos et Hispanos*, cf. ILE 96 07 21 P (= *Cent. Ital.*, 44), to Gabriele Paleotti: “Eo sane iam veni et Deus, aetas, iudicium hoc mihi dederunt, ut vana aut curiosa multa studiorum incipiam spernere et animum oblectare maxime aut pascere iis quae propria animi sunt, id est, quae Virtutem, Sapientiam et ipsam immortalitatem spectant”.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. J. Lipsius, *De Constantia*, I, 10: “aliam mihi esse magis definitam et peculiarem patriam, cui arcano quodam naturae vincolo propius obstringor. Nisi censes vim nullam esse laciendi et attrahendi in natali illo solo, quod primum corpore isto pressimus, pedibus institimus, cuius aërem hausimus, in quo infantia nostra vagiit, pueritia luit, iuventus exercita et educata est. Ubi familiare oculis caelum, flumina, agri, ubi longa serie cognati, amici, sodales et tot gaudii illecebrae, quas frustra terrarum alibi quaeram”.

¹⁵¹ Cf. ILE 02 10 22 R (= *Cent. misc. IV*, 39), containing Lipsius' answer to Franciscus Raphelengius, who had written to Lipsius about his *peregrinatio* in Italy and Germany. Cf. Jehasse, *La Renaissance de la critique*, p. 202.

¹⁵² Cf. ILE 00 09 08 BA (= *Cent. Ital.*, 95), to Cardinal Cesare Baronio: “quia Lova-

to be followed by his itinerant pupils, destined for leadership and public service under the Spanish crown¹⁵³, and educated by Lipsius in accordance with the stoic ideal of service to the state and to humanity¹⁵⁴.

To conclude, the letter-collection which Lipsius dedicated to Cardinal Borromeo is a sophisticated and polysemic piece of apologetic autobiography. By the arrangement of the letters and the careful revision of their contents, it operates at different levels, which allow Lipsius to modify his existing public *persona* and attune it not only to the expectations of his contacts in Italy but also to those of the Spanish authorities in his homeland. It transpires that many apparent contradictions or inconsistencies match Lipsius' self-presentation with his self-preservation perfectly. Just as he stated poetically to his friend Janus Lernutius, that we are compelled to search for (the true magnificent) Rome in (the contemporary) Rome¹⁵⁵, so

nium nostrum et inter vetustissimas Brabantiae urbes est et religionem veram et priscam semper (quod non aliae) habuit illibatam, videtur mereri praerogativam istam ut sacri illius beneficii publicatio illic instituat^{ur}".

¹⁵³ Cf. ILE 00 01 02 H (= *Cent. Belg.*, II, 31), letter to Otho Hartius concerning the education of the sons of Jean Richardot: "Egi cum eo [*i.e. Richardot*] de filiis nuper et dixi quod ipsa res est, ex re eorum fore ut peregrinarentur. Aetas iam adest et paullatim admovendi sunt quisque ad munia, quo pater destinavit. Ego urbe hac tota teste possum dicere bene, modeste, industrie eos se gerere et gessisse, sed nempe nec in beatorum insulis inclusum sedere me iuvet, et alacri huic adolescentiae plura et plures videndi sunt. Absit ut tanti sit unus Lipsius, nec vel immortalitatis lege Circe retinuit Ulysses. Eant, videant, prudentiae atque etiam auctoritatis aliquid absentia colligant, tum ad nos redeant, patrem oblectent, patriam iuvent". See also Lipsius' letter to William Scarberger, ILE 00 12 29 S (= *Cent. Belg.*, I, 61): "Diu hercules peregrinari te, non ego auctor, et Platoni propior sim, vetanti cives a sua Republica diu abesse, imo (nisi in certa aetate) abesse. Etsi turbae tamen nostrae caussam vel praetextum absentiae praebent, sed quando sedandae? Exul aetatem a patria sis vereor, si tranquillitatem et quietem apud nos exspectas. Apud te, apud te potius, mi Scarbergere, et animo sic componere, ut gaudium et quies tibi ex te sit, cetera ut flumen censeas labi". Lipsius makes the same point in an unpublished letter to his former student Michael Kerll who is staying in France, cf. ILE 00 12 19 K (original copy kept at Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms. Lips. 3(8), f. 37): "Diu haerere te in Gallia nec res tuae suadent, ut ais, nec ego consuadeo. Peregrinatio velut mercatura quaedam est et ut illi navigant, quaerunt, properant, sic te non nimis sistere velim, sed onusta quod satis sit hac mentis tuae (liceat ita dicere) navi in patriam, id est ad te et tuos redire. Gallia si hanc hiemem te habeat, aestatem Italia, et tua deinde Sparta. Hanc inside, hanc veteri verbo cole, tibi tuisque utilis, quod Deum precor, et eundem ductorem omnis itineris tui et tutorem".

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, p. 33.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. J. Lipsius, *Elegia ad I. Lernutium De Urbe Roma*, v. 21-22: "In Roma quaerere Romam / Cogimur", in: *Iusti Lipsi Musae Errantes. Ex Auctoris schedis partim descripsit, sparsas collegit ac iunctim posteritati edidit Fr. Sweertius* (Antwerp, 1610), pp. 11-12; cf. Papy, 'La poésie de Juste Lipse', p. 185, nr. 5, with interpretation in Id., 'Justus Lipsius, Rome en de Romereis', pp. 119-126. For the topos of Lipsius' quest for

we are — apparently — to find the true Lipsius in what remains of him in his 'Roman' letters.

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Rome in Rome going back to Celio Calcagnini, Janus Vitalis and Du Bellay, see Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey*, pp. 103-104 and 133.

José SOLÍS DE LOS SANTOS

DOS CARTAS DESCONOCIDAS DE JUSTO LIPSIO Y
OTRAS SEIS QUE LE ATAQUEN EN LA CORRESPONDENCIA
DE LORENZO RAMIREZ DE PRADO (1583-1658)*

En el manuscrito 2598 de la Biblioteca General de la Universidad de Salamanca existen testimonios de un breve intercambio epistolar mantenido entre 1604 y 1605 por Justo Lipsio (1547-1606) y dos jóvenes eruditos del círculo salmantino. Estas cartas no fueron recogidas en el estudio y edición de la correspondencia entre Lipsio y los españoles que

* Este artículo ha recibido la ayuda del proyecto PS91-0106 de la DGICYT.

Se utilizarán las siguientes abreviaturas: *BHN* = Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova sive Hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD ad MDCLXXXIV floruerunt*, I-II, ed. F. Pérez Bayer (Madrid, 1783-1788); *BLH* = J. Simón Díaz, *Bibliografía de la Literatura Hispánica*, I-XVI (Madrid, 1950-); *CSEL* = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*; *CTC* = *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*, ed. P. O. Kristeller et al., I-VII (Washington, 1960); *DBI* = *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, I-XXXVIII (Roma, 1960-); *DHEE* = *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España*, eds. Q. Aldea et al., I-IV (Madrid, 1975); *Epistolario* = A. Ramírez, *Epistolario de Justo Lipsio y los españoles (1577-1606)* (Madrid, 1966); *EurHum* = *L'Europe des Humanistes (XIV^e-XVII^e siècles)*, coord. J. F. Maillard et al. (Turnhout, 1995); *FamilRP* = J. de Entrambasaguas, *Una familia de ingenios: Los Ramírez de Prado* (Madrid, 1943); *HL* = *Humanistica Lovaniensia*; *ILE* = *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae*, I-VII and XIII (Bruselas, 1978-); *ILOpera* = *Iusti Lipsi Opera omnia*, I-IV (Antuerpiae, 1637); *JLAT* = J. Ruyschaert, *Juste Lipse et les Annales de Tacite: une méthode de critique textuelle au XVI^e siècle* (Turnhout, 1949); *MartHypom* = *Hypomnemata ad lib. Spectaculorum et quatuor primos epigrammaton M. Valerii Martialis, collecta ex schedis succisvis Domini Laurentii Ramirez de Prado* (París: M. Sonnius, 1607); *OLD* = *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1982); Otto = A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig, 1890); *PIR* = *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saeculi I, II, III*, eds. H. G. Pflaum et al. (Berlín, 1935-); *Quevedo* = L. Astrana Marín, ed., *Obras completas de don Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas*, I-II (Madrid, 1932); *Relaciones* = L. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la Corte de España, desde 1599 hasta 1614* (Madrid, 1857); *TLL* = *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, I-XI (Leipzig, 1900-).

Las referencias a las cartas del MS. se señalarán con el n° asignado en la descripción (1-80) seguido del folio correspondiente (f.); las de las cartas editadas en apéndice se señalarán con el número de orden (I-VIII) seguido de las líneas. Los autores clásicos según *OLD*. Debo agradecer a mis colegas C. Álvarez, L. Rivero y F. Socas sus interesantes observaciones y especialmente doy las gracias al prof. G. Tournoy, sin cuya información no habría podido realizar este trabajo.

Alejandro Ramírez realizó a partir de diversas fuentes impresas y manuscritas (*Epistolario*). Tampoco se encuentran recogidas en el inventario de la correspondencia del humanista flamenco que fue elaborado por Aloïs Gerlo y Hendrik Vervliet sobre todas las fuentes conocidas como base para realizar la edición crítica de la totalidad de sus cartas (*ILE*).¹

El MS. lleva por título ‘Epistolario Selecto de Diversos Varones’ pero se encuentra registrado en fichero bajo el nombre del autor que consta en su título original: ‘Epistolae D[omini] Laurentii Ramires de Prado’. Procede de la biblioteca del antiguo Colegio Mayor de Cuenca (Salamanca) y después estuvo guardado con el número de signatura 906 en la Biblioteca de Palacio² (Madrid) hasta el año 1954, fecha en que los manuscritos de los antiguos Colegios Mayores salmantinos que allí se custodiaban fueron transferidos finalmente a la biblioteca de la Universidad de Salamanca.³

Este MS. 2598 es un volumen de 280 x 180 mm., caja 240 x 140, y 198 hojas de papel con encuadernación y numeración correlativa por folios bastante posterior a la fecha de su composición. Excepto algunas páginas en blanco, está escrito por entero a línea tirada con letra humanística cursiva del siglo XVII. Tiene dos partes netamente diferenciadas: la primera, ff. 1-93, contiene copias de 80 cartas latinas de eruditos españoles y extranjeros sin un estricto orden cronológico; el resto, ff. 103-198, que está separado del epistolario por hojas en blanco, consiste en un índice digital con muescas longitudinales realizadas escalonadamente en el corte delantero de los cuadernillos. Cada una de las 22 muescas

¹ Cf. A. Gerlo - H. D. L. Vervliet, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse, 1564-1606* (Amberes, 1968); en la identificación de las cartas de Lipsio seguiré el sistema de orden inverso que se emplea en este *Inventaire*, que es también el de *ILE*, a saber, 27 enero 1604 = 04 01 27. Cf. también M. A. Nauwelaerts, ‘L’édition de la correspondance de Juste Lipse’, en *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis*, eds. J. IJsewijn - E. Kessler (Munich-Lovaina, 1973), pp. 433-436. Posteriores hallazgos de correspondencia lipsiana están mencionados en G. Tournoy - H. Peeters, ‘Five rediscovered letters of Ottavio Frangipani to Justus Lipsius, and the reworking of a letter by Lipsius’, in *In honorem Aloysi Gerlo*, eds. R. De Smet - H. Melaerts - C. Saerens, *Studia varia Bruxellensia ad orbem Graeco-Latinum pertinentia*, 4 (Leuven, 1997), pp. 247-57 (pp. 247-8).

² Las correspondencias entre las signaturas están en G. Fink-Errera, ‘A propos des Bibliothèques d’Espagne. Tables de Concordances’, *Scriptorium*, 13 (1959), 112-8 (p. 115, c. 2).

³ Para los catálogos publicados o no y demás estudios parciales de los fondos salmantinos, cf. P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 7 vols. (Londres - Leiden, 1989), IV, 598-599, donde no se describe el 2598 (*olim* 906 de Biblioteca de Palacio) por salirse del límite cronológico de este magno repertorio.

contiene 4 folios excepto la primera, la A, que tiene 9; casi todos están en blanco, salvo los primeros folios de cada letra. En este índice están distribuidos alfabéticamente apuntes de notas y citas abreviadas característicos de los cartapacios escolares o eruditos.⁴ Debido a esta condición de borrador, es muy posible que esta parte posterior del MS. sea autógrafa del propietario del códice, Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado (1583-1658);⁵ en cambio, la más interesante, las copias de las 80 cartas, se debe a dos manos diferentes del siglo XVII. Los dos *ductus* presentan el tipo de letra humanística cursiva y la primera de éstas (ff. 3-82) refleja una tendencia a una mayor cursividad. En muy pocas cartas hay anotaciones marginales, que a buen seguro estarían en el original, con abreviaturas de la obra clásica de donde procede la cita o sentencia incluida en ella.

Comoquiera que, salvo dos menciones puntuales que señalaré en su lugar, no se ha dado referencia alguna de este MS.,⁶ expongo a continuación una somera descripción interna sólo de la parte epistolar, con adición de identificaciones, testimonios y comentarios según los datos de que he podido disponer.

0: 'Epistolario Selecto / de Diversos Varones' (f. 2r). 'De la Biblioth^a del Colegio m^a de Cuenca. Epistolae / D. Laurentii Ramires / de Prado' (f. 3r).

1, ff. 3r-4r: 'Tardius rescribis ad Epistolas meas'. [Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado] a fray Pedro Ramírez.⁷

⁴ Sirva de muestra un apunte asentado en la letra *d* (f.121r): *divites ut nunc odio habebant litteras*. Douza in *Petronio* pag. 82.

⁵ La única monografía sobre este personaje fue incluida por Joaquín de Entrambasaguas en el estudio de referencia (*FamilRP*, pp. 40-126).

⁶ Así me consta por el envío de don Óscar Lilao Franca, bibliotecario de la BU de Salamanca, a quien agradezco sus gestiones al respecto. Ya di noticia de una de las cartas de Lipsio en J. Solís, 'El humanista extremeño Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, entre Céspedes y el Brocense', en *La recepción de las Artes Clásicas en el siglo XVI*, ed. E. Sánchez - L. Merino - S. López (Cáceres, 1996), pp. 671-8 (p. 675).

⁷ Pedro Ramírez, O.S.A., (Zafra, ca. 1565-1627); doctor en Escolástico y Expositivo; hasta julio de 1603 fue prior del convento de Sevilla, como se comprueba del encabezamiento de la carta 35, dirigida al mismo fray Pedro: 'Ord[inis] S[anc]ti Augustini priori Hispalensi'. Cf. A. Lordén, 'Los Agustinos en la Universidad de Sevilla', *Archivo Hispalense*, 6 (1944), 17-21. El convento de los agustinos estaba junto al Colegio Mayor de Cuenca, cf. Tomás de Herrera, *Historia del Convento de S. Avgustin de Salamanca* (Madrid, Gregorio Rodríguez, 1652), p. 235.

2, f. 5r-5v: 'Si quisquam est qui te, Lipsi'. (= IV) L. Ramírez a Justo Lipsio. [Salamanca, octubre 1604].

3, f. 6r: 'An non audacter ad me adeas, Delrio meo inducente?'. (= V) J. Lipsio a L. Ramírez. Lovaina, 3 febrero 1605.

4, ff. 6v-7r: 'Humanitati tuae summae in omnes bonarum literarum'. (= VI) L. Ramírez a J. Lipsio. Salamanca, 19 abril 1605.

5, f. 8r: 'Tuas mihi iucundissimas literas accepi, Laurenti'. José Esteve⁸ a L. Ramírez. Alicante, 1 junio 1603.

6, ff. 8v-9v: 'Bis positam crambem mortem esse'. L. Ramírez a J. Esteve. Valladolid, 27 julio 1603.

7, ff. 10r-11r: 'Prudens et incorruptus magistratus, Laurenti optime'. J. Esteve a L. Ramírez. Alicante, 1 septiembre 1603.

8, f. 11r-11v: 'Etsi paucis ab hinc diebus, Ill[ustrissi]me praesul'. L. Ramírez a J. Esteve. 5 noviembre 1603.

9, f. 12r-12v: 'Rupisti silentium et me inuidia'. Juan Luis de la Cerda⁹ a L. Ramírez. Madrid, 25 enero 1604.

10, f. 13r-14r: 'Soteria misisti amico a morbo recreato'. L. Ramírez a J. L. de la Cerda. Salamanca, 1 febrero [1604].

11, f. 14r-14v: 'Accepi nuperas tuas plenas acuminis'. J. L. de la Cerda a [L. Ramírez]. Madrid, 14 febrero 1604.

12, ff. 15r-16r: 'Binis tuis haec liberalitas est, unas do'. J. L. de la Cerda a [L. Ramírez]. Madrid, 24 septiembre 1603.

13, ff. 16r-17v: 'Gaudium par desiderio tuae gemmatae epistolae'. L. Ramírez a [J. L. de la Cerda]. Valladolid, 26 agosto 1603.

14, ff. 17v-18r: 'Adversae valetudinis causa qua fere semper'. L. Ramírez a J. L. de la Cerda. Salamanca, 8 diciembre 1604. [Respuesta a la carta 16].

15, ff. 18v-19r: 'Miraris quod hasce legis! immo ego'. L. Ramírez a J. L. de la Cerda. Salamanca, [noviembre 1604; es anterior a la 14 y a la 16.].

16, f. 19r-19v: 'Tuaene ad me post annum, εὐδαίμων ἢ δ'εἴμι'. J. L. de la Cerda a L. Ramírez. Madrid, 20 noviembre 1604. [Respuesta a la carta 15].

17, ff. 19v-20r: 'Miraberis, humanissime Laurenti, cur Latine scribam'. Gaspar Gutiérrez de los Ríos¹⁰ a L. Ramírez. Valladolid, [27] enero [1605].

⁸ José Esteve Juan, obispo de Orihuela (1550-1603); cf. *DHEE*, II p. 880.

⁹ Juan Luis de la Cerda, S.I. (1558-1643); cf. *DHEE*, II p. 1264; *EurHum* p.111; *BLH*, VII 7792-7818.

¹⁰ Gaspar Gutiérrez de los Ríos, profesor de Humanidades y de ambos Derechos; cf. *BHN*, I, 526, *BLH*, XI 3537, 429.

18, ff. 20r-21r: 'Miraberis, diserte Gaspar, cum Latine scribam'. L. Ramírez a G. Gutiérrez. Madrid, 30 enero [1605].

19, f. 21r-21v: 'Si culpa grandis fui obligationem meam differens'. (= I) Fernando [López] de Milán a L. Ramírez. [Valladolid, octubre 1604].

20, f. 22r: 'Litteris tuis, ut accepi et legi, statim visum'. (= II) J. Lippo a F. de Milán. Lovaina, 13 julio 1604.

21, ff. 22r-23r: 'Praevertissem officium et tuas praeoccupassem'. (= III) L. Ramírez a F. de Milán. Salamanca, 31 octubre [1604].

22, f. 23v: 'Postquam ex Salmantica concessi, vera patria'. L. Ramírez a Mons Avoer. Valladolid, 17 noviembre 1604.

23, ff. 23v-25r: 'Vis indigitem quam verum sit quod de te vel prima'. Monsavoerius a L. Ramírez. Salamanca, 14 noviembre 1604.

24, ff. 25r-25v: 'Invisissem te libenter praesertim cum nostro Gome-sio'. Dom[inus] Marianus a L. Ramírez.

25, ff. 25v-26r: 'Vt cognovi, Ill[ustrissi]me Princeps, obscuritate cuiusdam loci'. [L. Ramírez] al Conde de Lemos.¹¹ [Salamanca].

26, ff. 26v-28r: 'In animo habui, amantissime Michael, quotidie tibi'. [L. Ramírez] a Miguel [Vázquez].¹²

27, f. 29r-29v: 'Locum Martialis lib.1. Ep.3 inspexi; tecum sentio'. Martín Del Río¹³ a L. Ramírez.

28, f. 31r-31v: 'Quam magnam quamque ingentem ac incredibilem'. Ludovicus Locans a L. Ramírez. 30 septiembre 1601.

29, f. 32r: 'Quanto longior tanto mihi iucundior epistola'. [Miguel Vázquez] a [L. Ramírez]. Valladolid, 15 septiembre [1601].¹⁴

¹¹ Pedro Fernández de Castro (1576-1622); en esas fechas estaba en la corte, Valladolid; cf. O. H. Green, 'The Literary Court of the Conde de Lemos at Naples', *Hispanic Review*, 1 (1933), 290-308.

¹² Es probable que sea Miguel Vázquez de Padilla, S.I. (1559-1624), cf. *BHN*, II, 148-149; si es de quien había dicho en carta al también jesuita J. L. de la Cerda: 'P. Michaellem Vazquezium adibo et tuo nomine salutabo. Optavi iamdiu, quoniam eius doctrinam et mores suspicio et miror, locum vehementer rogare si adhuc amari vacabat' (14, f.18r). Que el remitente sea Lorenzo Ramírez, estudiante de Derecho, se infiere de lo que se dice en el exordio: 'Sum enim in labyrintho intricato legum extricando magnopere occupatus' (26, f. 26v). Si la 29 es respuesta de ésta, habría un *terminus ante quem* para su fecha.

¹³ Martín Antonio Del Río (1551-1608); cf. *EurHum* p. 146.

¹⁴ El año es la única deducción segura en esta carta, pues hay referencia a la malograda expedición naval contra Argel realizada el 1 de septiembre de 1601 (*Relaciones*, pp. 114-115). El *incipit* puede aludir a lo que se dice al final de la 26: 'Sed heus tu calamo ambitiosa recide ne nauseam longitudine moveas' (26, f. 28r). También hay en ésta una alusión a la juventud del destinatario: 'Merito mihi gratulor et tali adolescenti me devinctum et eodem amicitia coniunctum' (29, f. 32r); lo que inclina a suponer que se trata de L. Ramírez.

30, f. 32v: 'Illustris Domine, commisimus spectabili ac sincere nobis'. Maximiliano, duque de Baviera, a Alonso Ramírez de Prado.¹⁵ Munich, 16 mayo 1605.

31, f. 33r: 'Adhaeret mihi, iucunde Ludovice, tui tam eximius amor'. L. Ramírez a Luis Carrillo y Sotomayor.¹⁶ Valladolid, 21 septiembre 1602.

32, f. 34r-34v: 'Amicorum benevolentiam obsequio magis quam muneribus'. L. Ramírez a Cristóbal Medrano.¹⁷

33, f. 35r-35v: 'Ferunt, dilecte admodum amice, Pori regis victis'. L. Carrillo a L. Ramírez.

34, ff. 35v-36v: 'Ludovice iucundissime, non facile dixerim plusne voluptatis an doloris'. L. Ramírez a L. Carrillo.

35, ff. 38v-39r: 'Doleo vehementer ac saepe, R[everendissi]me P[ater], ultimam epistolam meam'. L. Ramírez a fray P. Ramírez. Valladolid, 20 junio 1602.

36, f. 40r: 'Quis non iucundum ducat tuis obtemperare'. De Gil González Dávila.¹⁸

37, f. 41r. 'Vltimis meis litteris quibus respondi illis quae meum Orientium'. L. Ramírez a J. L. de la Cerda. [Posterior a la 14 y anterior a la 39].

38, f. 42r: 'Ill[ustrissi]me D[omi]ne, vix Salmantica discessi quin iuste charam'. De Monsavoerius. Flores de Avila, 18 mayo.

39, f. 43r-43v: 'Vt tuas vidi ipsam dico inscriptionem ad me'. J. L. de la Cerda a L. Ramírez. Madrid, 13 mayo 1605.

40, f. 44r: 'Virum magnum toties litteris interpellare audacia magna'. (= VII) L. Ramírez a J. Lipsio. Salamanca, 15 mayo 1605.

41, ff. 45r-46r: 'Ill[ustrissime] D[omi]ne, Vix V[estrae] D[omina]tion[i] [s.l. tibi] fuerit persuasum quam omnia fere'. Monsavoerius a L. Ramírez.

42, f. 46r-46v: 'Haud quaquam verbis explicare possum quantum exhilaratus'. L. Ramírez a Monsavoerius. Valladolid, 10 junio 1605. [Respuesta a la 41].

¹⁵ Esta breve misiva de Maximiliano I (1573-1651), duque de Baviera, cuñado de Felipe III, al padre de Lorenzo (cf. nota *infra* 41) fue transcrita por Entrambasaguas cuando el ms. se hallaba en la Biblioteca de Palacio: 'Ms. 906 (fol. 30 vto. s.n.)' (*FamilRP*, p. 22, n. 3). Parece, pues, que la paginación actual se realizó ya en la BU de Salamanca. Asimismo, Entrambasaguas mencionó más adelante algunos correspondientes y anunció una próxima edición crítica del ms. que no llegó a producirse (*FamilRP*, p. 102, n.).

¹⁶ Luis Carrillo y Sotomayor (1583-1610); cf. *BLH*, VII, 5450-5466.

¹⁷ 'El doctor Medrano, catedrático de prima de Medicina de Salamanca, substituyó al Doctor Mercado como médico de Cámara' (18 diciembre 1611); cf. *Relaciones*, p. 459.

¹⁸ Gil González Dávila (1578-1658); cf. *BHN*, I, 5-6, *BLH*, XI, 1065-1179.

43, f. 47r-47v: 'Post natas Musas atque adeo erectam egregiam vereque'. Monsavoerius a L. Ramírez.

44, ff. 49r-50v: 'Averem ego et percuperem quidem saepe (si aude rem)'. Monsavoerius a [L. Ramírez].

45, f. 51r: 'Magnum virum literis interpellare praesertim quum nihil'. L. Ramírez a J. L. de la Cerda.

46, ff. 51v-52v: 'Trimestri fere languore ex morbo contracto tuis avidae'. Bartolomé Morlanes¹⁹ a J. L. de la Cerda. Zaragoza, 27 julio 1605.

47, ff. 53r-54r: 'Acre iudicium viri omni literarum genere politissimi'. L. Ramírez a Juan de Salas.²⁰

48, ff. 54r-54v: 'Postquam ex tuis ad Martinum Del Rium litteris cognovi'. L. Ramírez a García Pérez de Araciél.²¹ Salamanca, 13 agosto 1605.

49, ff. 55r-56v: 'Egregium opus ad me missum, clarissime et eruditissime vir'. G. Pérez de Araciél a L. Ramírez. [Respuesta a la 48].

50, ff. 56v-57r: 'Litterae tuae ita me exhilararunt (magna enim laetitia)'. L. Ramírez a G. Pérez de Araciél. Salamanca. [Respuesta a la 49].

51, ff. 58r-59r: 'Litterae tuae ita me exhilararunt ut levarent prorsus'. L. Ramírez a J. L. de la Cerda. Salamanca, 2 septiembre 1605. [Respuesta a la 52].

52, ff. 59r-60v: 'Lectae mihi tuae litterae cum incredibili voluptate'. J. L. de la Cerda a L. Ramírez. Madrid, 27 agosto 1605.

53, f. 61r-61v: 'Antonius Ramirez frater tuus natu maior'. Miguel de la Cerda a L. Ramírez. Valladolid, 31 agosto [1605].

54, ff. 61v-62v: 'Tam Schediasma meum magni facio cum illi sit datum'. L. Ramírez a M. de la Cerda. Salamanca, 2 septiembre 1605.

55, ff. 63r-64r: 'Causa quae in hoc foro agitabatur, cuius te animo'. G. Pérez de Araciél a [L. Ramírez].

56, ff. 64v-65r: 'Codicillo accepto vel inscriptione ita gaudio licuit frui'. L. Ramírez a [G. Pérez de Araciél]. Salamanca, 1 octubre 1605. [Respuesta a la 55].

¹⁹ Bartolomé Morlanes y Malo (1576-1649); fue Capellán Real de la iglesia del Pilar de Zaragoza; *BHN*, I, 199-200. El año de nacimiento se deduce de lo que afirma en otra carta de este MS: 'Quamvis non plus annis triginta natus sum' (61, f. 69r); cf. también *infra* nota 104. Sin precisión de ningún tipo G. de Andrés (nota *infra* 39) cita un fragmento de esta carta 46.

²⁰ Juan de Salas, S.I. (1553-1612); cf. *BHN*, I, 774.

²¹ García Pérez de Araciél y Rada (m. 1624), del Consejo de Castilla y fiscal.

57, ff. 65v-66v: 'Mi arte poetica, Sr mio, esta assentada a la diestra del olvido'. Francisco Cascales²² a Diego de Figueroa. Murcia, 14 septiembre 1605.

58, f. 67r: 'Iamdiu in animo habui te, amantissime Casaubone, litteris'. L. Ramírez a Isaac Casaubon.²³

59, ff. 67v-68r: 'Anxius fui et in magnas angustias animi adductus'. (= VIII) L. Ramírez a J. Lipsio.

60, f. 68v: 'Postquam e Salmantica discessisti, in ciuitatem Çamorensem'. De L. Ramírez²⁴. Salamanca, 18 octubre 1605.

61, ff. 69r-70v: 'Mirum est quam amica tua scriptio exhilararit munus'. B. Morlanes a [L. Ramírez]. Zaragoza, 5 noviembre 1605.

62, ff. 71r-72r: 'Humanitati tuae summae erga omnes bonarum litterarum'. L. Ramírez a B. Morlanes [Respuesta a la 61].

63, f. 73r: 'Quod illis prioribus tuis non responderim causa fuit'. Martín Del Río a L. Ramírez²⁵. Valladolid, 21 diciembre 1605.

64, ff. 74r-77r: 'Non ante creationem novi pontificis eiusdem'. Cardenal Baronio²⁶ a Felipe III. Toscolano, 13 junio 1605.

²² Francisco Cascales (1567-1642); cf. *BLH*, VII, 6112-6147. Cascales pidió autorización al Consejo Real para publicar un diálogo de preceptiva literaria titulado *Tablas Poéticas* (Murcia, 1617; con 'Aprobación' de J. L. de la Cerda, de 19 septiembre 1614); encomendaron su censura a la Universidad de Salamanca (24 IX 1604), y Baltasar de Céspedes emitió dictamen en abril de 1605; cf. Andrés (nota *infra* 39) p. 105. No es posible determinar si Cascales se refiere a esta obra suya mediante la expresión del *incipit*, o a su breve paráfrasis *Horatii Flacci De Arte Poetica in methodum redacta* (Valencia, 1639).

²³ Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614); cf. *EurHum*, p. 103.

²⁴ Dirigida a la persona a quien L. Ramírez ha recomendado ante Araciél (cf. 55 y 56) para un puesto en un colegio de Zamora.

²⁵ Años después L. Ramírez recordará un aserto de Del Río que aparece en esta misiva justo después del *incipit*: 'Quod opinarer amicitiam nostram adultiorem esse quam ut lacte [itte]ra[rum] velut infantula indigeret'. Está en una carta al cronista Andrés de Uztarroz, de 18 octubre 1648: 'Nuestra amistad como una vez me escribió el Señor Martín del Río: *non ita infantula est ut egeat lacte litterarum*' (*FamilRP*, p. 196).

²⁶ Cesare Baronio (1538-1607), cf. *DBI*, VI, 470-478. Carta de disculpa al rey de España por la polémica surgida con motivo de la publicación en el tomo XI de sus *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Roma, 1605) del dictamen acerca de los derechos políticos del papado sobre Sicilia. Dicho informe fue contestado por el cardenal Colonna, que estudió en Salamanca y debía su capelo a Felipe II. El informe y las cartas fueron publicados poco después, desaparecidos ya ambos cardenales, en: *Caesaris Cardinalis Baronii Tractatus de Monarchia Siciliae. Accessit Ascanii Cardinalis Columnae de eodem tractatu iudicium. Cum eiusdem Cardinalis Baronii responsione Apologetica adversus Cardinalem Columnam et Epistola ad Philippum III Regem Hispaniae* (Parisiis: Apud Hadrianum Beys, 1609), pp. 229-239. Hay una traducción de Francisco de Quevedo realizada en 1621 ('Carta del Cardenal César Baronio a Felipe III, rey de España, tocante a la monarquía de Sicilia'; cf. *Quevedo I*, pp. 1151-1152) que sigue estrechamente las pocas variantes y omisiones observadas en esta copia respecto a esa versión impresa en París.

65, ff. 77v-82r: 'Obtulisti mihi ex Hispania redeunti undecimum'. Cardenal Ascanio Colonna²⁷ a C. Baronio.

66, f. 82v: 'Quas ad me Kal[endis] Iulii dedisti Salmanticam'. Martín del Río a F. López de Milán. Valladolid, 28 diciembre 1605.

67, f. 83r-83v: 'Ego tibi ut non rescripserim? tu, ut hoc credas?'. J. L. de la Cerda a L. Ramírez. Madrid, 6 mayo 1606.

68, f. 84r-84v: 'Scio quanti amorem erga te facis, teste non opus est'. L. Ramírez a J. L. de la Cerda.

69, ff. 84v-85v: 'Iterum lacesso, iterum eadem chorda oberro'. L. Ramírez a J. L. de la Cerda. Salamanca, 20 mayo 1606.

70, f. 86r: 'Binis tuis quas accepi modico intervallo, unas do'. J. L. de la Cerda a L. Ramírez. Madrid, 27 mayo 1606.

71, f. 86v: 'Quid quid quaeritur optimum videtur'. L. Ramírez²⁸ a Roberto de Scheilder. Salamanca, 28 octubre [1606].

72, f. 87r: 'Quod factitare debueram usque nunc distuli'. F. López de Milán a L. Ramírez. Lisboa, 1 julio 1605.

73, f. 87v-88r: 'En iterum appareo, vix aliter moram purgaturus'. B. Morlanes a L. Ramírez. Zaragoza, 24 septiembre 1606.

73bis, f. 88r-88v: 'Epitaphium Iusti Lipsii quod sibi poni voluit: Quis hic sepultus quaeris? ipse edisseram'. [Este epitafio aparece en *ILOpera*, I, p. IX; cf. nota *infra* 104].

74, f. 88v: 'Ereptus viae incommodis, e meis redditus, nihil prius habui'. R. de Scheilder a L. Ramírez. Madrid, 1 noviembre 1606.

75, f. 89r: 'Nunquam fui credulus illis (Ill[ustrissi]me D[omi]ne mi) vel Graecis'. Monsavoerius a L. Ramírez.

76, f. 89v: 'Cum vicinus meus ad te iret, nolui hoc epistolium'. R. de Scheilder a L. Ramírez. Madrid, 9 noviembre 1606.

77, f. 90r-90v: 'Iam schediasma meum magni facio cum illi sit datum'. L. Ramírez a M. de la Cerda. [Copia de la 54].

78, ff. 90v-91r: 'Vt vidi epistolam tuam, vir nobilissime, non continui me'. I. Casaubon a L. Ramírez. París, 31 agosto 1606.

²⁷ Ascanio Colonna (1560-1608), cf. *DBI*, XXVII, 275-278. Esta carta lleva el mismo epígrafe que en su publicación citada: Asconii Card[in]alis Columnae eorum quae Caesar Card[in]alis Baronius de Siciliae Monarchia scripsit Iudicium; cf. *C. Baronii Tractatus de Monarchia Siciliae* (nota 26), pp. 149-161; algunas variantes observadas implican una fuente distinta del impreso parisino.

²⁸ Parece una nota de mano, firma y rúbrica del propio L. Ramírez, según la comparación con otro autógrafo reproducido en *FamilRP*, p. 76. Su destinatario, que aparece en vocativo 'Roberte Scheldiere', es el mismo remitente de 74 (Scheilder) y 76 (Schelder).

79, ff. 91v-92v: 'Mi arte poetica Sr mio esta assentada en la diestra del olvido'. De F. Cascales. [Copia de la 57, sin destinatario ni data].

80, f. 93r: 'Decrevi ego amicitiam nostram omni quo possum officii'. Joannes Bodecker²⁹ a L. Ramírez. [París], 1 agosto 1606.

Como queda de manifiesto en la descripción precedente, el emisor o destinatario de la mayoría de estas cartas es don Lorenzo Ramírez Prado, que fue miembro de varios Consejos Reales desde los últimos años de Felipe III y durante todo el reinado de Felipe IV.³⁰ Su gestión política más relevante fue la embajada especial ante Luis XIII de Francia llevada a cabo entre febrero y mayo de 1628, con el objetivo, entre otros más concretos,³¹ de ahondar las desavenencias entre franceses e ingleses. En lo que atañe a la historia de la literatura, este alto funcionario de los Austrias, propietario de una de las más copiosas bibliotecas particulares de la época,³² no pasó de ser un jurista con una curiosa e interesada afición a las bellas letras y a la práctica de la erudición filológica. Merced a su posición política se desenvolvió, como mecenas más que como autor, en el mundillo literario de la época más insigne de las letras españolas. Es mencionado elogiosamente por algunos escritores contemporáneos, entre ellos Cervantes y Lope de Vega, y existe un buen número de impresos de la época en los que este docto consejero firma las 'Aprobaciones' o es destinatario de elogiosas dedicatorias.³³

Pero su fortuna posterior no fue tan halagüeña, pues su actividad literaria está empañada de matices oscuros que ensombrecen la discutible

²⁹ Es el portador de las cartas 58 y 59 (= VIII 14); cf. nota *infra* 106.

³⁰ Primero del Consejo Real de Nápoles (1617), luego, del de Indias (1626), del que fue decano hasta 1654, y también del Supremo de Castilla (1642); cf. 'Los miembros y funcionarios del Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias. 1524-1700', en E. Schäfer, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias*, I (Sevilla, 1935), p. 358, n° 104.

³¹ Se conserva documento de un informe de esta embajada en BN Madrid, ms. 2360, f. 82: 'Negociaciones sobre la villa de Zuccarello en las diferencias entre Saboya y Génova, con arreglo a las ofertas hechas, en nombre de Luis XIII, a don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado'; cf. *Inventario general de MSS. de la Biblioteca Nacional*, 11 vols. (Madrid, 1962-), VI, 383.

³² Cf. A. Rodríguez-Moñino, *Catálogo de libreros españoles (1661-1798)* (Madrid, 1942), pp. 13-20. El inventario de su librería fue transcrito y publicado por J. Entrambasaguas, *La biblioteca de Ramírez de Prado*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1943).

³³ Cf. *FamilRP*, pp. 90-103, y *BLH*, III 1906, 1996; IV 204; V 3281; VII 178, 460, 3242, 7024; VIII 3867, 3868; XII 1544. Sobre las 'Aprobaciones', informes eruditos que debían ser impresos en todos los libros que se publicaban en territorio de la Corona Española, cf. en general J. Simón Díaz, *El libro español antiguo: Análisis de su estructura* (Kassel, 1983).

validez de su exigua producción y la estima por su persona. Se le consideró responsable de la denuncia y prisión de Francisco de Quevedo, por haber compuesto en verso castellano una réplica al famoso memorial a Felipe IV 'Católica, sacra y real Magestad', y por haber pedido la pena de muerte para el ilustre poeta.³⁴ Sus dos ediciones comentadas de autores y obras apócrifas fueron un lamentable ejemplo de la plaga de 'Falsos Cronicones' que enmarañó la historiografía española durante todo el siglo XVII.³⁵ Su única publicación escrita en castellano, *Consejo y Consejero de Príncipes* (Madrid, Luis Sánchez, 1617), obra por la que tiene la gloria de sumarse al amplio elenco de tratadistas hispanos *de re publica*, no es más que una versión de los libros III y IV del *Thesaurus politicorum aphorismorum* del jurista de Lieja Iohannes Chokier (1571-1656);³⁶ la traducción de Ramírez, si bien está comentada con un estilo lacónico verdaderamente insufrible, va notablemente aligerada del nutrido aparato erudito del original.

Y en lo que respecta a su producción netamente humanística, un comentario del *Liber Spectaculorum* y de los cuatro primeros libros de Marcial y una obra de varia erudición que intituló *Pentecontarchos*,³⁷ se

³⁴ Cf. *Quevedo*, II, p. 1580, n.1. La réplica de L. Ramírez, en Madrid BN Ms. 17.477, fue editada por Entrambasaguas (*FamilRP*, pp. 199-211). En realidad, pesaba sobre Quevedo la acusación de andar en contactos con agentes de Richelieu; cf. J. H. Elliot, 'Nueva luz sobre la prisión de Quevedo y Adam de la Parra', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 169 (1972), 171-82 (p. 180).

³⁵ *Juliani Petri Archipresbyteri S. Justae Chronicon cum eiusdem adversariis et de Eremitariis Hispanis brevis descriptio et variorum carminum collectio ex bibliotheca Olivariensi desumpta* (París, L. Sonnius, 1628). *Luitprandi subdiaconi Toletani Ticinensis diaconi tandem Cremonensis episcopi Opera quae extant. Chronicon et adversaria nunc primum in lucem exeunt; P. Hieronymi de la Higuera Societ. Iesu Presbyteri D. Laurenti Ramírez de Prado Consiliarii Regii notis illustrata* (Amberes, B. Moretus, 1640). L. Ramírez se sirvió de su influencia ante el Conde-Duque de Olivares para utilizar esas fantasías eruditas que el falsario Román de la Higuera no había osado publicar; cf. J. Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones de la Historia (en relación con la de España)* (Barcelona, 1992), p. 180.

³⁶ La obra de Chokier (Roma, Bartholomaeus Zannettus, 1611) está precedida (fol. [b. 6]) de una carta de Lipsio (*ILE* 05 05 11), inspirador de la *doctrina civilis* de la época, animando a su autor a la publicación: 'Fac, imo perforce, et Thesaurum illum tuum Politicorum Aphorismorum divulga'.

³⁷ Los *Hypomnemata ad Martialem* de L. Ramírez de Prado (= *Marthypom*) fueron incluidos con paginación independiente precedida de la edición del texto completo: *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammatum libri XV* (París, Michael Sonnius, 1607); cf. J. Solís (nota 6), p. 673, n.19; este comentario fue insertado en la edición compuesta de Marcial impresa por el mismo M. Sonnius (París, 1617); cf. *CTC* IV p. 260. El *IIENTHKON-TAPXOΣ* sive *quinquaginta militum dvctor D. Lavrenti Ramirez de Prado stipendiis condvctvs* (Antverpiae, Ioannes Keerbergius, 1612), fue reeditado un siglo después por el

le ha discutido y regateado su auténtica autoría, que queda degradada al plagio sistemático cuando no a la apropiación más descarada. En efecto, ya desde la misma publicación de los *Hypomnemata* Ramírez se vio envuelto en polémica y litigio con otros comentaristas de Marcial;³⁸ y posteriormente, diversos estudiosos intentaron atribuir a su profesor de latín, Baltasar de Céspedes (c. 1555-1615), la verdadera autoría de estos comentarios.³⁹ Asimismo, se han esgrimido diversos argumentos para asignar a Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas (1523-1600) no sólo la parte doctrinal y erudita del *Pentecontarchos*, sino incluso su misma redacción.⁴⁰

Con tan infame historial de plagiarlo y falsario cabría sospechar de la autenticidad de estas cartas cuyas únicas copias se han conservado en este MS. que fue de su propiedad, sobre todo cuando leemos en éstas que el mismo Lipsio promete al joven Lorenzo Ramírez unos apuntes que le sirvan a su labor de comentario sobre Marcial (V 19). Sin embargo, como iremos viendo, es en la misma obra de Lipsio, a saber, en una epístola suya y en su comentario póstumo de Tácito, donde existen pruebas inequívocas de la autenticidad, al menos, de estas dos cartas inéditas suyas.

pionero de la bibliografía clásica: *Observationes selectae in varia loca Novi Testamenti, sive Laurentii Ramiresii de Prado Pentecontarchos, Alex. Mori in Novum Foedus notae, et Petri Possini... Spicilegium evangelicum... praemissa praefatione Jo. Alberti Fabricii* (Hamburgi, C. Liebezeit, 1712).

³⁸ Lo cual es el argumento central en F. R. Hausmann, 'Martialis, M. Valerius', en *CTC* IV, 249-96 (pp. 290-1). Por contra, sólo señala las conjeturas sin ahondar tampoco en otras interesantes digresiones del comentario F. Fortuny Previ, 'Los humanistas y el Libro de Espectáculos de Marcial', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 58 (1996), 631-42.

³⁹ Estos argumentos han sido expuestos detalladamente por G. de Andrés, *El Maestro Baltasar de Céspedes, humanista salmantino y su Discurso de las Letras. Estudio biográfico y edición crítica* (Madrid, El Escorial, 1965), pp. 172-78; la 'valiosa noticia que trasluce de la carta de Bartolomé Morlonio (sic) a J. L. de la Cerda: 'Nescio quid de Martiali ibi excudendo a Cespede audiui, vel a tuo amico D. Laurentio Ramirez de Prado, <qui> his sui ingenii abunde specimen praebet' (46, f. 52v). Pero en este MS. también hay otras noticias que habrá que considerar cuando se estudie la intervención del joven Ramírez en las 374 pp. del erudito comentario que salió con su nombre.

⁴⁰ Los argumentos en contra de la autoría de Ramírez fueron desarrollados en las notas de Gregorio Mayáns en su biografía del Brocense: *Francisci Sanctii Brocensis Opera omnia, una cum ejusdem scriptoris Vita; authore Gregorio Maiansio generoso Valentino*, 3 vols., (Ginebra, Apud Fratres de Tournes, 1766), I, 102-108. Con más cautela se expresa dejando la cuestión en suspenso J. M. Liaño Pacheco, *Sanctius el Brocense* (Madrid, 1971), p. 80.

Lorenzo Ramírez es el segundo hijo del licenciado don Alonso Ramírez de Prado (c. 1550-1608), jurista que alcanzó notable posición bajo Felipe II y que en esas fechas ocupa un puesto muy relevante en la administración de Hacienda en la corte de Felipe III (IV 21-24).⁴¹ En los años que abarca este epistolario, estaba terminando los estudios de Leyes en la Universidad de Salamanca, ciudad en la que residía (IV 20-21). Ha sido alumno del Brocense, y más directamente del yerno de éste, Baltasar de Céspedes.⁴² Es un joven brillante, lleno de iniciativas y proyectos, que se cartea en latín con eruditos y personalidades del clero y la judicatura. En esta última etapa de sus estudios, asiste a las clases de Martín Antonio Del Río, quien estaba como profesor de Sagrada Escritura en esa universidad desde 1603. Con el jesuita belga entabla estrecha amistad (IV 11-15) y, como testimonio de su aprecio, tiene la iniciativa de costear una segunda edición revisada de los poemas de San Oriencio,⁴³ que Del Río había dado a conocer por primera vez en Amberes en 1600. Con un ejemplar de esta publicación salmantina obsequió a Lipsio en su carta de presentación, reconociendo al mismo tiempo su aportación en el

⁴¹ Finalmente don Alonso se verá envuelto en el proceso por malversación de caudales públicos seguido contra el secretario Pedro Franqueza, y morirá en prisión; cf. J. Jude-rías, 'Los favoritos de Felipe III. Don Pedro Franqueza, conde de Villalonga, secretario del Estado', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, III s., 12 (1908), 322-24. El castigo también alcanzó a su hermano mayor, Antonio (cf. carta 53), por lo que Lorenzo tuvo que asumir la defensa de los intereses familiares, dándose así un giro radical en su vida. En efecto, en este epistolario no hay ninguna carta posterior a la fecha de la detención de su padre (26 diciembre 1606).

⁴² De ambos maestros declarará en su comentario a Marcial: 'Franciscus Sanctius Brocensis (...) quem mihi contigisse Magistrum in his humanioribus literis semper gloriabor' (*MartHypom*, p. 235, ad Mart.3.24.2). 'M[agistro] Baltasaro de Cespedes (...) praeceptore meo, cuius auspiciis hoc onus [sc. *Hypomnemata ad Martialem*] meis humeris imponere sum ausus' (*MartHypom*, p. 33, ad Mart.1.2.2).

⁴³ Cf. R. Ellis, *Orientii Carmina*, in *CSEL* 16, pp. 191-262. A San Oriencio se identifica como obispo de Elvira, y por su origen hispano atrajo el interés del joven Ramírez. En carta al jesuita J. L. de la Cerda, Ramírez señala explícitamente su ayuda económica (*meo aere*): 'Ecce tibi mitto praesulem Illiberritanum Sanctissimum virum, poetam suo aevo illustrem ac suavem, monitorem acrem et denique Hispanum nostrum, qui rubigine tectus et situ antehac obsitus lucem vidit diligentia et industria M. Antonii Delrii, viri apprime docti. Hic ad nos venit et in Salmanticensi Collegio vestrae Societatis commoratur. Gaudet socii, gaudet Salmantica et ego gaudeo, qui cum eo [sc. *Delrio*] arctam amicitiam inii et, ut symbolum [*sic*] darem, meo aere typis libellum hunc mandavi' (15, f. 18v). La edición financiada por Ramírez es: *Sancti Orientii episcopi Illiberitani Commemorativum, iterum emendatum ac notis secundis illustratum a Martino Delrio S. J. Presbytero* (Salmanticae, Ex artium taberna Arti Taberniel Antuerpiani, 1604). En la breve prefación que hace de ésta, fechada en Salamanca, 'XV. Kal. Octobreis MDCIV', señala por error que la *ed. pr.* fue en Lovaina, quizás por estar las cartas de presentación de Del Río firmadas en esa ciudad (cf. R. Ellis, en *CSEL* 16, 196-197).

comentario (IV 16-17). Con esta carta se adjuntaba otra misiva de Martín Del Río en la que recomendaba a su joven benefactor (IV 14-15). Esta carta de M. Del Río a la que se hace clara referencia no se ha detectado, pero sin duda fue la que motivó la respuesta de Lipsio a su viejo amigo en la misma fecha que la enviada a Lorenzo Ramírez, 'Lovaina, III Nonas. Febr. 1605'⁴⁴. El *incipit* ('Mirati fuimus in silentio tuo') ya muestra que hacía tiempo que no tenía noticias suyas; le habla de otras cartas anteriores perdidas, le refiere las novedades de su entorno académico, y le da cuenta de sus nuevas publicaciones; también da un repaso a los recientes asuntos que ha tenido con sus corresponsales españoles, pues Del Río se encuentra en Salamanca:

Sed heus, *Ramirezius* ille egregius: & scripsi; est etiam (sileo alios)
D. *Franciscus de Quevedo*, qui litteras iterat sane argutas & litteratas.
Credo *Pincium* illum agere. E tuis ibi redamo P. *Michaellem Vasquez*,
& corde saluto.

Es evidente que ese *Ramirezius* al que Lipsio considera tan destacado y al que ha escrito por los mismos días que la segunda carta a Quevedo (ILE 05 01 25) no puede ser otro que Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado,⁴⁵ y la carta, ésta que he editado en el apéndice (V).

Pero el breve intercambio epistolar del humanista flamenco que se halla en este epistolario había comenzado con una consulta acerca de un pasaje del libro III de *Annales* de Tácito. Su discusión es la única cuestión de crítica textual que tratan estas dos epístolas inéditas de Lipsio y las diversas interpretaciones habrían de motivar el amplio comentario *ad locum* que está reflejado en su magna edición póstuma del historiador romano.

A comienzos del otoño de 1604, Lorenzo Ramírez había recibido la solícita carta de su condiscípulo Fernando de Milán.⁴⁶ Este joven

⁴⁴ La carta, *Inventaire* (nota 1), ILE 05 02 03, p. 379, cuyo contenido completo conozco gracias a G. Tournoy, fue publicada en Pieter Burman, *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum tomi V* (Leidae, Samuel Luchtmans, 1727), I, 552, epist. 528.

⁴⁵ Alejandro Ramírez (*Epistolario*, p. 176, n. 245) reconoce no poder identificar a este *Ramiresius*; también citó el estudioso homónimo un fragmento de esta misma carta (05 02 03) en el con que Lipsio alude a la fría acogida que recibieron dos obras suyas, *Manuductio* y *Physiologia*, por parte de los próceres españoles a los que se las dedicó (*Epistolario*, p. 384, n. 495). Por otra parte, ese jesuita que Lipsio recuerda a Del Río, tal vez sea Miguel Vázquez de Padilla (cf. carta 26).

⁴⁶ El primer apellido de este joven portugués, amigo y cliente de la familia Ramírez de Prado, López o Lopes, aparece en las cartas 66 y 72. Del Río latiniza en 'Milanio' (66, f. 82v).

portugués reconoce la inmensa deuda que tiene con su padre don Alonso, quien además de prodigarle toda clase de favores lo ha acogido en su círculo familiar (I 15-17). Es por eso que conoce y trata a los hermanos menores de Lorenzo,⁴⁷ a los que alaba con exagerada adulación y fácil ingenio (I 20-23).⁴⁸ Esta relación que tantos beneficios le reporta la debe a su amigo Lorenzo, a quien profesa el mayor afecto (I 17-20) y a quien declara admiración por su altura intelectual mediante tópicos usuales (I 8-9). Le pide, pues, su interpretación de un pasaje de Tácito, autor que está traduciendo al portugués⁴⁹ y cuya lengua con frecuencia le resulta impenetrable (I 5-6). Se decidió a consultar directamente a Lipsio⁵⁰ sobre algunas dudas, pero su respuesta no lo ha convencido (I 7-8). Por tal razón, le manda la carta de Lipsio (I 7) y le expone por completo el fragmento en cuestión (I 10-14), sin hacer, no obstante, comentario alguno del punto concreto donde radica su duda: todo lo confía a la luz de la apolínea inteligencia de su amigo (I 14), que sabrá interpretar la respuesta que le ha enviado Lipsio o, en todo caso — parece sugerirle al final de la carta (I 27-28) —, podrá recurrir al profesor Del Río, dada la vieja amistad y afinidades intelectuales que unen al jesuita belga con su ilustre paisano.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Alfonso, Marcos y Juan, que nacieron en 1589, 1592, 1594 respectivamente; cf. *FamilRP*, p. 127 y 139. Por el trato directo que dice tener con los Ramírez de Prado es posible que esta carta sin data haya sido enviada desde Valladolid.

⁴⁸ A Marcos y a Juan, de 12 y 10 años de edad, los compara con los evangelistas homónimos (I 25). Este tono exageradamente elogioso que Milán prodigaba en sus cartas exasperaba a Martín Del Río, quien llegó a decirle en una breve carta cuya copia se conserva en este MS.: 'Unum offendit animum meum, laudes inmodicas praeberi mihi: conscius sum tenuitatis meae et curtae suppellectilis sapientiae. Si me amas, abstine deinceps' (66, f.82v). E igualmente contaba a L. Ramírez: 'Ille [*sc. Milanius*] sui similis immodice me laudat: hoc mihi in l[itte]ris eius molestum fuit et peto absteineat' (63, f. 73r).

⁴⁹ Ramírez animó a su amigo a dar a la imprenta esta traducción lo antes posible (III, 37-39) mediante una expresión ('operis excudendum tradere') que vemos repetida en el prólogo de la edición de San Oriencio que costeó (cf. *CSEL* 16, 197). Desgraciadamente, ni de esta anunciada traducción portuguesa de Tácito, ni tampoco de su traductor ha quedado testimonio alguno en los repertorios habituales; Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana historica, critica e chronologica*, 4 vols. (Lisboa, 1752), III, 232, recoge un inédito, *Cornelio Tacito traduzido em Portuguez*, debido a Manoel Correa, corresponsal de Lipsio (ILE XIII, 00 06 01 C [= *Cent. ad Italos et Hispanos*, epist. 99]; *ILOpera*, II, p. 318b).

⁵⁰ Es evidente que Milán estaría siguiendo para su traducción el texto de alguna de las ediciones que la gran autoridad en la materia tenía ya hasta esa fecha publicadas; en ninguna de éstas, todas ellas anteriores a la póstuma de 1607, aparece comentado el pasaje en cuestión: *alia parente geniti* (*Ann.* III 68,2), como podemos asegurarnos gracias al exhaustivo estudio de J. Ruysschaert (*JLAT*, p. 179, Corr. 213).

⁵¹ Cuando las tropas de D. Juan de Austria ocuparon Lovaina después de la batalla de Gembloux, los bienes y libros de Lipsio fueron salvados del saqueo gracias a la interven-

El pasaje pertenece a *Annales* III 68,2, en el punto en que se recoge el parecer del augur Gneo Léntulo acerca de la condena de Gayo Junio Silano⁵². Léntulo propone que los bienes maternos del reo, ‘como había nacido de otra madre’ (*quippe alia parente geniti*), sean excluidos de la confiscación y reintegrados al hijo:

Tum L. Pisonem sententiam rogat. ille multum de clementia principis praefatus aqua atque igni Silano interdicendum censuit ipsumque in insulam Gyarum relegandum. eadem ceteri, nisi quod Cn. Lentulus separanda Silani materna bona, quippe alia parente geniti, reddendaque filio dixit, adnuente Tiberio.

La breve respuesta que Lipsio dio a la consulta de Fernando de Milán sobre este pasaje (I 7-8) está fechada en Lovaina, a 13 de julio de 1604 (II 14). El humanista flamenco responde con amabilidad y prontitud, no sólo porque tal acto de cortesía es necesario en la comunidad universal del saber y la cultura, sino sobre todo porque la carta viene de lejanas tierras y está escrita por un estudioso de Tácito (II 3-6). Por estas mismas razones, responderá gustosamente a otras dudas que le exponga (II 12-13). Acerca de la dificultad planteada, aunque admite que la cuestión es enrevesada (II 11-12), Lipsio supone ‘que Silano tuvo madre y madrastra; que la madrastra le había legado sus bienes en su mayor parte, como suele suceder, por congraciarse con el marido, o bien por haber sido seducida por el carácter y las atenciones de Silano, aunque tuviera un hijo. Por consiguiente, sentencia entonces Léntulo que estos bienes se separen y se dejen para el hijo de la madrastra’ (II 7-10). Lipsio desconoce quién pudo ser ese hipotético hijo de la no menos hipotética madrastra de Silano (II 11).

La hipótesis de la madrastra, bastante plausible teniéndose en cuenta la tradicional endogamia de la clase dirigente romana, apareció por primera vez en los comentarios que Curzio Pichena había incluido ya en su primera edición de Tácito de 1600.⁵³ Curzio Pichena (1550-1629),

ción personal de Martín Del Río, jurista en ese ejército (cf. su carta a Del Río, Amberes, 4 marzo 1578, en *ILE*, I, 78 03 04). Más tarde, y después de ingresar Del Río en los jesuitas, desempeñará un importante papel en la conversión de Lipsio al catolicismo (cf. carta a Del Río, Maguncia, 14 abril 1591; en *ILOpera*, II, p. 631); cf. J. Kluyskens, ‘Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) and the Jesuits, with four unpublished letters’, *HL*, 23 (1974), 244-70 (p. 247).

⁵² Cónsul del año 10 d.C. (*PIR*² I, n° 825, pp. 348-9). Silano fue procesado *de repetundis* por su proconsulado de Asia del año 20/21, y el senado lo acusó también *de maiestate*; cf. D.C.A. Shotter, ‘The Trial of C. Junius Silanus’, *Classical Philology*, 67 (1972), 126-31.

⁵³ *Curtii Pichenae... Ad Cornelii Taciti Opera Notae, iuxta veterum exem-*

secretario del Gran Duque de Toscana, había colacionado el *Mediceus Prior* (Laur.plut.68.1), única fuente para los primeros libros de *Annales*, que habían sido publicados por primera vez en 1515 por Filippo Beroaldo el Joven. Entre los dos eruditos existía buena sintonía y contacto fluido, y así, ‘en novembre 1600, Lipse est déjà en possession de la première édition des *Notae* de Pichena’ (*JLAT*, pp. 33-4, n.5), como se deduce de la carta a Baltasar Moreto (*ILE* XIII, 00 11 04) donde manifestaba la satisfacción que le producía comprobar que se ratificaban muchas de sus conjeturas realizadas sobre el texto divulgado a partir de la *ed. pr.* de Beroaldo.⁵⁴ De estas notas de Pichena extrajo Lipsio la hipótesis de la madrastra, según reconoce él mismo en su edición póstuma de 1607, que luego veremos, y se puede comprobar también en posteriores ediciones.⁵⁵ Pichena entendió que los ‘bienes maternos’ serían los de la verdadera madre de Silano, que debían separarse de los de la madrastra para devolverse a Silano hijo en calidad de herencia de la abuela paterna. Lipsio llevó más lejos la hipótesis al suponer un hijo de la supuesta madrastra, el cual casi habría sido desheredado por su verdadera madre (II 9-10). Sea como fuere, habría quedado sin resolver el punto central de la duda del joven lisboeta: la causa por la que los bienes maternos del reo fueron excluidos de la confiscación.

Lorenzo Ramírez expone su conjetura a este pasaje en dos cartas de muy distinto tono: en la respuesta a su amigo Milán (III) y en la primera que envía a Justo Lipsio (IV). Cabe la posibilidad de que Ramírez no llegase a enviar esa respuesta, ya que, según lo que escribe a Lipsio, el debate sobre el pasaje de Tácito se desarrolla durante una visita que le hace el joven lisboeta (IV 29: *cum ad me venisset*), y que éste le había anunciado (I 25-26: *coram — amplexus*); tal vez, redactada ya la respuesta, recibió la visita, evitando así dar a conocer un escrito que contenía juicios tan diferentes de los que manifestaba en las otras cartas. Pues en la carta a su amigo, Lorenzo Ramírez rechaza con arrogancia

plarium collationem, [Hanouiae], Apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium et Jo. Aubrium, 1600. Otras ediciones de Pichena en *JLAT*, p. 33, n.4.

⁵⁴ ‘Illud mihi delectationi, et paene dicam gloriae, vel centenis locis comprobari ab eo coniecturas nostras, quas solo ingenio duce, et timide saepe, ponebamus’ (*JLAT*, p. 139, n. 2) = *ILE* XIII, 00 11 14M.

⁵⁵ Así en la *editio maior* de J. F. Gronovius: *C. Cornelii Taciti Opera quae exstant*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, D. Elsevirius, 1672), I, 395-396: ‘*Materna bona quippe alia parente*] Distingue, Silano fuisse matrem et novercam. Materna bona intelligit verae matris, quae a bonis novercae separanda essent, ac Silani filio tanquam aviae ipsius paterna bona reddi. *Pichena*.’

(III 9-10) otras interpretaciones que se habían hecho sobre el controvertido pasaje: la ya mencionada de Pichena (III 9); la de Lipsio (III 10-11), cuyo conocimiento sólo pudo haberle llegado por la carta que su amigo le dio a leer (IV 30); y la de don Baltasar de Álamos y Barrientos (1556-1644). Esta interpretación del pasaje *alia parente geniti* iba inserta en la traducción de las obras de Tácito que Álamos había entregado al censor ya en 1594,⁵⁶ y si bien no llegó a ser impresa hasta 1614, sin embargo fue su propio autor el primer interesado en su divulgación; pues siendo Álamos defensor y recalcitrante partidario del secretario Antonio Pérez, introdujo en su comentario paralelismos en los que bajo Sejano aludía a su defendido y bajo Tiberio a Felipe II.⁵⁷ No es de extrañar, pues, que Lorenzo Ramírez hubiese podido conocer estos inéditos de cuya difusión, por lo demás, existen otros testimonios.⁵⁸ Transcribo esta interpretación de la traducción española reproduciendo el juego de referencias del hermoso impreso en que ésta finalmente apareció:⁵⁹

Lo mismo uotaron los demas; sino que Gneyo Lentulo que añadio, que los bienes de Silano de parte de su madre se apartassen [de los demás] (por que avia nacido de otra madre) y se boluiesen a su hijo [+ della]; consintiendo en ello Tiberio [por señas].

+Anadido, porque se entienda este passo, y de que bienes habla y de que hijo, y de quien se avian de dar. Y con todo tiene dificultad. Mas esto es lo mas sufrible, aunque se podia enmendar y que dixese a Alio parente, de otro padre. Y por esto, los bienes de la madre, como bienes de otra familia se bolvian a ella.

Como ya he apuntado arriba, la interpretación de Lipsio (II 7-10) recoge elementos de la hipótesis de Pichena (no son confiscados los bienes de la verdadera madre de Silano, que se reintegran a su nieto), para

⁵⁶ Según se declaraba en la 'Aprobación' de Antonio de Covarrubias, quien fue uno de los más antiguos corresponsales españoles de Lipsio; cf. *Epistolario*, p. 32.

⁵⁷ Cf. G. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1948), I, 291. Antonio Pérez también fue corresponsal de Lipsio (*Epistolario*, p. 306).

⁵⁸ Así, el ms. escurialense K.II.11 contiene una copia de finales del siglo XVI de la traducción de Álamos de los cinco primeros libros de Tácito; cf. J. Zarco Cuevas, *Catálogo de los manuscritos castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1926), II, p. 164. Y también Quevedo, en la soflama *España defendida y los tiempos de ahora*, que él mismo fechó a 20 de septiembre de 1609, se hace eco del aún inédito *Tácito español*: 'Cornelio Tácito vergüenza hace a Lipsio y los demás comentadores, rico con los comentarios y traducción de don Baltasar de Álamos' (*Quevedo* I, p. 295).

⁵⁹ *Tácito español ilustrado con aforismos por don Baltasar Alamos de Barrientos* (Madrid, Luis Sánchez, 1614), p. 180.

coincidir con la de Álamos (no son confiscados los bienes de la madrastra de Silano, que se reintegran al hijo de ella), aunque éste no intenta explicar por qué Silano habría heredado los bienes de su madrastra, como hace Lipsio con cierto pintoresquismo (II 8-9). Las tres suponen, a partir de *alia parente*, 'otra madre', la existencia de una madrastra del reo Silano, que es lo que rechaza Lorenzo Ramírez (III 11-13).

Su conjetura consiste en una ligerísima enmienda (III 8, IV 33): *alta parente*, que resulta bastante aceptable desde el punto de vista paleográfico.⁶⁰ La sustenta con la siguiente interpretación: 'Mediante estas palabras, *de una egregia madre*, Léntulo subraya la razón por la cual dictamina que los bienes maternos de Silano debían ser devueltos al hijo del mismo Silano, sin duda porque había nacido de una sangre egregia por parte de madre, y no era justo que el delito del padre perjudicara al hijo en la herencia de su abuela, siendo suficiente castigo quedar perjudicado en el resto de los bienes' (III 15-19, IV 36-38). Mediante esta sencilla enmienda, refuta la hipótesis de la madrastra y al mismo tiempo recalca con la interpretación (*nempe* III 16, *scilicet* IV 37) que el hijo a quien se reintegran los *materna bona* es el del propio Silano.

Lipsio respondió a la conjetura de Ramírez ciñéndose a la literalidad del texto transmitido, en el que no admite otra interpretación que la que había dado en su carta al portugués (II 7-10); y si hay que descartar la hipótesis de la madrastra, preferiría, para enmendar la lectura *alia*, que se hubiese dicho más expresivamente *tali* o *illa parente geniti* (V 16-17).

Estos titubeos hermenéuticos habrían de quedar desarrollados en el comentario *ad loc.* de su magna edición de Tácito publicada un año después de su muerte:⁶¹

ALIA PARENTE GENITI] Certa haec implexa. Pichena interpretatur, Silano fuisse matrem et novercam. Materna autem bona intelligi, verae matris, quae separanda a novercae ac filio danda ut aviae paternae. Ego caussae nihil video, cur bona matris non fuerint Silani hic

⁶⁰ F. R. D. Goodyear, *The Annals of Tacitus*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1981), II, 468, en su comentario *ad loc.* y en referencia de la conjetura de Madvig, *Atia*, señala que 'I for t is a more plausible corruption'. Al respecto, no hay novedad en la última edición de A. J. Woodman - R. H. Martin, *The Annals of Tacitus. Book 3* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁶¹ Cf. *C. Cornelii Taciti Opera quae exstant. Iustus Lipsius postremum recensuit: Additi Commentarii aucti emendatique ab ultima manu. Accessit C. Velleius Paterculus cum eiusdem Lipsii auctoribus notis* (Antverpiae, Ex off. Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum, 1607), pp. 100-101, n. 169. Reimpresiones posteriores (1627, 1648) conservan la misma paginación.

rei: et simul igitur cum paternis, pari iure, confiscanda.⁶² Mihi semper aliquid occulti vulneris in hac scriptura visum, et sententiam affirmare paene audeam, etsi vix scripturam. Sed haec quoque fortasse fuerint: *quippe tali parente geniti*, vel, *quippe illâ parente*, per admirationem.⁶³ Enimvero Lentulus separari materna bona per honorem voluit, et respectu illius parentis: quae ex Augusto sanguine scilicet esset. Hoc in Silanis verum est: et Tacitus noster libro XIII *Silanum abnepotem Divi Augusti* facit et Plinius, *Divus Augustus neptis suae nepotem genitum vidit, quo excessit anno*. Stemma tamen seriatim hoc texere difficile sit.⁶⁴ Quod si in lectione nihil mutas, tum ego interpretari capiar, Duas matres Silano huic reo fuisse, veram et novercam. Noverca autem bona maxima ex parte Silano reliquerat, in gratiam mariti, vel obsequiis, ut fit, privigni capta. Nunc censet Lentulus separanda ea bona quippe cum *non ea parente genitus esset*, sed adventicia illa, et ex indulgentia data, filio item indulgenda.⁶⁵ Haec dixerim, nec mihi firma aut proba, ut praemisi. Scripsit ad me ex Hispania vir doctus, in veteri libro se legisse: *quippe alta parente*. quod ad nostrum illum sensum faciat, sed mallet aliud verbi.

En el último párrafo de este amplio comentario de su edición póstuma, vemos que Lipsio constata otra lectura en un *vetus liber* que le comunicó un erudito español al que no nombra.⁶⁶ Gracias a estas cartas

⁶² En efecto, el propio Tácito explica los motivos por los que, en otros casos (cf. *Ann.* III 18,1, 23,2 y XIII 43,5), se concedió la exención de la confiscación de bienes de los condenados.

⁶³ Ésta es la conjetura que expuso en la carta a Lorenzo Ramírez (V 17).

⁶⁴ El parentesco de los *Iunii Silani* con Augusto (Tac. *Ann.* 13.1.1; Plin. *Nat.* 7.58) procede de una rama diferente de la de este Junio Silano condenado (cf. el árbol genealógico de los *Silani* en *PIR*² I, p. 351): otro M. Junio Silano (cos. 19 d. C.; cf. *PIR*² I 839, p. 357) se había casado con Emilia Lépidia, hija de Julia Menor, nieta de Augusto. Con anterioridad a estas cartas, Lipsio ya había manifestado la dificultad de elaborar un stemma completo y fidedigno: 'Crebra in historia horum temporum mentio Silanorum, et confusa: quae cautio mihi est, ne turbet iuventutem. Ea re, non stemma quidem eius familiae ponam (arduus ille est et fortasse vanus labor)'; cf. *Iusti Lipsi ad Annales Cor. Taciti liber commentarius variis in locis utiliter auctus* (Antuerpiae, Ex off. Plantiniana apud Ioan. Moretum, 1600), p. 180. Sobre el stemma cf. *ILE* XIII, 00 01 14 M.

⁶⁵ Ésta es la interpretación que, casi al pie de la letra, presentó en la carta a Fernando de Milán (II 7-11). El supuesto de otro matrimonio del padre del Silano reo, llamado también *C. Iunius Silanus*, está descartado por la moderna prosopografía (cf. *PIR*² I 824, p. 348).

⁶⁶ Acerca de la identidad de este *vir doctus*, J. Ruysschaert apuntó al único correspondiente de Lipsio del entorno salmantino: 'Il s'agit sans doute de M. Sarmiento de Mendoza' (*JLAT*, p. 179, n. 4). En efecto, Manuel Sarmiento de Mendoza había enviado a Lipsio dos copias de sus propias correcciones al texto de Tácito: 'Duo exemplaria emendationum Taciti mittimus' (*ILE* XIII, 00 01 11; *Epistolario*, p. 283, n.º 70), pero Lipsio no aceptó ninguna de sus propuestas, y su nombre no reza en el comentario póstumo. Es más, una frase que Lipsio había sospechado interpolada en su edición de 1585 (Tac. *Ann.* II 30: *scilicet — quaereretur*) y cuya eliminación Sarmiento había apoyado taxativamente

inéditas, tenemos la evidencia de que ese *vir doctus* fue Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, quien podría haber dado en el blanco sin haber apuntado mucho.

En efecto, muy pronto la crítica empezó a sospechar que la lectura *alia parente*, transmitida en el *Mediceus Prior*, aun entendiéndose *alius* como *dissimilis in bonam partem* (cf. OLD, s.v. *alius*¹, 1.b), encubriría por deturpación el nombre de la *gens* de la madre del condenado. Ésta de ningún modo se podría relacionar con el parentesco con Augusto aducido en el comentario de Lipsio, ya que este proceso judicial se llevó a cabo en el año 22 d.C., cuando el primer Silano tataranieta de Augusto tendría unos ocho años de edad.⁶⁷ Así, Hugo Grotius había conjeturado *Mallia*, fundándose perspicazmente en el nombre de la hermana del condenado, Junia Torcuata, que suplicó a Tiberio una atenuación del castigo (Tac. *Ann.* III 69,5-6).⁶⁸ Pero esta conjetura no justificaba por sí misma la exención de los bienes maternos de la confiscación, y por otra parte, el cognomen *Torquatus* entre los *Iunii Silani* databa de mucho antes.⁶⁹ En busca, pues, de una madre de mayor alcurnia con el mínimo cambio textual, J. N. Madvig, refutando al mismo tiempo la innecesaria atetesis de la frase conjeturó *Atia parente*, quien sería la hermana más joven de la madre de Augusto; esta *Atia*, después de la muerte de su primer marido, *L. Philippus*, se habría casado con Gayo Junio Silano, el cónsul del año 10 d.C., padre del condenado.⁷⁰ Finalmente, la conjetura aceptada por la mayoría de los editores modernos es *Appia*, por cuanto la madre del Silano reo, pertenecía a la rama patricia de los Claudios, que era la de Tiberio, según se infiere del doble *praenomen* del que se ha

(ILE, XIII, 00 01 11; *Epistolario*, n° 70, p. 289), aparecerá restituída sin comentario alguno en la edición póstuma (JLAT, p. 129, n.4, y p. 175, Corr.107). Pero sería un argumento de peso para esta atribución que en aquella época era corriente la falta de escrúpulos en usurpar conjeturas e interpretaciones ajenas (JLAT, p. 146).

⁶⁷ En tal caso la conjetura habría sido *Iulia parente*, ya apuntada por Joh. Caspar Freinsheim (1608-1660), según el comentario *ad loc.* de la edición de Gronovius (nota 55), I, p. 396.

⁶⁸ 'Lentulus vult ipsius filio servari bona in honorem Manliae sive Malliae gentis'; según el comentario de la edición de Gronovius (nota 55), I, p. 396b.

⁶⁹ El cognomen de los *Manlii* entre los *Iunii Silani* proviene de la adopción de un hijo de *T. Manlius Torquatus* (cos. 165 a.C.) por *D. Silanus* (cf. Cic. *Fin.* I 24), lo que ya anotó Lipsio *ad Ann.* III 76,2, en su *Ad Annales Taciti liber commentarius* (nota 64), p. 98.

⁷⁰ La conjetura de Madvig (*Adversaria critica ad scriptores Graecos et Latinos*, 3 vols. [Hafniae, 1871], I, 148, n. 3) estuvo apoyada por Ronald Syme, 'Personal Names in *Annals* I-VI', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 39 (1949), 8-9.

identificado como hijo del reo, *C. Appius Iunius Silanus* (cf. *PIR*² I 822 p. 347), para el que, con la anuencia de Tiberio, se consigue la devolución de los bienes de su abuela en ese ambiente de adulación servil (cf. Tac. *Ann.* III 65,3) en que transcurre el debate.⁷¹

En las dos cartas en que Lorenzo Ramírez expone su conjetura, aduce la lectura de un viejo códice (IV 33) que declara poseer y haber consultado para ello (III 20-21); más aún, en su epístola a Lipsio, se permite recordar al propio humanista que él mismo había enseñado a respetar los viejos pergaminos (IV 39-40). En efecto, Lipsio, en la carta fechada en Lovaina, a 14 de marzo de 1600, en respuesta a la ya mencionada de Manuel Sarmiento de Mendoza (1580-1650), por entonces teólogo en Salamanca, había censurado el excesivo afán de éste por corregir el texto transmitido en los manuscritos:

Nam scalpro aut cultro nimis interdum indulgere mihi visus, nec ausim sic recidere veteres omnes membranas.⁷²

Esta carta fue publicada en la selección de cartas a italianos y españoles de Amberes, 1601, y Lorenzo Ramírez, que leía con asiduidad la correspondencia de Lipsio (IV 8-11),⁷³ podría haber extraído esta afirmación de esa primera edición, o acaso mejor de la misma carta original, que debió de ser divulgada en los círculos académicos salmantinos por expresarse en ella un encendido elogio del Brocense (*ILE* XIII, 00 03 14; *Epistolario*, nº 72, pp. 294-295). Refuerza la posibilidad de un conocimiento de primera mano el hecho de que la disposición del contenido de la carta que Sarmiento de Mendoza había enviado a Lipsio, que quedó inédita hasta el siglo XVIII (cf. *Epistolario*, nº. 70, pp. 280-284), guarda una semejanza más que casual con la que enviará Lorenzo Ramírez: ambas comienzan con la declaración de aprecio por Lipsio en la que no faltan las conversaciones con los amigos; ambas presentan un regalo que en el caso de la de Sarmiento resulta ser las dos copias con observaciones y conjeturas sobre el texto de Tácito, cuestión de crítica que

⁷¹ Cf. U. Weidemann, 'C. Silanus Appia parente genitus. A note on Tac. *Ann.* 3,68,3', *Acta Classica* 6 (1963), 138-145.

⁷² Cf. *ILE* XIII, 00 03 14 [= *Epistolarum selectarum Centuria singularis ad Italos et Hispanos*, epist. LXXXIX]; Ramírez, *Epistolario*, pp. 294-297, nº 72; *ILOpera*, II p. 315b.

⁷³ En el catálogo de su biblioteca constan dos asientos de epístolas lipsianas: 'Quatro Centurias de las Epístolas 1602', 'Tres Centuria 1601'; cf. Entrambasaguas (nota 32), II 20.

también aparece en la carta de Ramírez. Con todo, esta referencia a un viejo códice de un texto clásico de cuyo único manuscrito pronto pudo saberse que no se hicieron copias directas,⁷⁴ y del que tampoco hay transmisión indirecta,⁷⁵ tiene todos los visos de ser una argucia de Lorenzo Ramírez para reforzar, ante Lipsio y también ante su compañero Milán, esta conjetura suya, que igualmente está por ver si no la cazó al vuelo en algún encuentro académico con alguien de más enjundia.⁷⁶ Resulta extraño, por lo demás, que Ramírez no haya vuelto a mencionar en su escasa obra crítica esta sencilla y, por qué no admitirlo, ingeniosa conjetura, máxime cuando el avisado estudiante no perdió ocasión de incluir cualquier tipo de digresión erudita en el comentario de Marcial que por entonces estaba preparando.⁷⁷ Por ejemplo, otro pasaje de Tácito (*Ann.* XV 55,2) que con profusión de citas y testimonios de la literatura romana y griega discute con De la Cerda en este epistolario inédito (12 y 13, ff. 15v-16r) está puntualmente desarrollado en su comentario de Marcial (I 42.3: *mortem non posse negari*, en *MartHypom.*, p. 77). Las repeticiones de giros y citas en estas cartas suyas

⁷⁴ Desde luego que a Lipsio no se le escapó la singularidad del denominado *Mediceus Prior*: en su *Liber commentarius* de 1600 señalaba *ad Tac. Ann.* II 9: 'Flumen Visurgis interfluebat] namque quinque hi primores libri inventi Corbeiae, quod monasterium ad Visurgim est; atque illinc depromptum vere hunc thesaurum quaeestor quidam Pontificius ad magnum Leonem detulit' (nota 64), p. 45. Y en *Dispunctio notarum Codicis Mirandulani ad Cor. Tacitum* (Amberes, J. Moretus, 1602), pp. 8-9, exclamaba en la crítica de la prefación: 'Codicem illum tuum advocas, quorum unice unicum in tota Europa exemplar esse hactenus audimus; id Leoni Decimo (...) oblatum in Corbeiensi monasterio ad Visurgim repertum, servat etiam nunc incluta illa Bibliotheca Medicaea'. Cf. también *JLAT*, p. 139.

⁷⁵ Sobre la transmisión del texto de *Tac. Ann.* I-VI, cf. R. J. Tarrant, en L. D. Reynolds, ed., *Texts and Transmission* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 406-7; y también R. W. Ulery, jr., en *CTC*, VI, pp. 87-174 (pp. 89-97).

⁷⁶ En las bibliotecas españolas no se ha detectado ningún manuscrito con la primera parte de los *Annales*; cf. L. Rubio, *Catálogo de los manuscritos clásicos existentes en España*, Madrid, 1984; el BN Madrid ms. 8748, sólo contiene el libro I y parece copia del siglo XVIII, cf. F. Sanmartí Boncompagni, *Tácito en España* (Barcelona, 1951), p. 20. Existen algunas traducciones impresas que demuestran todas una clara procedencia del *textus vulgatus*, como la de Álamos ya citada y la de Antonio de Herrera (*BLH*, XI 4693), *Los cinco primeros libros de los Annales de Cornelio Tácito* (Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1615), f. 61r: 'como nacido de otra madre'.

⁷⁷ El único y breve 'apunte filológico' sobre el texto de Tácito (*Ann.* III 50) incluido en el *Pentecontarchos* de L. Ramírez (nota 37) f. 184, ha sido estudiado por B. Antón Martínez, *El Tacitismo en el siglo XVII en España. El proceso de 'receptio'* (Valladolid, 1991), p. 87. Fuera del comentario filológico están sus opúsculos *Tessera legum* (Madrid, Luis Sánchez, 1616) y *Schediasma epistolare de liberalibus studiis* (Amberes, B. Moretus, 1644 y 1649).

también ponen de manifiesto que tuvo que haber un motivo de mayor importancia que el simple olvido para la supresión de esta sencilla conjetura sobre el texto de Tácito.

Lipsio refutó precisamente el caso de la aportación de un códice desconocido en la diatriba que lanzó contra Pompeyo Lampugnano⁷⁸, quien había publicado unas polémicas notas a la luz de un supuesto manuscrito de Tácito:

Tu aut tui si alterum [*sc. codicem manuscriptum*] habent, cur non proferitur? cur tu in his Excerptis non aliquid addis, mutas, corrigis, quod operae pretium videatur? Nam pauxilla quae suggeris (res mox dicet) ea sic inepta et absona sunt, ut fidem omnem Codici, et iudicium tibi, demant. Satis de illo, in quo φοινικόν τι latere, dies etiam revelabit.⁷⁹

Todo, pues, hace apuntar a que L. Ramírez, cayendo en la cuenta de haber ido demasiado lejos con la apelación a la lectura de un manuscrito apócrifo, prefirió dejar correr un velo de silencio sobre su conjetura al comprobar que ésta había sido dejada en el anonimato por aquél cuya memoria no osaría empañar con mezquinas reclamaciones de una discutible autoría.

Además, en la carta a Lipsio, Lorenzo Ramírez se abstiene de recurrir al argumento estilístico de la imitación de Virgilio por parte del historiador. Aduce que la lectura de su viejo códice, *alta parente geniti*, tiene reminiscencias de la expresión *alto sanguine ortus* (III 22-23), que aparece repetidamente en *Eneida*.⁸⁰ El motivo de la ausencia de esta

⁷⁸ *Iusti Lipsii in Cornelium Tacitum Notae cum manuscripto cod. Mirandulano collatae a Pompeio Lampugnano* (Bergamo, 1602); cf. *JLAT*, p. XI y G. Tournoy - J. Papy - J. De Landtsheer, *Lipsius en Leuven. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 18 september - 17 oktober 1997*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 13 (Leuven, 1997), pp. 69-72, no. 14.

⁷⁹ Cf. *Dispunctio* (nota 74), p. 3. Este opúsculo de Lipsio fue encuadernado con paginación independiente en todas sus ediciones de Tácito posteriores. Nótese también que Lipsio se refiere a la fuente de la que el *vir doctus ex Hispania* le manda su conjetura como *liber* (cf. nota 66), vocablo que permite una acepción más amplia que *codex* o *membrana*, explícitamente utilizados por Ramírez (IV 35 y 39), para señalar su carácter manuscrito; cf. S. Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti* (Roma, 1973), pp. 7-19.

⁸⁰ En realidad, la secuencia de Virgilio es *genus alto a sanguine*, sin *ortus* que estaría por *genitus* en Tácito. Las reminiscencias virgilianas en la obra de Tácito, especialmente en el léxico, están expuestos por E. Zaffagno y A. Michel, 'Tacito', en *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, 8 vols. (Florencia, 1990), V/1, pp. 14-18. La bibliografía sobre esta influencia que aportan éste y otros estudios (cf. M. C. J. Putnam, 'Virgil and Tacitus Ann.1.10', *Classical Quarterly*, 39 [1989], 563-564, y R. T. S. Baxter, *Classical Philology*, 66 [1971], p. 93, n. 1) se remonta sólo hasta mediados del siglo XIX.

novedosa explicación en la carta a Lipsio puede radicar en que el joven Lorenzo Ramírez, conociendo ya de antemano la renuencia del humanista flamenco a conceder a Virgilio la primacía que unánimemente se le había venido otorgando,⁸¹ no querría desagradarle al declarar que su autor preferido y durante tantos años trabajado imitaba nada menos que al poeta al que había rebajado esa tendencia estilística aticista y antipe-riódica que él mismo preconizaba. Además, esta explicación de la reminiscencia virgiliana está formulada en el contexto de una serie de denuestos contra el estilo del propio Lipsio que el engreído estudiante perpetra con evidente actitud iconoclasta contra el escritor al que unánimemente se rendía culto; primero, en el rechazo de la hipótesis acerca del fragmento de Tácito: 'Por último, ahora veo a Lipsio dando palos de ciego lacónicamente, como suele, y excesivo en su discurso amanerado' (III 10-11). Luego, vuelve a la carga contra Lipsio reprochando a su amigo Milán que remede su estilo: 'Me asombra que estés siguiendo los pasos de Lipsio, digo más, que intentes emularlo.'⁸² Huyó de las palabras rebuscadas, me horrorizan las expresiones en desuso, apenas entiendo la frase lacónica y recortada;⁸³ mientras me afano por ser breve, me vuelvo oscuro' (III 25-27). Esta vindicación de la claridad expresiva, que refuerza con la cita de la *Ars* horaciana, resulta por lo menos una incongruencia cuando en sus mismas cartas se observan la afectada brevedad

⁸¹ Exaltando a Homero había escrito en carta a Luis Tribaldos (*ILE* 01 06 30): 'Et aliquem huic [sc. *Homero*] conferemus aut Virgilium aliquis anteponet? Ipsi viderint'; cf. *Centuria I ad Belgas*, epist. 87 (*Epistolario*, p. 311, n. 399). En efecto, para Lipsio el *maximus poetarum* no es Virgilio, como anota L. Ramírez (III 22), sino Homero, según se colige en la epístola 92 11 29 (*ILE* V 1360,14-15, p. 458) de la versión latina de una de sus más conocidas citas (Hom. *Il.* VI 146). Por otra parte, es concluyente la afirmación de Ruysschaert de que la crítica de Lipsio sobre el texto de Tácito casi nunca se basó sobre el estilo (*JLAT*, p. 142).

⁸² Mediante *assequentem*, verbo que emplea en su acepción estricta en VI 20, es posible que aquí, con el significado de 'emular' (cf. *OLD*, s.v. *assequor* 2c) esté aludiendo de paso al término *assecla*, empleado peyorativamente en la polémica del ciceronianismo, según apunta L. Rivero García. Este reproche se justifica por el abuso de la frase simple que hace Milán en su carta, debido más a impericia en el manejo del latín que a voluntad de estilo.

⁸³ Tal vez fue de una carta del propio Lipsio a Janus Woverius Hamburgensis (*ILE* 91 06 14) de donde extrajo Ramírez estos términos con que lo critica: 'Voces illae rariores et priscae, mihi crede, eloquentiam non faciunt, et quamquam lectionis aut doctrinae aliquod specimen praeferunt, tamen iure hanc κακοζηλίαν damnat et appellat Augustus'; cf. *Centuria ad Germanos et Gallos* (Amberes, 1602), epist. III (*ILOpera* II, p. 328b). El manifiesto del estilo lacónico de Lipsio ya había sido declarado en la 'praefatio' de su *Centuria prima* y en la *Epistolica Institutio excepta ex dictantis eius ore anno 1587* (Leiden, 1591); además de numerosas declaraciones a lo largo de su ingente epistolario.

y la falsa espontaneidad que Lipsio aborrecía en sus torpes imitadores,⁸⁴ especialmente, en las que escribe después de la respuesta de Lipsio, quien podría haberse granjeado con su encanto epistolar otro servil imitador de su estilo. Y a poco que se examinen los escritos genuinos de Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, se percibirá esa búsqueda a ultranza tanto de la concisión como de la sugerente y sentenciosa agudeza que muchos escritores coetáneos llegaron a cultivar, desde luego, con mejores resultados.⁸⁵

En lo que respecta a la consecución de la *brevitas* por parte de Lorenzo Ramírez, detectamos, aparte del forzado zeugma del exordio de su carta a Milán: *libens... invidia* (III 5-6),⁸⁶ un uso bastante prolífico del recurso de la paronomasia por cambio de significado.⁸⁷ También ciertas secuencias dactílicas parecen ser intencionales: *quid - suis* (IV 14), *triste - dixit* (VIII 18); pero con dudoso éxito parecen afectar espontaneidad anacolutos (IV 12-14), elipsis (*hoc - alia* III 28; *qui - tanti* VI 5), acumulación de participios (*mittendo, noto, excuso, recognito* IV 15-18) o anafóricos (*aliquid, quod* IV 27), amalgamados con citas o ecos de los clásicos.

La actitud despectiva que ostenta Lorenzo Ramírez en su carta a su compañero y cliente Milán debió de quedar desarmada por la campe-

⁸⁴ 'Quam multi in iuventute nos aemulantur! et rideo, quia aut a me procul illi aut procul certe ego a recto. Nihil magis brevitate amo sed si simplex, nihil magis brevitate odi sed si adfectata. Quid etiam, si fucata? nam verba emendicant et abstrusiores aliquot phrases, ad quae non dicam risum non teneo, vix iram.' Carta a Petrus Villerius, *Cent. misc.* II, epist. X (*ILE* II, 86 04 01 VI).

⁸⁵ Acerca de esta faceta del mal estilo de Lorenzo Ramírez, G. Mayáns (nota 40), p. 103, señaló al respecto de la diferencia que percibía entre esa obra discutida y las cartas dedicatorias que la preceden: 'Si Ramirezii dedicatio inscripta Philippo III et eiusdem epistola ad Iohannem Ramirezium fratrem lectoremque suum conferantur cum *Pentecontarcho*, apparebit illarum dictio, ad Lipsianam ridicule conficta, acutula, nimis concisa, repetitionibus insulsis, affectate diserta'.

⁸⁶ El MS. presenta sin puntuación: *libens pareo et rumpto silentio ut tu me invidiâ*; frase en la que se eliden palabras por estar implícitas tanto en el párrafo anterior (III 2-5) como en la fuente de donde se extrae esa expresión (Mart. 9. 97). Con la misma fórmula de cortesía comenzaba una carta anterior a ésta, de J. L. de la Cerda al mismo Ramírez: 'Rupisti silentium, et me invidia, non de me triumphas: debuisssem ego officium praevertere et tuas praeoccupare' (9, f. 12r).

⁸⁷ La fuente detectada está registrada en el correspondiente aparato de la edición: *emisi et misi* (III 28), *profitentur / profiteantur* (III 28-29), *deripiunt / eripiunt* (VI 14), *iniurias, iniuria* (VI 18), *peto et appeto* (VI 25), *dico et addico* (VII 16), *iteratis illiteratis literis* (VII 6), *mittendae / mittenda* (VII 7-8), *operam dedit / perdidit* (VII 10-11), *videas / videantur / a caeco* [*sc. tua videntur*] (VII 14-15), *faciamus / facimus* (VII 14), *valet / vale* (VII 15-16).

chana cortesía de la misiva que Lipsio personalmente le envió como respuesta a su obsequiosa epístola. En esta carta hasta ahora inédita están insertados entre los asuntos concretos que atañen a su destinatario temas fundamentales de su pensamiento que ya fueron expresados a lo largo de su correspondencia: los amigos de Lipsio forman una comunidad sin fronteras que como él mismo mantienen vivo el ideal humanista de la sabia conjunción de la erudición en la virtud que ha llegado a plasmar en el lema que define su conducta.⁸⁸ Y en especial, en las cartas dirigidas a españoles, suele expresar una vaga aspiración de que esos valores transmitidos en los *studia humanitatis* recuperen el papel rector y de vanguardia del pensamiento en las clases dirigentes del país que mantiene el imperio mundial.⁸⁹ En primer lugar, Lipsio le manifiesta su alegría por haber sido presentado por su viejo amigo Del Río (V 3-4). Se muestra incluso un poco celoso de que esté disfrutando de su querida presencia mientras él no tenía noticias suyas desde hacía tanto tiempo (V 5-7). Pero de todas formas, se alegra de que Del Río haya encontrado amigos dignos de su virtud y de su doctrina, entre los cuales quizá sea Ramírez el primero (V 8-10), habida cuenta del magnetismo que este supremo maestro de las artes ejerce sobre él, que por una afición natural se ha formado en las más elevadas disciplinas (V 9-11). Por todo ello, no sólo lo acoge en el círculo de sus amigos sino que incluso buscaría su amistad, y aunque, no podrá cultivarla por mucho tiempo, dado lo delicado de su salud, la cultivará tal como expresa su conocida divisa: a la antigua usanza (V 11-14). Desea también que proliferen en España los seguidores de esas costumbres para que este país recobre su antiguo esplendor⁹⁰ (V 15-16). Después de apuntarle su conjetura sobre el pasaje

⁸⁸ Los lemas *DOCTRINA, VIRTUS, MORIBVS ANTIQVIS* están representados en los grabados de su retrato debido a Theodorus Gallaeus que aparecen el frente de sus obras completas (*ILOpera*, I, p. VI). El rasgo original de su pensamiento es el esfuerzo en transformar la filología (*doctrina*) en filosofía, desde luego moral (*virtus*); cf. A. Grafton, 'Portrait of Justus Lipsius', *American Scholar*, 56 (1987), 382-90 y M. Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton, 1991), pp. 134-7.

⁸⁹ En la carta nuncupatoria a Baltasar de Zúñiga en la *Centuria prima ad Belgas* (*ILE* 02 02 21), lamentaba que estos valores que habían alumbrado a Europa por más de un siglo estuviesen como arrumbados 'ad scholas tantum et mediam pullatamque turbam' (*Epistolario*, p. 318).

⁹⁰ La misma sentencia encontramos espigando en su correspondencia con los españoles: a Manuel Sarmiento (nota 72): 'Vtinam multos excitet [*sc. Brocensis*] trahatque ad splendidas verasque artes, neque armis tantum, ut semper, sed ingeniis etiam, ut olim, floreat ille tractus!' (*ILE* XIII, 00 03 14; *Epistolario*, p. 295). A Nuño de Mendoza, *ILE* 02 08 30: 'Sed respondi, et titulum adieci, quem tu in magno ponebas, AMICI LIPSIANI: vere ita sum et ero, qui sic virtutem, doctrinam et elegantiam amant. Plures modo Hispa-

de Tácito, le comunica que le buscará ciertos apuntes sobre Marcial que había tratado con Rader⁹¹ (V 18-19). Se despide con la postdata en la que promete enviarle en cuanto sea posible un regalo de compensación por su libro de San Oriencio (V 21).

Es evidente que los términos de la carta de Lipsio no pudieron ser más halagüeños para el joven erudito. Le responde a vuelta de correo con unas líneas rebosantes de gratitud y entreveradas de citas tan adecuadas como obvias; extiende su vivo agradecimiento a Martín Del Río, a quien le es imputable tan gran beneficio (VI 6-7), y a quien ya no va a dejar de mentar en ninguna de las restantes cartas (VI 13, VII 15, VIII 17) siguiendo la amable admonición de su viejo amigo (V 19). Se reconoce incapaz de corresponder con el don de su amistad (VI 5-6): teme defraudarle a no ser que cuente, como compensación, tan sólo con su voluntarioso afecto (VI 12).⁹² Seguidamente, lamenta la marcha de Del Río, que va a dejar Salamanca para dirigirse a la corte, Valladolid, donde le reclaman los asuntos de los poderosos (VI 14, 19). Teme que esta marcha se interprete como falta de hospitalidad (VI 18-19). En la despedida vuelve a pedirle el envío de sus resúmenes sobre Marcial, que ‘apetece más que las viandas y manjares de los otros’⁹³ (VI 25-26).

nia vestra nobis donet!’ (*Epistolario*, p. 331). A Quevedo, *ILE* 05 01 25: ‘Subiit memoria veteris Hispaniae talium ingeniorum altricis praeclaram stirpem. Iactet se, si intelliget: si non Marti solum, sed Musae et Minervae operatur’ (*Epistolario*, p. 411).

⁹¹ Matthaeus Rader, S. J. (1561-1634); cf. *EurHum*, p. 360; *ILE* XIII, 00 11 20 W. Hay carta de Lipsio al jesuita Rader en la que le envía esas notas sobre Marcial; cf. *Centuria III miscellanea*, epist. XXX, ‘Ad Matthaeum Raderum’, Lovanii, III Kal.Dec. MD.XC.VII: ‘Sed de Martiale quod tetigi, rem ecce habes. quid rem? pauca verba et notulas, atque eas alibi fortasse notandas’ (*ILOpera* II p. 130). No hay indicios de que Ramírez recibiera estos *Analecta in Martialem*, pues todavía los espera en su última carta (VIII 20) que Lipsio no llegó a recibir (cf. *infra* nota 107). Rader, enojado sin duda por las críticas de Ramírez (‘omnia radens Raderus’ [*MartHypom* p. 313, *ad Mart.* 4.19.5], y todo así) lo acusará de plagio en una reedición de su Marcial (Ingolstadt, Adamus Sartorius, 1611). Cf. *FamilRP*, pp. 42-3, y *CTC* IV 284-7.

⁹² En esta frase emplea expresiones extraídas del léxico de los negocios; cf. *TLL* V 1, 205.20, s.v. decoquo: *creditores fraudare, solvendo non esse*; e *ibid.* 1436.70, s.v. disunctio: *examinatio, collatio rationum*. Emplea la misma frase (*decoquam — numeros*), también con la cita de Marcial, en la carta 56 (f. 64r) al fiscal Pérez de Araciél en agradecimiento por cierta recomendación (cf. nota 24).

⁹³ Mediante la metáfora de alimento=escrito es bastante probable que Lorenzo Ramírez, aludiendo de paso a la habitual descalificación de usar un latín ‘macarrónico’ o de cocina (cf. R. Pfeiffer, ‘Küchenlatein’, *Philologus*, 86 (1931), 455), esté lanzando una pulla contra algunos comentaristas de Marcial que atribuyeron al poeta hispano el sobrenombre de *Coquus*. En efecto, así, *Coquus noster*, lo llamaba repetidamente Theodorus Marcellus (cf. *CTC* IV 281a y 289b) contra quien se explayó Ramírez en su comentario:

No había pasado un mes de esta última carta cuando aprovecha una oportunidad para escribirle de nuevo (VII 7-8): la marcha a Flandes de un religioso agustino,⁹⁴ a quien Lorenzo Ramírez recomienda a pesar de que declara que es él mismo quien necesite ser recomendado (VII 8-12). Siguen siendo, pues, altamente respetuosos los términos con que se dirige a Lipsio (VII 3-7, 11-12); en cambio, rezuman cierto desdén las palabras con que se refiere en concreto al portador de su carta (VII 10-11). También refleja una frívola petulancia la frase en la que, sin nombrarlo explícitamente, habla de la ceguera de Bernardino de Mendoza (c. 1541-1604), autor de la traducción al español de su *Politica*,⁹⁵ del que le envía un ejemplar (VII 13-14); y debió de quedar patente su frivolidad si se contrastó esta burda adulación (VII 14-15) con aquellas palabras de Quevedo⁹⁶ en las que ya había informado al mismo Lipsio acerca del fallecimiento de Mendoza, sobre todo cuando el grave y achacoso humanista se veía, como diría Cervantes, ‘puesto ya el pie en el estribo’.

Lorenzo Ramírez dirigió una última carta a Lipsio, en la que vuelve a expresarle mediante símiles y reminiscencias clásicas su admiración y afecto (VIII 7-11). Para el petulante joven, que no había dudado en

‘Theodorus Marcilius vir suo iudicio apprime doctus, qui in haec epigrammata spectaculorum longas farragines congescit, et si Diis placet cocum Martialem nominavit, sequutus Robertum Titium qui lib.7 controuv. locorum, cap. 21 notam hanc, tamquam titione e culina, ubi forte suas controversias scripserat, arrepto, nobili Poëta Hispano Romanoque equiti impudenter inussit’ (*MartHypom*, p. 1). De las obras de Marcilius y de Titius constan ejemplares en el inventario de su biblioteca (cf. Entrambasaguas (nota 32) II, pp. 27 y 22). Respecto al origen y refutación de la denominación *Martialis Coquus*, cf. N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, I (Madrid, 1788), p. 81.

⁹⁴ No hay mención alguna de ese *Karolus Varon* (VII 8) en el registro ‘C: Scriptores et personae illustres’ de Tomás de Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, 2 tomos (Madrid, G. Rodríguez, 1644), I, 144-153.

⁹⁵ En la nota que le dedica N. Antonio también está recogido lo de la ceguera que sufrió en sus últimos años: ‘Senex obiit, ante aliquot annos oculorum usu privatus’ (*BHN*, I p. 218); cf. también *Epistolario*, p. 402, n. 524. La traducción tiene por título: *Los seys libros de las Políticas o Doctrina civil, que sirven para el gobierno del Reyno o principado. Traducidas de lengua latina en castellana por don Bernardino de Mendoza* (Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1604); cf. *BLH*, XIV 5108.

⁹⁶ Lipsio ya tenía noticias de esta traducción gracias a una carta de Quevedo (*ILE* 04 11 22) en la que habla con elegancia y consideración del autor y de su reciente muerte: ‘Políticas tuas maternas linguae dedit D. Bernardino de Mendoza, caecus ille Tiresias [cf. *Plu. Mor.* 200A, = *Hom. Od.* X 495], Argos ille caecus. Feliciter spero, sed magis opto. Concessit naturae vir ille’ (*Epistolario*, p. 400). Lorenzo Ramírez pudo llegar a conocer la respuesta de Lipsio (*ILE* 05 01 25) a esta carta de Quevedo, pues fue publicada en los preliminares de *Iuliani Caesaris in Regem Solem ad Salustium Panegyricus*, *Vincentio Marinerio Valentino interprete* (Madrid, Pedro Tazoi, 1625), ff. 9-10 (*Epistolario*, p. 411).

brindar al Cronista Real (IV 1)⁹⁷ los buenos oficios que su influyente padre tendría en pagaduría (IV 21-27), estaba claro que la causa de que el insigne humanista no hubiese respondido a sus dos huera cartas precedentes no podía deberse a otra que a un amago de su enfermedad (VIII 2-3).⁹⁸ De este dramático trance lo sacó, a guisa del *deus e machina*,⁹⁹ la noticia de su mejoría llegada en una carta que personalmente le envió don Baltasar de Zúñiga, a la sazón embajador en Francia,¹⁰⁰ circunstancia que no deja de mencionar en intención clara de ostentar su posición en las altas esferas (VIII 4-6).

A pesar de esos datos no es posible determinar con suficiente aproximación la fecha de esta carta. Su portador, Joannes Bodecker, es un joven al que elogia Ramírez por su afición a conocer mundo (VIII 13) y a comunicarse con otras gentes, como también había dicho del agustino de la carta anterior (VII 10). También lleva este joven la carta 58, para Isaac Casaubon, que lamentablemente tampoco está fechada. Las dos cartas van acompañadas de un escrito polémico de Lorenzo Ramírez para ser calificado por sus reputados destinatarios. Lo ha aprobado Martín del Río (VIII 15), y le pide ahora a Lipsio que se lo juzgue, pues considerará un honor, y también un consuelo, haber sido corregido por tan gran humanista (VIII 16-17). Este escrito que denomina *Apologiam in virum doctum* no puede ser otro que la controversia suscitada en torno a la exegesis del pasaje de *Naturalis Historia* de Plinio: 'Est aliquis morbus per sapientiam mori' (Plin. *Nat.* 7.169). Este debate, que no es más

⁹⁷ Lipsio había sido nombrado cronista por Felipe II; en carta a Johannes van Drenckwairt (ILE 96 01 14), acusaba recibo de título y estipendio (*Epistolario*, p. 162).

⁹⁸ En la carta de Lipsio a Ioannes Chokier (nota 36) en los mismos días que las anteriores de Ramírez (ILE 05 05 11) hablaba de esta recaída: 'Vivo etiam, mi Chokier, etsi vestigia morbi retinens, idque languens et imbecillus'.

⁹⁹ La conocida frase se acuñó a partir del proverbio griego alusivo a ese recurso teatral: 'Ἀπὸ μηχανῆς θεὸς ἐπιφανεῖς' ('Diogeniani Centuria II', n° 84, en *Corpus Pseudoepigraphorum Graecorum*, ed. E. L. Leutsch - F. G. Schneidewin, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1839-41), I, 210). Pudo ser extraída de algún comentario a Hor. *Ars* 191: 'Nec deus intersit', o bien del amplio tratamiento que Erasmo dio a este tópico en sus divulgados *Adagia* (chil. I, cent. I, prov. LXVIII: 'Deus ex improvise apparens'); cf. *D. Erasmi Opera omnia*, ed. J. Clericus, 10 vols. (Leiden, 1703), II, 52-3 (= ASD I.1 (1993), pp. 176-9 (*ad.* 68)).

¹⁰⁰ Baltasar de Zúñiga y Fonseca (m. 1622). En la obra de Lipsio hay muchos testimonios de amistad con el embajador español que había desempeñado un importante papel en la política de los Países Bajos (ILE XIII, 00 03 01 Z; *Epistolario*, pp. 278, 303, 318, 320). Menos notoria fue su embajada en Francia, cuyo nombramiento está registrado en el diario de Corte de Cabrera de Córdoba: 'A don Baltasar de Zúñiga han hecho embajador de Francia, que lo ha sido en Flandes y está aquí' (Valladolid, 6-IX-1603); cf. *Relaciones*, p. 189.

que un ejemplo de la autoridad científica que aún tenían los textos clásicos, comenzó con la carta 32, al doctor Cristóbal Medrano, catedrático de Medicina en Salamanca, a quien Ramírez enviaba su interpretación al referido pasaje de Plinio.¹⁰¹ En carta 45, Ramírez se queja a De la Cerda de que el catedrático había enviado su comentario a un colega sevillano protegido del jesuita Juan de Pineda (1568-1637), y lo había publicado en español.¹⁰² A partir de esa carta menudean las referencias a esta cuestión, pues Ramírez, molesto tanto por la apropiación de su comentario como por la muy posible refutación o crítica del mismo, intentó recabar apoyos y testimonios entre algunos eruditos, cuyas declaraciones también se ocupó de recopilar.¹⁰³ Uno de éstos, Bartolomé Morlanes, aconsejó a Ramírez remitir a Lipsio la cuestión,¹⁰⁴ pero de la fecha de esta

¹⁰¹ Así está registrado en el elenco de sus obras: *Epistola ad Christophorum Medranum in Salmanticensi Academia publicum Medicinae Professorem super Plinii verba illa ex cap. i. lib. vii: 'Est aliquis morbus per sapientiam mori'*. Folleto de 20 págs. in 4º, s/l, s/i, s/a. Hay copia en BN Madrid, ms. 18.620, núm. 23 (*FamilRP*, p. 111 n.1). La frase es considerada por A. Ernout una mera interpolación; cf. Pline L'Ancien, *Histoire Naturelle. Livre VII*, ed. R. Schilling (París, 1977), *ad loc.*, p. 266.

¹⁰² El médico sevillano es Francisco Jiménez Guillén, en cuya relación de escritos consta este opúsculo: *Quid sit per sapientiam mori apud Plinium* (Sevilla: Francisco Pérez, s/a); cf. *BHN*, I p. 499b. También aparece el tema en los de Juan de Pineda (cf. *DHEE*, III p. 1983): *De C. Plinii loco inter eruditos controverso ex lib. VII cap. L* (*BHN*, I p. 761a). Del opúsculo de Jiménez Guillén no se ha localizado ningún ejemplar, pero sí del de Pineda, y éste en español: *Respuesta... a vna del Doctor Francisco Ximénez Guillen, sobre la intelligencia de un lugar de Plinio* (Sevilla, Clemente Hidalgo, 1605); cf. A. Domínguez Guzmán, *La imprenta en Sevilla en el siglo XVII: 1601-1650. (Catálogo y análisis de su producción)* (Sevilla, 1992), nº 79, p. 91.

¹⁰³ Cf. cartas 48: 13 agosto 1605, y su respuesta la 49: s/d.; 52: 27 agosto 1605; 53: 31 agosto 1605, 54: 2 septiembre 1605, 57: 14 septiembre, 61: 5 noviembre 1605; 77 y 79 son repeticiones de la 54 y 57. En ellas el escrito de Ramírez se denomina *schediasma* o *syntagma*.

¹⁰⁴ 'Vidi tuum syntagma de loci Pliniani explanatione. (...) Sed litem hanc dirimendam relinquerem Lipsio. Cui alii melius in hoc aevo?' (61, f. 69v). Bartolomé Morlanes, del círculo de los Argensola en Zaragoza (cf. *Epistolario*, nº 82 [*ILE* 02 12 01], p. 334) se nos presenta como devoto seguidor de Lipsio. En su carta a De la Cerda encontramos: 'De Lipsio si quid novi enuncia. (...) Habeo eius opera nuper edita, nempe D[ivam] Virginem Hallensem, Manuductionem ad Stoicam Physiologiam -/- Stoicorum et Monita et Exempla Politica hoc anno excusa; si isthic inveniri poterit Apologia in Lampugnanum [sc. *Disruptio codicis Mirandulani*], valde cuperem: haec sola ex eius libris mihi deest: mone de precio si emeris. Gratissimum facies si aliquam eius Epistolam vel Velseri [sc. *Marcus Welser*] mittas. Vellem eorum manu aliquam exaratam habere' (46, f. 52r). Asimismo, Morlanes fue quien envió a Ramírez el epitafio de Lipsio (nº 73bis) que sería reproducido en sus *Opera omnia* (*LOpera*, I, p. IX): 'Nunc demum cognita Lipsii morte, (...) pro mutuo eorum amore per litteras genito, ut saltem Elegiam scriberet [sc. *Lupercius Leonardus de Argensola*], spem item fecit nescio an opera complendam; tu interea Epitaphio eius quod sibi vivens apponi curavit fruiere' (73, f. 88r). Los trimetros yámbicos

carta, 5 de noviembre de 1605, no es posible establecer un *terminus post quem* para deducir la de ésta a Lipsio, donde parece secundarse esta recomendación, pues en la que Ramírez respondió a Morlanes, la n° 62, no hace ninguna alusión a ello.

Termina esta carta final reiterando la petición de los apuntes sobre Marcial (VIII 20), autor del que ha aprovechado un par de frases del prefacio de su libro XII en las que expresaba su nostalgia de la Urbe¹⁰⁵ (VIII 19-20) para encajarlas a la preceptiva y ya habitual declaración de afecto por Del Río (V 19), quien al fin marchó a Valladolid (VIII 18).

Por la misiva que le envió el portador mismo desde París,¹⁰⁶ 'Kal[endis] Aug[ustis] MDCVI', pudo saber el propio Ramírez que esta su última carta a Lipsio llegó demasiado tarde a su destino, pues cuenta a Ramírez que había remitido a Lipsio esa su carta el mismo día en que murió,¹⁰⁷ que como es sabido fue en la noche del 23 al 24 de marzo de 1606.

Ésta es la noticia postrera acerca de Justo Lipsio de todas las que se hallan en este modesto epistolario, en el que, por su condición de inédito y casi desconocido, se ha tenido que discurrir por el terreno de la conjetura y no por el de las deducciones claras que proceden de datos contrastados. Ahora también, antes de tratar por fin los datos objetivos de los textos que edito, voy a exponer una hipótesis acerca del origen de estas copias. Como ya he dicho más arriba en la descripción parcial del

del epitafio se divulgaron entre sus amigos, pues ya los había comunicado en carta a Ioannes Woverius (*ILE* 04 02 11): 'Tamen nescio quis impetus noctu incidit Epitaphium mihi carmen scribere' (*ILOpera*, I, p. VIII). Sobre su producción en verso cf. J. Papy, 'La poésie de Juste Lipse. Esquisse d'une évaluation critique de sa technique poétique', in C. Mouchel (ed.), *Juste Lipse (1547-1606) en son temps. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 1994* (Paris, 1996), pp. 163-214 (p. 20.); Id., 'The 'Neerduydse' Translation by Adriaan Marselaer (c. 1540-1617) of Lipsius' Epitaph', *Lias*, 22 (1996), 157-162.

¹⁰⁵ También emplea la frase de Marcial en la carta a Luis Carrillo: 'Vultus equidem quibus assueveram quaero et videor mihi in alieno foro litigare' (34, f. 36r).

¹⁰⁶ Bodecker remitió esta carta n° 80 desde *Lutetia*, deturpado en *Culetia*, pues, afirma haberse entrevistado con Casaubon, entonces en París (cf. carta 78), donde le entregó la carta 58: 'Reddidi quoque Casaubono epistolam tuam, qui statim ut illam legit, tanquam [vacat] arripuit et multa magni fieri et amice apud solide doctos de te locutus est'. También habla de Zúñiga, a la sazón embajador en Francia (cf. nota 100): 'Doleo quod nobilissimum dominum Balthasar de Çuñiga, cognatum tuum, non offenderim; disceserat paulo ante quam ego in hanc urbem veni'. Este segundo copista dejó en blanco los espacios de las palabras que no entendía.

¹⁰⁷ No de otra forma hay que entender estas palabras: 'De Lips<i>o nostro quid tibi dicam? eo ipso die et quasi [vacat] quam ego tuas ad ipsum misi litteras, triste nobis vale dixit doctissimos quosque longe a tergo relinquens' (80, f. 93r).

MS., estas cartas son copias de sus originales debidas a dos manos diferentes del siglo XVII. Ambas, por lo demás bastante claras, indican que pertenecieron a personas con estudios superiores, con conocimientos también de griego, pues están escritas con soltura y elegancia las escasas palabras de esta lengua que se insertan en el epistolario. Sin embargo, la inclusión de algunos deslices, incorrecciones y tachaduras indica que estas cartas debieron de ser copiadas bastante después de cuando fueron remitidas, sin tan siquiera llegar a ser revisadas por el propio responsable de ellas. Esta circunstancia lleva a sospechar que fueron copiadas mientras se procedía a la catalogación de la biblioteca y archivo del docto consejero, bien por escribientes de la comisión inquisitorial que llevaba a cabo el expurgo, o bien por encargo de su viuda, quien se apresuró a deshacerse de tan enorme cúmulo de libros.¹⁰⁸ No de otra manera se explicarían tanto las erratas y leves alteraciones del orden cronológico, como las repeticiones de distinta mano de dos de las cartas.

Recogen también estas copias algunas grafías diferentes o anómalas que probablemente debieron de estar en los originales, ya que la geminación en *caussa* es habitual en los escritos de Lipsio, y la simplificación en *litera* en los de L. Ramírez: *caussa* II 12, IV 25; *caussatus* VI 18; *causa* I 19, IV 20; *litera* IV 5, IV 7, IV 10, VI 3, VII 6. Asimismo el nombre *Silanus*, salvo una corrección en I 10, siempre aparece *Sillanus* o *Syllanus*, una vez en el mismo renglón (II 7).¹⁰⁹ He conservado en la edición cambios gráficos como *saltem*, *saltim* (IV 5, 27) y *haereditate* (III 17), pero he regularizado al uso moderno las u/v y la íes largas (j) en i. Dejando, pues, otras grafías anómalas en nombres propios para la concisa anotación en aparato, voy a comentar las correcciones que creo deben realizarse en la edición crítica de estas cartas basándome en su demostrada condición de copia:

I 6: *caeca ambage*: El MS. da *treca*. Se podría intentar también *trica*, utilizado en sg. en latín cristiano y sugerido por *intricata* de II 12,

¹⁰⁸ La biblioteca fue minuciosamente expurgada de libros prohibidos antes de proceder al inventario para su venta; cf. *FamilRP*, pp. 116-121, y Entrambasaguas (nota 32), p. XXVIII.

¹⁰⁹ La grafía *Sillanus* es la adoptada en uno de los comentarios manejados por Lipsio: *P. Cornelii Taciti Annalium libri sedecim. Ex castigatione Aemylii Ferreti, Beati Rhenani, Alciati ac Beroaldi* (Lugduni, S. Gryphius, 1542), p. 134. No así Lipsio, quien siempre lo escribió sin geminación.

puntuándose en tal caso *obscurus est trica, ambage Laconicus* en quiasmo. Pero la ceguera es un tema recurrente en estas misivas, cf. III 11-12, IV 32, VII 14, de ahí esta elección.

II 8: *nodum*: El MS. presenta *tulû* o *tidû*; su corrección está basada en III 8: *nodum Taciti*.

III 4: *utrumque*: El MS. da claramente *utroque*, pero es necesario acusativo como objeto directo de *cognoverim*.

III 6: *rumpo silentium*: Gracias a la apreciación de G. Tournoy, he optado por esta doble corrección de la lectura del MS: *rumpo silentio* (cf. n. 86).

III 10: *Barthazarem*: Así en el MS., pero en los escritos de Ramírez este antropónimo forano (cf. *TLL* II, s.v. Baltasar, 1710,73) suele aparecer declinado por la 2ª, como en VIII 5, *Balthazari*, claramente genitivo, y como tal he respetado, o en su comentario de Marcial: 'M[agistro] Baltasaro de Céspedes' (nota 42).

III 11: *coecutientem*: El MS. recoge con titubeo *coccutionrem*; la lectura está basada en el empleo de *caecutio* (cf. *TLL* III 47, 60-78), grafía -oe- por el propio Ramírez de Prado: 'Lipsius suo more Latinus et brevis eandem sententiam sequitur, (...) sed coecutit uterque [*sc. alter Catanaeus*]' (*MartHypom*, p. 6, *ad Mart. Sp.* 2. 7: 'velocia munera terminas'). También aparece este verbo en la diatriba de Theodorus Marcius contra el comentario de Ramírez: 'Interim neque temperare potuisti quin perblande ut solitus Catanaeum & Iustum Lipsium laudares ut caecutientes'.¹¹⁰

III 21: *secundum pro sequendum*: *ante annum sequendum*, literalmente, 'antes del transcurso de un año'. Pero no deja de ser contradictorio emplear la preposición *ante* con una forma verbal que denota posterioridad. Puede que esté *ante annum secundum* en su significado propio y empleado en vez de *ante biennium*.

IV 9: *aequo*: El MS. da claramente *aeque*, pero la consabida expresión lexicalizada es con el adjetivo.

IV 12: *quum*: El MS. da *quâm*, con la tilde con que en la tipografía de la época solía diferenciarse las formas adverbiales de las adjetivas, así como también se señalaba con tilde la conjunción *cùm* frente a la preposición *cum*. Aquí *quam* intensificaría el superlativo *gratissimus* (IV 12).

¹¹⁰ Cf. ps. Claudius Musambertius, *In Laurenti Ramiresii ad M. Val. Martialem Hypomnemata. Commonitoria quae et plurimis Poetae locis obscuris dant et Ramiresii errorum euerricula sunt*. (Paris, D. Langlois, 1606), p. 4b.

Pero el sentido y construcción (cf. *quod* con subjuntivo) de la frase entera reclama la correlación *cum...tum...*, que escribo *quum* tal como aparece en VIII 3. A pesar de esta corrección, persiste el anacoluto: *qui quam* (o *quum*) ... *fuit, tum quod... soleat quibus.... accendit*, al quedar elíptico el predicado, verbal o nominal, introducido por *tum*; pues la proposición *quod-soleat* expresa la causa por la que Martín Del Río resultó especialmente (*tum*) grato ('porque suele contarme complacientemente muchas cosas de ti'), pero la causa lógica está degradada a una proposición de relativo ('por medio de las cuales cada día más me ha encendido a escribirte').

V 17: *illa*: El MS. repite *tali*, además en letras más redondeadas. La necesidad de la corrección *illa* por *tali*, según el comentario de Lipsio expuesto, es una prueba evidente de que estas cartas del MS. salmantino son copias de diferentes originales. Asimismo, refuta la sospecha de que fuera una falsificación *a posteriori* de la publicación del comentario de Lipsio. Tampoco podría ser una primera conjetura de Lipsio, dado que la secuencia *talis aut talis* tiene un matiz peyorativo que se opone al que subyace en todas estas conjeturas sobre el fragmento de Tácito.

V 21: El MS. presenta *antidorum*, que se documenta (*TLL* II 168,64-65) en latín cristiano con el mismo significado que el término griego que translitera; pero quizás hubo en el original lipsiano ἀντίδωρον en correspondencia con el μνημόσυνον a que se refiere (IV 18). En otra carta de L. Ramírez aparece también en latín: 'Antidorum accepi cum usuris' (62, f. 71v).

VI 9: *tangere*: El MS. presenta una gruesa tachadura delante de *tangere*, que parece haber corregido algún compuesto de este verbo, probablemente *attingere*. La forma elegida está corroborada por otra frase del mismo Ramírez de idéntico contenido: 'Magnum virum [ite]ris interpellare, praesertim quum nihil utilitatis adferant et eruditionis, audaciam magnam semper iudicavi. Verum enimvero si limina alicuius Musaei audacter possum tangere, ne dicam ingredi' (45, f. 51r). Obsérvese que el exordio de esta carta es semejante al de la tercera que envía a Lipsio (VII 3-4), si bien Ramírez se expresa sin ningún laconismo ahora que se dirige a un jesuita maroniano y ciceroniano.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ El P. De la Cerda (cf. nota 9) fue autor de un magnífico comentario de Virgilio que en aquellas fechas ya estaba preparando (Madrid, 1608, Lyon 1612-17); cf. J. Stevens, 'Un humaniste espagnol: Le Père Juan Luis de la Cerda commentateur de Virgile', *Études Classiques*, 13 (1945), 210-21.

VII 14: *faciamus*: La sintaxis exige subjuntivo, como lo presenta *videantur*. Parece, pues, un *lapsus calami* influido por la repetición inmediata en *cum facimus*.

VIII 10: *teneo*: Por la *iunctura* habitual de *silentium tenere* (*OLD*, s.v. *teneo* 15.a) restituyo la tachadura que el MS. presenta.

VIII 16: *atrum*: Corrijo la vacilación que presenta el MS. gracias a la cita horaciana que parafrasea (Hor. *Ars* 445-7).

Por lo demás, he prescindido de consignar anotaciones críticas respecto a la puntuación, que, como suele suceder, no sólo se aparta del criterio actual, sino que, en los pocos casos en que se emplea, no llega a despejar las dificultades sintácticas que el texto pueda plantear.

En la edición y aparatos crítico y hermenéutico, e incluso en la asignación de la sigla para el MS., *c* = *copia*, me he ajustado a las normas que se vienen adoptando en *ILE*, y que en este caso son:

[] Restitución de letras en palabras abreviadas; he prescindido de señalar las emes finales.

< > Restitución de letras o palabra que se han perdido o borrado en la fuente textual.

-/- Paso de página en el MS.

Respecto al orden de edición que he dado a estas cartas, debo terminar diciendo que he pospuesto la II, de Lipsio, por ir incluida explícitamente en la I, que es evidentemente posterior a ella. Con esta alteración del mero orden cronológico he preferido dar una coherencia temática al conjunto de todas ellas, en especial, a las cinco primeras, que tienen como asunto central la discusión crítica del pasaje de Tácito. Si algunas de estas ocho cartas son dignas de figurar en la edición de las Epístolas de Lipsio, deben ser quizás sólo tres, desde luego las dos suyas (II y V) junto con la que le manda Lorenzo Ramírez (IV), pues sus contenidos abarcan lo concerniente a Lipsio que contienen las demás.

TEXTOS

I. Fernando [López] de Milán [Valladolid] a Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado (Salamanca).

[ca. octubre 1604]

c: Salamanca BU ms. 2598, f. 21^{r-v}.

D[omino] Laurentio Ramirez scientiarum alumno Ferdinandus de Milan felicissimam precatur salutem.

- Si culpa grandis fui obligationem meam differens, satis poenae est: suavis-
simis litteris tuis careo. Nec modo obsequium praesto, remedium
5 peto mihi et Tacito lucem: hunc meis contubernalibus Lusitanum facio.
Obscurus est, caeca ambage Laconicus: ita in illo multa desperata. Supra
quaedam Lipsium consului. Quae respondit mitto; non ad rem fecit, ut
puto. Tu vide et, ut seculi huius vere Apollo, oraculum pande. Quid sta-
tuas, Sibyllinum credam. Tu mihi prae omnibus inter omnes -/- primus.
10 Verba sunt ad finem libri 3 Annalium: Silanus ab consule designato igne
et aqua interdicatur, in insulam Gyaram relegatur. Itur in suffragia.
*Eadem coeteri censent nisi quod Gn. Lentulus separanda Silani materna
bona quippe alia parente geniti reddendaque <filio> dixit adnuente
Tiberio.* Hisce gratissimam praebe lampadem. Haec de Tacito. De
15 parente optumo, melius si nulla, quando omnia non sufficiant ut parem
referam gratiam: fovet me, mea restituit, meos sustentat et, quod maius,
familiares sermones tantuli clientis non dedignatur. Tu, charissime Lau-
renti, oneris cui impar sum maxumam partem sustine. Debes namque
patri quod tui causa tanti me faciat, mihi quod a te uno omnia sperem.
20 Vale, dimidium mei ac melior pars. Meo nomine Alfonsum curiosissi-
mum multoties saluta, et affectuosissimo desiderio Marcum ac Iohan-
nem: Euangelia mihi sunt eorum ingenia. Multa de illis praedicantur;
maiora spero; maxuma erunt. Estis vere effigies paterni Numinis. De
Martiale, de seriis studiorum vigiliis, de Orientio ac de salute, quam prae
25 mea aestimo, plurima coram et citissime, ac in tuos, amantissime, tunc

I. 6 caeca scripsi: treca c • 9 Sybill- c • 10 libri 3 restitui: libri 1 c • Silanus ex Silla- s.l.
corr. c • 11 Giarum c • 12 Sylla- c

8 Apollo] Otto 130, p. 30 • 9 Sibyllinum] Otto 1640, p. 321 • 12-14 eadem... Tiberio] Tac. ann.
3. 68. 2 • 17 familiares sermones] Cf. Cic. Att.1. 9. 1 • 20 dimidium] Cf. Hor. Carm.1. 3. 8 •
pars] Cf. Ov. trist. 1. 2. 44

TRADUCCIÓN

I

Para don Lorenzo Ramírez, alumno de las ciencias, Fernando de Milán ruega felicísima salud.

Si fui grande en la culpa postergando mi obligación, bastante castigo hay: me veo privado de tus agradabilísimas letras. Y no sólo rindo obediencia, (5) busco remedio para mí y para Tácito luz: a éste, para mis paisanos, lo estoy convirtiendo en portugués. Es oscuro, lacónico en su impenetrable ambigüedad; así, hay en él muchos pasajes desesperados. Sobre algunos he consultado a Lipsio. Te envió lo que respondió: no viene al caso, creo. Mira tú, y, como un verdadero Apolo de este siglo, emite tu oráculo. Lo que decidas lo creeré como si lo interpretase la sibila. Tú, para mí, antes que nadie, eres entre todos el primero. (10) Las palabras están al final del libro 3 de los *Anales*: El cónsul designado prohíbe a Silano el agua y el fuego, se le relega a la isla de Gíara. Se procede a la votación. 'Lo mismo opinan los demás, salvo que Gneo Léntulo dijo que los bienes maternos de Silano debían ser separados, comoquiera que era hijo de otra madre, y debían ser devueltos al hijo; lo que contó con la anuencia de Tiberio.' A éstas, préstales tu gratísima antorcha. Estas cosas acerca de Tácito.

De (15) tu excelentísimo padre, mejor si nada hubiera, ya que todas las cosas no bastarían para poder devolverle un favor similar: me ampara, me ha restituido mi patrimonio, mantiene a los míos y, lo que es más importante, no considera indigno el trato familiar con tan insignificante servidor. Tú, queridísimo Lorenzo, sostén la mayor parte de esta carga para la que no estoy preparado. Pues debes a tu padre el que por tu causa él me valore tanto, a mí me debes el que lo espere todo de tí solo. (20) Adiós, mitad de mi alma y su mejor pedazo. Da muchos saludos en mi nombre al diligentísimo Alfonso, y con mi más afectuoso recuerdo a Marcos y a Juan: el talento de ellos es para mí los evangelios. Muchas cosas se pregonan de ellos; mayores espero: acabarán siendo extraordinariamente grandes. Sois, en verdad, la estampa de la grandeza de vuestro padre.

Acerca de Marcial y de las graves vigiliass de tus estudios, de Oriencio y de tu salud, que (25) la estimo como la mía, muchas más cosas veremos en nuestro prontísimo encuentro, y entonces me echaré, oh amigo mío,

ruar amplexus. Interim vale, decus Musarum, et sanum te conserva parentibus immo patriae, quae iam de te gloriam suam auspicatur. Haec omnia non inutiliter intelliget Martinus noster, ut Lipsium hominem credat.

II. 04 07 13 Justo Lipsio (Lovaina) a Fernando [López] de Milán (Lisboa).

13 julio 1604

c: Salamanca BU ms. 2598, f. 22^r.

I[ustus] Lipsius Ferdinando de Milan Vlissiponensi S[alutem] D[icit]. Litteris tuis, ut accepi et legi, statim visum respondere fuit. Primum quia e longinquis locis veniunt et hanc humanitatem exteris debemus. Deinde quia a viro docto erant vel hoc argumento, quod Tacitum ames, ames!
 5 immo etiam in patrium sermonem vertas. Itaque libens respondi et prompte, ut vides, etiam ad quaesitum nodum in loco Taciti isto: *Separanda Silani materna bona*. Cuius ego sententiam puto Silano fuisse matrem et novercam, novercam magna ex parte bona, ut fit, in gratiam mariti, vel quia capta moribus et obsequio Silani esset, huic reliquisse,
 10 etsi filium haberet. Censet iam igitur Lentulus ea bona separari et filio novercae (quis fuerit ignoro) relinqui. Sic mihi videbantur, etsi ista fateor intricata. Alia si ambigis, tua et Taciti caussa libens respondebo, et meliorum artium ingenia, ut debeo, semper amabo. Lovanii III Id Iulias ∞.DC.III.

28 Martinus] Martinus Antonius Delrius (1551-1608).

II. 6 nodum *scripsi*: tulû c • 7 Silla- *pr.* Sylla- *alt.* c • 9 Silla- c • 12 ex Tuam... caussam *corr.* c

7-8 *separanda... bona*] Tac.*ann.* 3. 68. 2.

en tus brazos. Entretanto, adiós, honra y prez de las musas, y consérvate sano para tus padres y, aún más, para tu patria, que ya por ti vaticina su propia gloria. Todas estas cosas no inútilmente las entenderá nuestro amigo Martín, según se fía de la persona de Lipsio.

II

Justo Lipsio saluda a Fernando de Milán, lisboeta.

Me pareció bien responder inmediatamente a tu carta cuando la recibí y leí. Primero, porque viene de lejanas regiones y esta cortesía debemos a los extranjeros; luego, porque provenía de un hombre erudito, o mejor por el siguiente motivo: porque trataba del tema de que te gusta Tácito, ¡gustarte!, (5) digo más, que lo estás traduciendo a tu lengua materna. Así pues, gustoso he respondido y pronto, como ves, incluso a la dificultad que me has preguntado en ese pasaje de Tácito: 'Que se deben separar los bienes maternos de Silano.' Y pienso que el significado de ello es que Silano tuvo madre y madrastra; que la madrastra le había legado sus bienes en su mayor parte, como suele suceder, por congraciarse con el marido, o bien por haber sido seducida por el carácter y las atenciones de Silano, (10) aunque tuviera un hijo. Por consiguiente, sentencia entonces Léntulo que estos bienes se separen y se dejen para el hijo de la madrastra (ignoro quién haya podido ser). Así me parecen, aunque estas cosas, lo admito, son enrevesadas. Si tienes otras dudas, gustoso responderé por ti y por Tácito, y siempre querré, como debo, a los talentos de las bellas letras. En Lovaina, a 13 de julio de 1604.

III. Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado (Salamanca) a Fernando [López] de Milán.

31 octubre [1604]

c: Salamanca BU ms. 2598, ff. 22^r-23^r.

Ferdinando de Milan Vlissiponensi.

Praevertissem officium et tuas praeoccupassem si vel tuas hisce litteris humanioribus imbutas vel meas aliquid voluptatis allaturas iudicassem. Nunc vero cum utrumque ex tuis cognoverim, alterum elegantia et doctrina, alterum humanitate et benevolentia in me summa, libens pareo et rumpo silentium, ut tu me invidia. Vtinam ego Aesculapius nedum Apollo forem et desperatis locis medicinam facerem. Sed nec Aesculapius nec Apollo et nodum Taciti levicula emendatione dissolvo. Quas turbas dedit -/- interpretibus magnis! Pichenam taceo, D[ominum] Balthazarem de Alamos praetereo, denique nunc Lipsium Laconice, uti solet, et nimium ἐν λόγῳ κακοζήλῳ coecutientem video. Omnes tenebras explorant inertes nec lumen inveniunt et omnes novercam nobis obtrudunt, imperite sane. Ait ergo Gn. Lentulus *separanda* esse *materna bona*, quippe alia parente geniti, reddendaque filio dixit. Lego alta parente. Hic his verbis *alta parente* rationem assignat quare censeat materna bona Silani reddenda esse filio eiusdem Silani; nempe quia ex alto materno sanguine erat natus et peccatum patris in haereditate aviae filio nocere aequum non erat, cum satis poenae esset in reliquis bonis obesse. Hunc sensum et hanc emendationem non probas? Excute et exige fidem vetustissimo codici quem penes me servo et ante annum secundum ad huius loci interpretationem consului. In eo enim sic legitur. Imitatus Tacitus Virgilium, poetarum maximum, ut saepe, eiusdem verba usurpat qui 'alto sanguine ortus' dicit. Hactenus de Tacito. Nunc de coeteris. Gaudeo te parentem amore prosequi, et quod Lusitanum reddas Tacitum; mirorque te sequentem Lipsiana vestigia, immo asse-

III. 4 utrumque *scripsi*: utroque c • 6 rumpo silentium *correx*i monente Tournoy rumpo silentio c • 7 forem *s.l.* c • 9 Balthazarem] Barthazarem c • 11 coecutientem (*i.* caecut-) *scripsi*: coccutionem c • 16 Sillani *utr.* c • 20 fidem] fidemq[ue] c • 21 secundum] prosequendum • 22 poetarum maximum *marg.* c

6 invidia] Cf. Otto 1558, p. 303. • 8 nodum] Otto 1233, p. 244 • 9 Pichenam] Curzio Pichena (1550-1629), cf. *JLAT*, p. 33 • 10 Alamos] Balthasar de Alamos et Barrientos (1556-1644), cf. *BHN* I, p. 180 • 13-14 *separanda... dixit*] Tac. *ann.* 3. 68. 2 • 23 alto sanguine] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 230, 5. 45, 6. 498 (*genus alto a sanguine*)

III

A Fernando de Milán, lisboeta:

Habría anticipado mi deber y me habría adelantado a tu carta, si hubiera considerado que, o bien la tuya estaba impregnada de estas letras tan eruditas, o bien la mía habría de aportar algún placer. Ahora, empero, cuando por la tuya he sabido de ambos aspectos, lo uno por tu elegancia y cultura, (5) lo otro por tu amabilidad y enorme benevolencia para conmigo, gustoso cumplo contigo y quebranto el silencio, como tú me has quebrantado a mí de envidia. ¡Ojalá viniera yo a ser un Esculapio, no digamos un Apolo, y a presentar remedio a los pasajes desesperados! Pero, sin ser Esculapio ni Apolo, también despejo la dificultad de Tácito con una ligerísima enmienda. ¡Qué quebraderos ha dado a grandes comentadores! De Pichena me callo, paso por alto a Baltasar de Álamos, (10) por último ahora veo a Lipsio, lacónicamente, como suele, y excesivo en su discurso amanerado, dando palos de ciego. Todos exploran impotentes las tinieblas, sin encontrar la luz y todos nos imponen una madrastra, ignorantemente en verdad. Conque dice Gneo Léntulo 'que los bienes maternos deben separarse, comoquiera que era hijo de otra madre, y ser devueltos al hijo'. Yo leo 'de una excelsa madre'. (15) Éste, mediante estas palabras, 'de una excelsa madre', subraya la razón por la que opina que los bienes maternos de Silano debían ser devueltos al hijo del mismo Silano, desde luego, porque había nacido de una sangre excelsa por parte de madre y no era justo que el delito del padre perjudicara al hijo en la herencia de su abuela, siendo suficiente castigo quedar perjudicado en el resto de los bienes. ¿No apruebas este sentido y esta enmienda? Examina y (20) exige garantía de un viejísimo código que guardo en mi poder y hace menos de un año he consultado para la interpretación de este pasaje; en efecto, así se lee en éste. Tácito, imitando a Virgilio, el más grande de los poetas, como de costumbre, utiliza palabras de este mismo, que dice: 'Nació de sangre excelsa'. Hasta aquí de Tácito. Ahora de lo demás. Me alegro de que honres a mi padre con tu afecto, y que traduzcas a Tácito al portugués; y me asombra que andes siguiendo los pasos de Lipsio, (25) digo más,

quentem. Putidula verba fugio, obsoleta abhorreo, Laconicam et scissam orationem vix intelligo. *Dum brevis esse laboro obscurus fio.* -/- Hoc ego, alii alia. Orientium in lucem emisi et misi; nec acceptum profitentur ne se ingratos profiteantur. Coetera quae ad manum habeo, licet poliora, non excudam.

In steriles campos nolunt iuga ferre iuveni.

Tu vero perge et quam cito Tacitum operis excudendum trade.

*Ante fores stantem dubitas admittere famam
cineri gloria sera venit.*

35 Vale, fratres te salvere iubent. Salmanticae pridie Kal[endas] Novembris].

IV. 04 11 00 Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado (Salamanca) a Justo Lipsio (Lovaina).

[ca. noviembre 1604]

c: Salamanca BU ms. 2598, f. 5^{r-v}.

Iusto Lipsio v[iro] cl[arissimo] regio Historiographo.

Si quisquam est qui te, Lipsi, ex animo diligit et divinum istud ingenium admiratione prosequatur, eum me esse profiteor. Optavi iam diu (quoniam vitae meae rationes non patiuntur ad te ire tuoque iucundissimo
5 aspectu frui) te saltim literis salutare. Prohibuit hoc officium tanti Nominis Tui reverentia. Nunc autem mutata sententia id praesto, quod expertus sim Tuam summam in omnes literarum studiosos humanitatem. Testes mihi locupletissimae *Epistolarum Centuriae*, ex quibus video quam
aequo animo inter gravissimas occupationes tuas, quibus summo
10 Reip[ublicae] bono semper distineris, legere soleas aliorum literas atque iis benignissime respondere. Accessit ad haec adventus eruditissimi viri M[artini] Antonii Delrii, qui quum per se gratissimus mihi fuit, tum quod multa mihi de te iucunde narrare soleat, quibus quotidie me magis ad scribendum accendit. Quid, quod et ipse suis istis litteris viam mihi
15 ad tuam amicitiam aperire voluit? Quam ego pro mea virili munio mit-

27 *dum... fio*] Hor. *ars* 25 • 28 alii alia] Otto 826, p. 166. • 31 *in... iuveni*] Mart. 1.107.7. • 33-34 *ante... venit*] Mart. 1.25.5, 8.

IV. 9 aequo *scripsi*: aequae c • 12 quum *scripsi*: quàm c

2 si quisquam] Cf. Cic. *fam.* 6.14.1

que lo remedes. Huyo de las palabras rebuscadas, me horrorizan las expresiones en desuso, apenas entiendo la frase lacónica y recortada. 'Mientras me afano por ser breve, me vuelvo oscuro'. Esto creo yo, y cada cual lo que le parezca. A Oriencio lo publiqué y lo envié, y no reconocen haberlo recibido por no reconocer que son desagradecidos. Por lo demás las cosas que tengo entre manos, aunque están (30) bastante pulidas, no las voy a imprimir: 'Los novillos no quieren llevar el yugo a campos estériles'. Tú, empero, continúa y entrega a los operarios cuanto antes a Tácito para que lo impriman. 'Dudas acoger a la fama, que está de pie ante tus puertas: Llega tarde la gloria a las cenizas'. (35) Adiós, mis hermanos te mandan un saludo. En Salamanca, a 31 de octubre [1604].

IV

Al ilustrísimo señor Justo Lipsio, Cronista Real:

Si hay alguien que te estime, Lipsio, entrañablemente y honre con su admiración ese divino talento tuyo, confieso que ése soy yo. He querido ya hace tiempo (puesto que las circunstancias de mi vida no me permiten ir hasta ti y (5) disfrutar de tu gozosísima presencia) saludarte, al menos, por carta. Me impidió este deber la reverencia por tu gran nombradía. Ahora, empero, cambiando de opinión cumplo con ello, ya que he comprobado tu extrema cortesía hacia todos los aficionados a las letras. Tengo como testigos tus riquísimas *Centurias de epístolas*, de las cuales veo con cuánta aquiescencia en medio de tus importantísimas tareas en las que estás ocupado siempre para supremo bien (10) del Estado, acostumbras leer las cartas de los demás y contestarlas amabilísimamente. Ha venido a añadirse a estas circunstancias la llegada del eruditísimo Martín Antonio Delrío, quien no sólo ha sido él de por sí una persona harto grata para mí, sino también porque suele contarme con complacencia muchas cosas de ti, por medio de las cuales cada día más me ha encendido a escribirte. ¿Qué decir del hecho de que también él mismo (15) haya querido abrirme con esta carta suya una vía hacia tu amistad? Y a ésta yo la refuerzo en lo que de mí dependa

tendo ad te Sancti Orientii libello, tibi noto et quem maximam partem tuo politissimo iudicio debebamus, apud nos mea opera iterum excuso et a Delrio recognito. Hoc habe mei μνημόσυνον et meae in te benevolentiae signum.

- 20 Salmanticae, ubi multos annos studiorum causa commoratus sum, nunc consedi. Parens meus apud potentissimum Regem nostrum Philip-
pum degit in supremo eius Consilio et Regium patrimonium adminis-
trans, vir et Iuris cognitione et rerum usu celebris et qui non infimum
apud Regem gratiae locum obtinet. Haec ab eo summa virtute -/- parta a
25 me commemorantur non ostentandi mei caussa, sed ut intelligas amicum
te esse habiturum, si me amplecti volueris, cui tuto possis aliquid com-
mittere, ad quod faciendum saltem non deerit propensa erga te voluntas
et certa fides. Superioribus diebus Ferdinandus de Milan Vlis<si>ponen-
sis, Taciti studiosus, cum ad me venisset et de eius auctoris loco, de
30 cuius interpretatione ambigebat teque consuluerat, me compellasset, legi
libentissime Epistulam tuam ad se missam, qua paucissimis verbis tene-
bras discutebas. Sed offusa ei loco caligo hominem adhuc oculos ape-
rire non sinit. Ego ope veteris cuiusdam codicis levissima immutatione
visus ei sum rem attigisse. Legitur extremo libro 3. Annal[ium] locus ille
35 his verbis; eadem et habet codex meus: *Quippe alta parente geniti*. Hoc
sensu: Silanum ex nobilissima matre natum, ideoque reddita eiusdem
filio aviae bona, ne scilicet tantae feminae nepos bonis aviae privaretur,
cum satis videretur mulctari patris peccato in ceteris bonis. Ridebis forte
Hispanam audaciam, sed tu idem nos docuisti veteres membranas suspi-
40 cere. Delrius meo nomine a te petit ut si aliquid ad manum habes in
Martialem, quem Hispanum poetam Hispanus depereo, ad nos mittas. Id
mihi gratissimum fore scias velim. Vale, nostri seculi decus et litterarum
lumen.

enviándote el opúsculo de San Oriencio, conocido por ti y que debemos en su mayor parte a tu acendradísimo juicio, que ha sido por segunda vez impreso en nuestro país gracias a mi colaboración, y revisado por Delrío. Ten este recuerdo mío en prueba de mi afecto a tu persona.

Resido actualmente en (20) Salamanca, donde he pasado muchos años con motivo de mis estudios. Mi padre está en la corte de nuestro poderosísimo rey Felipe, en su Consejo Supremo y en la administración de la Hacienda Real; persona reputada tanto en el conocimiento de las leyes como en la experiencia de la vida, ocupa un puesto no insignificante en la consideración del rey. Estas cosas que él ha conseguido por su enorme valía (25) no te las menciono por hacer ostentación de mi persona, sino para que comprendas que vas a tener un amigo, si quieres aceptarme, al que con seguridad podrás confiar alguna cosa, que para hacerla, al menos no faltará una voluntad rendida a tu persona y una segura lealtad.

En los pasados días Fernando de Milan, lisboeta estudioso de Tácito, me había visitado y me había retado con un pasaje de este autor, de (30) cuya interpretación dudaba y acerca del cual te había consultado; leí con muchísimo gusto la carta que le mandaste, en la que con muy pocas palabras despejabas las sombras. Pero la oscuridad esparcida en este pasaje no le deja a este hombre por el momento abrir sus ojos. Le ha parecido a él que, con la ayuda de un viejo códice por medio de un levísimo cambio, he columbrado la cuestión. Se lee al final del libro 3 de los *Anales* aquel pasaje (35) con estas palabras. Igualmente también tiene mi códice: 'Comoquiera que había nacido de una madre egregia.' Con este significado: que Silano había nacido de una muy noble madre, y por ello los bienes de la abuela habían sido devueltos al hijo del mismo, entiéndase, para que el nieto de una mujer tan importante no se viese privado de los bienes de su abuela, ya que parecía estar bastante castigado por la culpa de su padre en el resto de los bienes. Te reirás, tal vez, de la audacia española, pero tú mismo nos has enseñado a respetar los viejos pergaminos. (40) Delrío te pide en mi nombre que si algo tienes a mano sobre Marcial, poeta español por el que me pierdo como español que soy, nos lo envíes. Querría que supieras que ello sería para mí objeto del mayor agradecimiento. Adiós, honra de nuestro siglo y luminar de la cultura.

V. 05 02 03 Justo Lipsio (Lovaina) a Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado (Salamanca).

3 febrero 1605

c: Salamanca BU ms. 2598, f. 6^r.

Iustus Lipsius D[omino] Laurentio Ramirez De Prado V[iro] N[obili] S[alutem] M[ultam] D[icit].

- An non audacter ad me adeas, Delrio meo inducente? Veni, veni, brachiis corporis et animi (istud certe) amplexende, sicut virum illum velim
 5 male nobis ereptum. Illud ipsum aegre est in amantis animo, tam bene illic esse et tui similes reperire, qui demulcere possint et detinere. Sed revoco: sit ei optime et, quoniam Noster esse non vult aut non potest, habeat amicos virtute et doctrina sua dignos; inter eos te vel primum, mi Ramirez. Non aliter tu quidem poteris, qui natura et studio ad opti-
 10 mas artes es factus, non aliter, inquam, quam ut ferrum occulta vi trahitur a magnete, sic tu ab illis et antistite earum illo Nostro. Ergo sincere amicitiam tuam admitto, sive etiam appeto, et quanquam non longum fortasse (ut valetudo mea est) colam, tamen puriter colam et solemniter meo scito, MORIBVS ANTIQVIS. Qui mores quin et tibi placeant, haud
 15 ambigo. Vtinam pluribus in Hispania vestra, et recipiat veterem splendorem! De Taciti loco dixi quid sentirem; nec aliud paene manu est. Tuum non sperno si dixisset expressius: *tali aut illa parente geniti*. In Martiali te esse gaudeo. Quae habui pleraque communicavi cum Radero. Videbo si qua Analecta erunt, et tibi erunt. Ama me, ama Delrium, aut
 20 neutrum. Lovanii III Nonas Febr[uaris] ∞.DC.V.

De Orientio gratia esto: vellem a me haberes antidorum, et haberes, si via mittendi esset.

V. 17 illa *correxí e comm. Lipsiano*: tali iter. c • 21 antidorum] ἀντιδωρον *malim*

14 meo... ANTIQVIS] Cf. *ILE* I,73 02 22, 49-50. •MORIBVS] Otto 1549, p. 302. • 17 *parente*] Tac. *ann.* 3.68.2. • 18 Radero] Matthaeus Rader, S.I. (1561-1634); cf. *Cent. III misc. ep.* XXX, *ILE* 97 11 29 (*ILOpera* II p. 130).

V

Justo Lipsio saluda al noble señor don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado.

¿Es que no ibas a atreverte a venir a mí, siendo mi querido Delrío quien te presenta? Ven, ven que te abrace con los brazos de mi cuerpo y de mi espíritu (eso seguro), como querría abrazar a aquel hombre que (5) en mala hora escapó de mí. Es precisamente insufrible para el corazón de quienes le queremos que se encuentre tan bien ahí y encuentre a personas como tú que lo puedan encandilar y retener. Pero retiro lo dicho: sea para él lo mejor y, ya que no quiere, o no puede, ser nuestro, tenga amigos dignos de su virtud y sabiduría, entre ellos tú, quizás el primero, querido Ramírez. No de otra manera podrás serlo tú, que por tus facultades y por tu estudio te has formado en las (10) mejores artes, no de otra manera, digo, que como el hierro es arrastrado por el imán por medio de una fuerza invisible, así tú te ves atraído por aquellas artes y por aquel nuestro supremo maestro de ellas. Por consiguiente, recibo sinceramente tu amistad, o si quieres, la pretendo, y aunque no la cultivaré tal vez por mucho tiempo, tal como va mi salud, sin embargo la cultivaré sin reservas y de acuerdo con mi máxima general 'según las antiguas costumbres'. Costumbres que no dudo que a tí también te complacen. (15) ¡Ojalá que a muchos más en vuestra España, y recobre su antiguo esplendor!

Acerca del pasaje de Tácito he dicho lo que opinaba, y casi no hay nada más a mano. No rechazo lo tuyo, aunque habría dicho más expresivamente: 'Nacido de tal o de aquella madre.' Me alegro de que estés con Marcial. Las muchas cosas que tenía las compartí con Radero. Veré si quedan algunos resúmenes y serán para ti. Ámame, ama a Delrío, o (20) a ninguno de los dos. En Lovaina, a 3 de febrero de 1605. Gracias por lo de Oriencio: querría que tuvieras de mí una compensación, y lo tendrías si hubiese forma de enviarlo.

VI. 05 04 19 Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado (Salamanca) a Justo Lipsio (Lovaina).

19 abril 1605

c: Salamanca BU ms. 2598, ff. 6^v-7^r.

Iusto Lipsio v[iro] cl[arissimo] D[ominus] Laurentius Ramirez de Prado S[alutem] P[lurimam] D[icit].

Humanitati tuae summae in omnes bonarum literarum amatores fidebam satis. Quantam erga me video, nunquam expectavi. Tune dignatus hominem peregrinum inter cultores admittere, qui hinc et illinc tanti? Gratias agat qui referre queat; ego nec verbis quidem satisfacere possum. Qui persolvam, cum tot imputes et nihil debeas? Tibi debeo, Delrio imputo, qui praeivit, ut divinam Tuam Amicitiam deprecatus lustratione puri ac sinceri animi possem eius penetralia sacra tangere, o utinam, et ingredi.

10 Cum ergo in aere tuo sim nec solvendo,

nam tibi quam solvat non habet arca Iovis,

decoquam certe ni voluntatem in dispunctione numeres. Sed heu, dolor prorumpit. Delrius (ut arbitrabamur) noster nescio quo se confert et castra movet; deripiunt eum certatim potentiores et nobis eripiunt. Talis

15 gemma illustrare Hispaniam non pergit quae micat inter omnes

velut inter ignes

Luna minores.

Valetudinem caussatus et coeli iniurias, iniuria forte nobis inhospitalitatis inuret notam. Solantur nos aliqui incerta specula fore ut Vallisoleti

20 gradum sistat: si id certum, sequar ego et domi apud meos assequar et fruar,

sedes ubi fata quietas

ostendunt.

-/- De exitu certiore te faciam. Nunc vero Analecta tua in Martialem

25 iterum atque iterum peto et appeto magis quam aliorum edulia atque bellaria. Vale, decus Musarum. Vale, Salmanticae XIII Kal[endas] MaI. CD.DC.V.

VI. 9 tangere] ex attingere in lit. corr. c • 25 ante aliorum eras. odul c

7 debeo... imputo] Cf. Sen. Ben. 1.4.3. • 11 nam... Iovis] Mart. 9.3.14. • 16 velut... minores] Hor. carm. 1.12.47. • 22-23 sedes... ostendunt] Verg. Aen. 1.205. • 25-26 aliorum... bellaria] Cf. Martialis Coquus: 'Theodorus Marsilius', CTC IV 281a, 289b; N. Antonio, Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus, lib.I, cap. XIII, §275, p. 81.

VI

Al ilustrísimo señor Justo Lipsio don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado da muchos saludos.

Confiaba bastante en tu extraordinaria amabilidad hacia todos los amantes de las bellas letras. Nunca esperé tanta como veo para conmigo. ¿Que a un extranjero te hayas dignado (5) acoger entre tus íntimos, que tan importantes los hay aquende y allende? Que dé las gracias quien pueda devolverlas; yo ni siquiera con palabras puedo hacerlo suficientemente. ¿Cómo podré pagarlo, cuando tanto es lo que te adjudicas con tus beneficios y nada debes? Estoy en deuda contigo, a Del Río atribuyo como mérito que me abrió camino para que yo, suplicando tu divina amistad, por la purificación de mi espíritu irreprochable y leal pudiese alcanzar sus sagrados recintos y, ¡ojalá!, ingresar en ellos. (10) Así pues, como no estoy en condiciones de solventar una deuda tuya, 'pues el arca de Júpiter no tiene con qué pagarte', me declararé en quiebra, desde luego, si no cuentas mi voluntad en la cancelación de la deuda.

Pero, ¡ay!, el dolor irrumpe. Nuestro amigo Del Río, como pensábamos, no sé adónde se traslada y levanta sus reales: a porfía se lo llevan los poderosos y nos lo quitan. Tal (15) joya no sigue alumbrando a España, que brilla entre todas 'como la luna entre los astros menores'. Pretextando su salud y las sinrazones del cielo, sin razón tal vez nos marcará con el estigma de la inhospitalidad. Algunos nos consuelan con la infundada y flaca esperanza de que (20) detenga sus pasos en Valladolid. Si esto es cierto, yo lo seguiré y lo seguiré a pie juntillas en casa junto a los míos y disfrutaré del lugar 'donde los hados me muestran una tranquila morada'. Te informaré de la salida. Pero ahora te pido (25) una y otra vez tus resúmenes de Marcial, y los apetezco más que las viandas y manjares de otros. Que sigas bien, honra de las musas. Adiós. Salamanca, 19 de abril de 1605.

VII. 05 05 15 Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado (Salamanca) a Justo Lipsio (Lovaina).

15 mayo 1605

c: Salamanca BU ms. 2598, f. 44^r.

Iusto Lipsio v[iro] cl[arissimo] D[ominus] Laur[entius] Ramirez de Prado S[alutem] P[lurimam] D[icit].

Virum magnum toties l[ite]ris interpellare audacia magna, si magna audacia quando maximus amor. Vt enim qui per clivum decurrens suo
 5 pondere victus, quamvis velit, non potest gradum sistere, sic ego qui iam in Tui amorem rui, vix retineo me ipsum ita ut iteratis illiteratis literis propellar in lapsum. Ignosce praecipue cum mittendae ep[isto]lae non mittenda sese offerat occasio. Proficiscitur ad te Karolus Varon ex familia S[anc]ⁱ Augustini, moribus et religione spectatus satis, mihi amore in
 10 exteris coniunctus; operam dedit affatim Theologiae et, ut puto, neque eam neque oleum perdidit. Commendo tibi, si valet commendare qui commendari quaerit. Comitem et patrociniū secum fert et ego mitto. Mitto namque *Politica* tua Hispano sermone reddita a quodam viro nobilissimo luminibus privato, ut videas quanti tua faciamus cum facimus
 15 nostra et quam magna videantur cum et a caeco. Martinus Delrius valet, neque usque adhuc dixit nobis vale. At dico tibi et me addico. Salmanticae Id. Maii MDC V.

VIII. 05 08 00 Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado (Salamanca) a Justo Lipsio (Lovaina).

ca. agosto 1605

c: Salamanca BU ms. 2598, ff. 67^v-68^r.

I[usto] Lipsio.

Anxius fui et in magnas angustias animi adductus dum praesagiebam valetudine te affici, quum binis meis litteris non viderem responsum.

VII. 14 faciamus *scripsi*: facimus *iter. c*

6 illiteratis literis] Cf. Plin. *ep.* 1.10.9 • 10-11 operam et oleum perdere] Otto 1284, p. 253. • 13-14 viro... privato] Bernardino de Mendoza (c. 1541-1604), *BHN*, I p. 218, *BLH*, XIV n° 5108.

VII

Al ilustrísimo señor Justo Lipsio, don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado le manda muchos saludos.

Gran osadía interpelar por carta tantas veces a un gran hombre, si grande es la osadía cuando grandísimo es el amor. Como el que, al bajar corriendo por una cuesta vencido (5) por su propio peso, no puede detener su paso por más que quiera, así yo, que ya en el amor hacia tu persona me volqué, a duras penas me contengo a mí mismo, de tal manera que reiteradas unas letras iletradas me veo lanzado a la caída. Perdona sobre todo cuando se ofrezca la oportunidad, que no debe omitirse, de remitir una carta. Marcha hacia ti Carlos Varón, de la orden de San Agustín, asaz probado en costumbres y religiosidad, (10) unido a mí por el afecto hacia los extranjeros. Ha dedicado un gran esfuerzo a la teología y, según creo, no ha desperdiciado ni el esfuerzo ni el tiempo. Te lo recomiendo, si puede recomendar quien requiere ser recomendado. Lleva consigo acompañante y protección y yo lo envío. Envío, pues, tu *Política* traducida al español por un hombre de mucha alcurnia que está ciego, para que veas cuánto apreciamos tus obras cuando las hacemos (15) nuestras y qué grandes pueden verse cuando también lo son por un ciego. Martín del Río está bien y hasta el momento no nos ha dicho adiós. Pero yo te lo digo a ti y a ti me obligo. Salamanca, 15 de mayo de 1605.

VIII

A Justo Lipsio:

Ansioso estuve y arrastrado a grandes angustias interiores mientras barruntaba que estabas aquejado de enfermedad, ya que no veía respuesta a mis dos cartas.

- Succurrit tanquam deus e machina epistola Balthazari de Çuñiga, legati
 5 apud Gallos, mihi missa, quae me certiolem faciebat et te prospera vale-
 tudine iam frui et eum invisurum fore. Vtrumque laetum! Hoc unum
 scito, me in primis desiderare ut omnia tibi fauste et feliciter evenia<nt>.
 Nescio quid impulit me et veluti quadam vi cogit ad te obsequio prose-
 quendum. Sed quid dico, imo scio, si animi dotes aspicio; suspicio, si
 10 mansuetudinem morum. Heu, quo tendo? teneo silentium ne subrustico
 rubeam pudore. Ergo litteras hasce mitto: facultas mihi est et nobilis et
 amici iuvenis Iohannis Bodecker cuius ingenitam nobilitatem et orbis
 perlustrandi cupiditatem nunquam satis laudasse me existimavero.
 Decrevi etiam mittere Apologiam hanc in virum doctum, qui nisi laces-
 15 sisset, haudquaquam ego erumperem. Calculo Martini Delrii probat<ur>.
 O utinam et tuo! Dele, transverso calamo -/- atrum signum allinito: vic-
 tor abibo cadens Aeneae magni dextra. De Martino Delrio, quid dicam?
 Triste nobis 'vale' dixit. Vallisoleti commoratur et aures, quibus assue-
 veram, quaero et videor mihi iam alieno foro litigare; quas non ut desti-
 20 tuti sed ut veri aestimatores desideramus. Expecto reliquias Martialis:
 mitte, obsecro, et Vale.

VIII. 10 teneo conieci: te in lit. c • 16 atrum correxi e fonte: si (eras.) tuum c

4 deus e machina] Cf. Erasmus *Adagia* 1.1.68 • Çuñiga] Baltasar de Zúñiga y Fonseca (m. 1622); cf. 02 02 21 (*ILOpera* II, p. 731). • 10-11 subrustico... pudore] Cf. Cic. *fam.* 5.12.1 • 16 transverso... signum] Hor. *ars* 446-7 • 17 Aeneae... dextra] Verg. *Aen.* 10.830 • 18 triste... 'vale'] Cf. OV. *ep.* 13.14 • 18-19 aures... litigare] Mart. 12 praef. (ed. Heraeus Borovskij, 1982, 282, 8-9). • 19 alieno foro] Otto 711, p. 146. • 19-20 desti-
 tuti, desideramus] Cf. Mart. 12 praef. (*ibid.*, 1.14).

Se presentó como *deus ex machina* una carta que me ha enviado Baltasar de Zúñiga, embajador (5) en Francia, en la que me informaba de que gozabas ya de buena salud y proyectaba visitarte. Jubilosos ambos hechos. Has de saber esto nada más, que deseo lo primero de todo que todas las cosas te vengan propicias y provechosas. Me impulsa un no sé qué y me obliga como con una fuerza indescriptible a obsequiarte con mi favor. Pero qué digo, desde luego sí que lo sé, si miro las cualidades de tu espíritu, lo admiro, si (10) la modestia de tus costumbres. ¡Ah!, ¿adónde voy? Guardo silencio para no sonrojarme de palurdo pudor. Así pues, te envío esta carta. Tengo la posibilidad de mi noble y joven amigo Juan Bodecker, cuya genuina nobleza y deseo de recorrer mundo creo que jamás elogiaré lo suficiente. He decidido también enviarte la 'Apología' esta contra un erudito, a quien, si no me hubiese provocado, (15) de ninguna manera yo atacaría. Está aprobada con el voto de Martín del Río. ¡Ah, ojalá también por el tuyo! Borra, 'tacha con tu pluma una negra señal a lo largo'. Marcharé vencedor cayendo 'bajo la diestra del gran Eneas'. ¿De Martín del Río qué te diré? Nos dio un triste adiós. Permanece en Valladolid y 'busco los oídos a los que me había acostumbrado y me parece que estoy ya litigando en un foro ajeno. Y a éstos no los añoro como privado de ellos (20) sino como su apreciador auténtico'. Aguardo lo que te quede de Marcial. Envíalo, por favor, y adiós.

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DID MILTON REALLY RIDICULE PLATO'S THEORY OF IDEAL
FORMS IN *DE IDEA PLATONICA*?*

Concerning Milton's Latin poem on the Platonic Archetype or ideal form, there has been since Coleridge something close to a consensus or orthodoxy. The view which prevailed before Coleridge had noted that the poem's voice attacks Plato's theory of Ideas and had assumed that Milton — in the poem — endorsed the attack. But Coleridge rejected this view, saying:

This is not, as has been supposed, a ridicule of Plato; but of the gross Aristotelian misinterpretation of the Platonic Idea, or *Homo Archetypus*.¹

Milton's greatest biographer, Masson, agreed; and so do most editors and commentators nowadays.² Thus we read in John Carey's edition, as revised in 1997, that '[The poem] is a burlesque of Aristotle's criticisms of Plato's doctrine of ideal forms... Milton speaks as a literal-minded Aristotelian'.³

A few doubting voices are heard. Douglas Bush finds the poem a 'half-burlesque'.⁴ One may wonder how a *half*-burlesque works, and have doubts about Bush's suggestion. Harris F. Fletcher finds ingenuity and wit as the poem's main qualities and (by implication) its *raison d'être*, without however explaining why he thinks so.⁵ Indeed, several

* A version of the paper was read to the Cambridge Society for Neo-Latin Studies, and I thank that audience for suggestions.

¹ Cited, like others named in this section, from Douglas Bush (ed.), *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton*, vol. I (New York, 1970), p. 225, n. 1; hereafter referred to as 'Bush'.

² David Masson (ed.), *Poetical Works of John Milton*, 3 vols (London, 1890), I, 294-95, also 341.

³ John Milton, *Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. John Carey (London, 1997, 2d. edn.), p. 69.

⁴ Bush, pp. 225-26.

⁵ Harris Francis Fletcher, *Milton's Intellectual Development*, 2 vols. (Urbana, 1956-61), II, 427: 'To me the poem is strictly an academic exercise of great ingenuity, even

more responses are possible. Besides the disfavoured predecessor to Coleridge's, and the positions sketched by Bush and Fletcher, we may posit a failed version of the two main ones. That is to say, the old view could represent Milton's design, but a design now taken as self-defeating or crass; or the present orthodoxy, though representing Milton's design, may expose it as too subtle to have its effect. Or again, one could attempt a compromise or mixed position on lines different from Bush's or Fletcher's. It seems time to reopen the debate; to challenge the majority view.

To close this survey of opinion, here is C. S. Lewis, given the place of honour because he found qualities in the poem which others did not mention. He was moved to translate part of it, saying,

[The poem] was probably intended as a mere academic squib; but genius sometimes laughs at author's intentions. I hardly dare to hope that [my] version has preserved the goblin quality of the original: it will be enough if I send some readers to explore for themselves such a neglected and exquisite grotesque.⁶

Lewis is at any rate impressed, and his words 'goblin' and 'grotesque' have helped me enjoy it. However, he showed less respect when he chopped off the ending, saying 'I cut the umbilical cord which, in the original, connects the fantasy with its scholastic occasion'.⁷

In this paper I try to reconnect the 'fantasy' with its 'scholastic occasion', its Cambridge University contexts. The Cambridge contexts are the external evidence which can bring us to a fitter interpretation of the poem. But the internal evidence, the topic and structure and prosody and tone of the poem itself, combine with that contextual evidence to redeem the poem from an orthodoxy which I believe to be misguided. I shall contend that the orthodox view is a pointless and (more lamentably) an unexamined oversophistication, of an excellent and unusual piece of polemic.

I give the text with my own translation.⁸

wit, on a set topic, that was received with acclaim and even the kind of enthusiasm extended to a triumph among undergraduates'. I shall be discussing the matter of the 'set topic'. I know of no evidence as to the poem's reception in Milton's own student milieu, though he is perhaps relying on the fact (which he discusses, following Masson) that it turns up in an anthology of students' wit-pieces a century later.

⁶ Lewis is cited from Bush, p. 226; he wrote in *English*, 5 (1944-45), 195.

⁷ Lewis gives no reason for thus truncating a not very long poem. His version is lively, and I would have used it if it had been complete.

⁸ The text is as prepared by myself for a volume of Milton selections in the series *Bibliotheca Latinitatis Novae* (Leiden, Amsterdam and Cambridge). The translation is for the same volume. It uses verse because Milton himself always used verse when translating verse.

De Idea Platonica quemadmodum Aristoteles Intellexit

Dicite, sacrorum praesides nemorum deae,
 Tuque O noveni perbeata numinis
 Memoria mater, quaeque in immenso procul
 Antro recumbis otiosa Aeternitas,
 Monumenta servans, et ratas leges Iovis, 5
 Caelique fastos atque ephemeridas Deum,
 Quis ille primus cuius ex imagine
 Natura sollers finxit humanum genus,
 Aeternus, incorruptus, aequaevus polo,
 Unusque et universus, exemplar Dei? 10
 Haud ille Palladis gemellus innubae
 Interna proles insidet menti Iovis;
 Sed quamlibet natura sit communior,
 Tamen seorsus extat ad morem unius,
 Et, mira, certo stringitur spatio loci; 15
 Seu sempiternus ille siderum comes
 Caeli pererrat ordines decemplicis,
 Citimumve terris incolit Lunae globum;
 Sive inter animas corpus adituras sedens
 Obliviosas torpet ad Lethes aquas; 20
 Sive in remota forte terrarum plaga
 Incedit ingens hominis archetypus gigas,
 Et diis tremendus erigit celsum caput
 Atlante maior portitore siderum.
 Non cui profundum caecitas lumen dedit 25
 Dircaeus augur vidit hunc alto sinu;
 Non hunc silenti nocte Pleiones nepos
 Vatum sagaci praepes ostendit choro;
 Non hunc sacerdos novit Assyrius, licet
 Longos vetusti commemoret atavos Nini 30
 Priscumque Belon inclutumque Osiridem.
 Non ille trino gloriosus nomine
 Ter magnus Hermes (ut sit arcani sciens)
 Talem reliquit Isidis cultoribus.
 At tu, perenne ruris Academi decus, 35
 (Haec monstra si tu primus inducti scholis)
 Iam iam poetas, urbis exules tuae,

Revocabis, ipse fabulator maximus;
Aut institutor ipse migrabis foras!

On the Platonic Ideal Form as Aristotle Understood it

Say who, you guardians of the sacred groves,
And you, nine-times-blest mother of the Muses,
Memory; O say, Eternity, you who rest
Far off in your vast cave and keep heaven's muniments,
Jove's laws, celestial almanacs, daybooks of the gods: 5
Say who was that first Archetype, from whom
Skilled Nature fashioned all the human race?
Eternal, incorrupt, long-living as heaven,
Single and universal human template! 10
Since he was not some twin of virgin Athena
Living unborn inside the mind of Jove,
Maybe although he shares in kind with all
He exists outside all, individual,
Wondrously limited to a finite spot? 15
Maybe companioning the stars he roves
For ever through the sempiternal spheres,
Or dwells (earth's next-door neighbour) in the Moon?
Maybe amongst the souls awaiting bodies
By Lethe's stream he sits and snoozes? 20
Maybe in some far region of the Earth
He strides along, gargantuan Archetype,
Raising his head high to scare the gods witless,
Taller than Atlas who upholds the heavens?
Tiresias, with his blind seer's piercing insight, 25
Never perceived this Ur-Mensch; nor did Mercury,
Swift-flying god, reveal this mystery
In night-time seances to his band of sages.
No Assyrian priest has heard of him, despite
Listing the farthest ancestors of ancient Ninus, 30
Primeval Baal, and the famed Osiris.
Even thrice-great Hermes, proud of his triple name,
Knower of secret things, left nothing known
To Isis' cult about this Archetype.
So Plato, lasting glory of Academe, 35

If you first introduced these bogeys to the Schools,
 Call back the poets you exiled from your city!
 Do it at once! For one of two things holds now:
 Either confess yourself the ultimate fiction-writer;
 Or else, you founder of the ideal State,
 You'd better leave it! — Better emigrate!

1. External evidence: Cambridge contexts

I again use the plural, 'contexts', because no *single* Cambridge occasion explains the tone, or tells us who first heard or read the poem. I shall first explain how Cambridge taught in 1628 or so, distinguishing between University and college activities; before speculating about Christ's College in particular, where Milton was in his fourth year and well-known as a performer of the Latin exercises.⁹

Latin, and logic, received the major emphasis. Latin was the 'mother tongue' of the University: its official transactions happened in Latin. This is why one contributor to a university anthology makes the ostensibly startling statement, in English, that 'Our Mother tongue is Latine'.¹⁰ And if Latin was the medium, logic was the prime content of the relevant undergraduate activities, on the University as distinct from college front.¹¹

⁹ For the University, I have gained most from William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge* (Cambridge, MA, 1958), esp. ch. 1; and from Mordechai Feingold's book-length chapter, 'The Humanities', in *Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, vol. IV of *The History of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1997), ch. 5, pp. 211-359. Feingold is also admirable on how the colleges supported the University curriculum, but otherwise provided individual courses of study. No equivalent work has been done for Cambridge, but the pattern is likely to have been similar there. (They vied with, and spied on, each other.) I am grateful to the librarians and staff of these libraries for access to MSS relating to the curriculum: Cambridge University Library, especially Elisabeth Leedham-Green there; Caius, Christ's, King's, Pembroke, Queens' and St John's Colleges.

¹⁰ Anon., Oxford, 1633, in *Solis Britannici Perigaeum*. See D. K. Money, 'A Different-Sounding Lyre: Oxford Commemorative Verse in English, 1613-1834', *Bodleian Library Record*, 16/1 (1997), 42-92. Money's valuable point is that when an Oxbridge anthology poem is in English, that is a positive act of choice, an unusual initiative. My own point is that the University anthologies were overwhelmingly in Latin for the same reasons as the ceremonies and orations and exercises all were. It was the same in the universities of Scotland, Ireland, Europe.

¹¹ Disputations were the predominant mode, the most emphasized in the curriculum and in allusions. (Logic text-books were accordingly legion, and best-sellers.) It is true that declamations, a more rhetorically embellished mode, were also required; and that

Students walked from their colleges, in a bunch, with their tutor, to the 'public Schools'. There, they disputed with each other in accordance with Scholastic (that is, neo-Aristotelian) logic. It was all oral, eristic, and emulative. The aim was to win; or at least, not to lose. As no degree classes or grades hung on the outcome, one might wonder what exactly there was to 'win or lose'. But because audiences were large, with peers as well as teachers present, the student might win glory; or lose face. These exertions were required of all, hence well-attended. A thesis would be propounded first by a 'Respondent'. The 'Opponent' replied, the proceedings moved past set statements to interrogation, and became fiercely argumentative, until such time as the presiding dignitary declared that the 'exercising' (*exercitatio*) was over — all in accordance with the established norms of Aristotelian debating, much the same across Europe.

These proceedings were in prose, all except the initial statement of the thesis. The thesis had a set of verses, called 'act verses', summarizing it — doing so blandly, but with literary flourishes. For the big July Commencements (degree-awarding rituals) the verses were printed out, and given to the audience (often including royalty or nobility). And Milton, in a letter, speaks of writing a set of such verses, for a Fellow of Christ's College who did not care to write his own.¹² This was unusual, but the poet Crashaw also did such ghost-writing: he and Milton were both known to be *good* at it. Accordingly, a natural inference is that our poem is a set of such act-verses, thesis-verses; indeed, may be the very ones Milton referred to in his letter of 1628?

Milton preferred these, one may judge by his selections for the 1674 *Prolusions*. But they do not concern us here.

¹² Letter 3, dated 2 July 1628: "Negotium illud de quo scripsi subobscurius, ecce Tabellis hisce involutum, in quo ego, cum tua ad me pervenit Epistola, districtus temporis angustia, magno tum primum opere desudabam: quidam enim Aedium nostrarum Socius, qui Comitibus his Academicis in Disputatione Philosophica responsurus erat, Carmina super quaestionibus pro more annuo componenda, praetervectus ipse iamdiu leviculas illiusmodi nugas, et rebus seriis intentior, forte meae Puerilitati commisit. Haec quidem Typis donata ad te misi, utpote quem norim rerum Poeticarum iudicem acerrimum, et mearum candidissimum." ("About that business which I left unclear in my letter, here is what happened. I was working flat out on it when your letter came; I was under severe time pressure because one of the Fellows of my college had to be Respondent in the philosophical disputation at this University Commencement, and so had to compose the verses expounding his thesis in the usual fashion for this yearly event, but — being way past the age for such minor amusements, and intent on weightier matters — he for some reason entrusted the composition to Yours Truly. The resulting verses have been printed, and I have sent them to you, seeing that I know you as a very acute critic of Latin verse, and what's more a frank critic of mine.") The text is taken from *Epistolarum Familiarium [with] Prolusiones Quaedam Oratoriae*, 1674. The translation is mine.

This is a natural solution, but it will not do. He wrote some other verses which are much *more* like the usual act verses, as may be seen by inspecting numerous other specimens on their original printed sheets in Cambridge University Library. The poem *Naturam non pati senium*, '[The Thesis] That Nature does not suffer decay', fits into this little genre much better, being clear, declarative, and straightforward (and much more like other people's extant thesis-verses). Also, the syntax of our poem's title differs from those of almost all extant thesis-poems, for which the norm is to state "*That*" something is the case, or debate "*Whether*" it is. To talk "*About*" something, *De Idea*, is the titling of only a few of the many titles I have examined.¹³ I shall offer an alternative hypothesis about the entitling shortly.

Our poem sounds less like a thesis than an "*Anti-thesis*," so to speak, verse from the stance of an opponent not a respondent. But opponents did not have to versify, opponency being the lesser of the two roles.¹⁴

Nonetheless, some light is dawning. Is it not from the *title* of our poem that the critical debate originates, and the ironic potential? The title may have been given it later, in 1645, when Milton edited his poems for his collected poems to date. Some other titles there show a 1645 perspective.¹⁵ Indeed, '*Naturam non pati senium*' may be another instance; for its syntax, again, is unusual for thesis verses, where the norm is neither this accusative-and-infinitive construction nor "*De*," but the indicative or locutions using '*Utrum*' or '*An*'). It is surely the title

¹³ Four out of dozens. Two such titles are theological ones, "*De Christi ad inferos descensu*" and "*De Caena Dominica integra relinquenda*" (in the Cambridge University Library MSS Room listing, UA CUR 73, p. 18, items 29 and 30). Nicholas Felton (who became a bishop and drew a funeral poem from Milton in 1626) also has theological titles using '*De*', but far more which begin '*Utrum*' or '*An*' or are plain indicative-declarative.

¹⁴ I should address here two other considerations which have been urged. (i) Is the poem referred to in the Gil letter as "commissioned" from Milton *neither* of the two discussed, but a lost poem? I think not, since Milton kept and published other poems, equally slight if not slighter. A well-organized writer, Milton seems to me unlikely to jettison his first printed poem (his first printed writing). (ii) John Carey (p. 68) identifies the commissioned verses as '*De Idea*' because the letter calls them '*leviculas nugas*', which he renders as 'trivial jokes'. But 'frivolous trifles' or 'minor amusements' is more accurate, and moreover gets the tone of *deprecation*. 'Jokes' seems wrong for both extant poems, and equally for all the thesis-verses I have examined, indeed for thesis-verses as such. All concerned took the exercises seriously; which is why the Praevaricator, when he did *his* exercises, did them ridiculously.

¹⁵ '*Lycidas*', most obviously, adds the hindsight remark about the overthrow of prelacy between 1638 and 1645; but the age-references, too, suggest a mid-life retrospect, especially when not accurate; and there is the editing poet's comment on the reason (immaturity) for the unfinished state of the Ode on the Circumcision.

which suggests — first, most, and even perhaps solely — that although Aristotle may talk like this, he talks about the matter only as he understood it. “Quemadmodum intellexit” — “as he understood the matter”... Yes, but *did* he understand it? The same ironic capacity exists in the Latin “intellexit” as in the English “understood.” He comprehended, or he perceived? The first sense entails a narrator’s endorsement: the second puts a distance between the narrator and the perceiver. For the present investigation, nonetheless, the issue remains whether things *within* the poem make the mockery self-exploding. More of this later: I must first reflect on other possible Cambridge contexts.

No *University* occasion encouraged ironical poems, except for the antics of the University’s licensed jester, the Praevaricator. The Praevaricator’s other name was the Varier; he ‘varied’ the daylong disputation routine by turning it inside out and upside down. His role was an institutionalising of license and mockery. A few examples survive in writing; none resembles Milton’s *De Idea Platonica* enough to help with our conundrum. As far as I can ascertain, Milton never performed in that official role, though his contemporary Thomas Randolph from Trinity did.¹⁶

Then was there any *College* occasion which might have required such a philosophic sally? None that I know of. But little is known of what happened in the colleges. They had to prepare their pupils for the University doings, so of course they practised those in college; but after that, the tutors had great independence, and so did the students. One college differed from another, one tutor in the same college differed from another; students followed a personal course of study. So although Christ’s *may* have had gatherings at which people read out their Latin verses to one another, or *may* have spiced up a philosophical debate by requiring everything to be done in verse, this is only speculation.

Undergraduates in their colleges did parody the University’s Latin proceedings. Indeed, it was a licensed mockery, less cautious and rule-bound (and more alcoholic) than the official Prevarications. Such parody was the life-blood of the colleges’ ‘saltings’.¹⁷ A salting was the

¹⁶ Randolph’s speech, easily the funniest of the prevaricatorial efforts I have read, can be seen in W. C. Hazlitt (ed.), Thomas Randolph, *Poetical and Dramatic Works*, 2 vols (London, 1875), II, 671-80.

¹⁷ See Alan H. Nelson, *Records of Early English Drama. Cambridge*, 2 vols (Toronto, 1989). The best discussion I know of saltings is in Elizabeth A. Perryman Freidberg’s Cambridge Ph D thesis, *Certain Small Festivities: The Texts and Contexts of Thomas Randolph’s Poems and Cambridge Entertainments* (1994).

ceremony of inducting freshmen to senior, or sophomoreonic, status called a 'salting' because its penalty or ordeal was drinking beer with salt in it. It resembled a hazing but was more formal, verbal and controlled. Several such occasions are documented, which included verse — well, doggerel. Or again, the scholastic method might have given rise to imaginary disputations, called *imaginationes*: a sub-literary medieval genre, which touches fingertips with Falstaff's catechism on Honour, or the Gravedigger's chop-logic with Hamlet.¹⁸ But no *precise* context emerges to ease our question.

What one can say, is that the disputatious parodic manner, the send-up or inverting of scholastic style of argument, was part of the air which Milton breathed. The more this proves to be true, the less we should assimilate the poem to any one particular Cambridge context. Whereas the other poem, *Naturam non pati senium*, assimilates readily to the act-verse mode, *De idea* does not. I would therefore regard it as a further development by Milton of the scholastic modes; in music terms, not an accompaniment nor an exam set piece, but a voluntary. This would help to explain why it gets printed *after* the simpler poem: as if to say, 'Now see what variations I can invent, upon a philosophic theme'.

Whatever the merits of this hypothesis may be, it must be recognised that the external evidence is helpful, and suggestive, but not more. To sum up so far: one might reason that the Cambridge contexts of Latin and scholastic logic conduced to an argumentative poem; or to a parodic one; but doubt that it could go beyond that, to conscious self-parody. To take those points one by one: (i) Our poem is certainly argumentative, in the one-sided manner of all disputation. (ii) Parody was prevalent, in fact allowed and institutionalized, as prevarication or salting, in Milton's milieu. But (iii) I know of no self-parody. And although the present poem might be the first instance, that sounds like special pleading, and anyway far too subtle for this public, oral, adversarial, aggressive world. People attacked. They attacked each other. What would be the point of attacking oneself, in public, to this sort of public?

At all events it is time to address the internal evidence. I discuss in turn: the choice of topic; the metre (leading to some remarks on historicity); the structure of the argument; and the tone.

¹⁸ Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum*, p. 31.

2. The Internal Evidence: The Topic

The topic is a great one, potentially. This is the issue on which Aristotle parted company with Plato. In the *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle gave some seven major reasons for abandoning Plato's theory of Ideal forms — the theory that particulars are good, beautiful and so forth, by sharing in some autonomous eternal absolute of goodness, beauty and so forth. The first example he gives is Man.

In so far as both the archetype and the instances are Man, there will be no difference between them; and if so, no more will there be any difference between the archetypal Good and plain Good in so far as both are good.¹⁹

What also raises the moment to a turning-point in the history of philosophy is the more personal preamble:

... such an enquiry goes against the grain because of our friendship for the authors of the theory of Archetypes. Still perhaps it would appear desirable, and indeed it would seem to be obligatory, especially for a philosopher, to sacrifice even one's closest personal ties in defence of truth. 'Both are dear to us, but our duty is to prefer the truth'.²⁰

Milton does not reproduce the fervent tone, nor most of the seven proofs. But he does seize the first proof, instancing the same archetype — the human one. And he argues the proof tenaciously.

What puzzles the Miltonist here, is that Milton elsewhere attacks the Aristotelian emphasis of Cambridge, and often reveres Plato.²¹ We should try, nevertheless, to approach his present argument and its details without preconceptions. Is the speaker being forceful, or only crass, in pressing for an answer as to 'where' we find this Archetype? The answer might be, 'crass', in that the essence of humanity might be perceivable without having a whereabouts: 'where' is intelligence, for instance? or malice? These are not to be found on a map either. But it

¹⁹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1096b1-3. The translation comes from *Aristotle in 23 Volumes*, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. XIX: *Nicomachean Ethics*, tr. H. Rackham (Revised edn. 1934), pp. 18-21.

²⁰ 1096a12-16, Loeb pp. 16-17. The Greek which I have italicized for emphasis runs, καίπερ προσάντους τῆς τοιαύτης ζητήσεως γινομένης διὰ τὸ φίλους ἄνδρας εἰσαγαγεῖν τὰ εἶδη. Aristotle clinches his argument by quoting a poet.

²¹ It might be that he prefers Plato to Neoplatonism and Aristotle to Scholasticism: he relies greatly on the two philosophers, as distinct from their supporters, throughout his working life.

would be 'forceful' if approached as rhetoric, a stream of rhetorical questions, all demanding the same answer: 'Nowhere', 'N'existe pas'. Need we be surprised if the young, logic-hating Milton preferred a rhetorical, one-sided, obtuse line of thought in 1628 at Cambridge? This was exactly what the University exercises consisted in, and encouraged, and rewarded. Even now, one can enjoy watching a Platonist belabouring Plato. At any rate, the Cambridge method was to assign each disputant one side of a debate, and definitely not always the side that the disputant preferred or that was the wisdom of the day. Just as in a presentday debate about 'Whether the earth is flat', someone must agree to argue the affirmative, and do it with full vigour; so on a given occasion in Milton's Cambridge an ardent Platonist might have to attack the Platonic Archetype.

In short, although the vehemence is one-sided it matches the importance of the topic, that parting of the ways between Aristotle and Plato. Aristotle rejected his teacher's fundamental positions only gradually, belatedly, and with trouble. Fragments of these qualities enter into the vehemence of Milton, dramatizing that parting of the ways as a serious, disputative Latin voluntary. The poem is venturesome in its topic, then; and so we find it also in its prosody, considered next.

3. The Internal Evidence: The Prosody

He marks the occasion to the ear as well as to the mind, by the unique metre he chooses for his thoughts. That metre is iambic trimeters; that is, the rhythm of Plautus' *senarii*, but with stricter rules governing the patterning of sound-quantity into three *metra*.²² The metre is to be distinguished in the other direction from the 'pure' iambic trimeters of Catullus — 'pure' in the sense that they use solely the pure, rising iambic (◡ —, six times over).²³ Nor is Milton using the iambic couplets, trimeters alternating with dimeters, known as 'epodic' because often used by Horace in his Epodes. Nor yet have we the companionable or scornful 'limping' ones (Greek 'scanzotes').²⁴ The choice begins to look challengingly particular...

²² Less well described as six 'feet'.

²³ As in 'Phaselus ille quem videtis hospitem': ◡ — ◡ — | ◡ — ◡ —. (But the final syllable in this metre as in others is *anceps*, the long syllable replaceable by short because the final placing is felt as indifferent or unemphatic.)

²⁴ Or 'choliambics' (= 'lame iambs'): the last iambic is reversed into a trochee, giving the line a comical or onomatopoeic bump or thud at its close.

We should ponder it further in terms of what Milton himself does elsewhere in iambic. He uses scazontes to console Salsillus, in his sickness ('Ad Salsillum'). He uses epodics, dignified couplets, to mark the death of the Bishop of Ely ('In obitum Praesulis Eliensis'). The present iambics, however, are neither lamed nor stanzaic. They are more continuous, more periodic and enjambed, than these other iambic types. To which ancient models are they indebted?

I suggest a combination; of Greek iambic practice in a broader way, with the practice of Horace's outstanding poem in this 'stichic' (non-stanzaic) way, the last of the Epodes, Epode 17.²⁵

Greek iambics are the staple of drama; and Milton's poem shares its qualities of being aural, interrogative or even invective. But the name 'iambics' also connects to *iambizein*, to abuse or attack, in those anonymous ritual iambic verses preceding the great exemplar of this mode, Archilochus. Milton's poem, whatever else it does, attacks.

In the Horace exemplar, Milton has felt a more formal, prosodic lure. This poem has most of its lines either purely iambic, or gaining a more massive effect by substituting a spondee in the usual places (first but not third syllable of each quadrisyllabic metron).²⁶ A few places, however, 'resolve' the iambic into a tribrach, or the spondee into a dactyl or anapaest.²⁷ Milton does all of this. In doing so, he arouses the ire of his editor Keightley: 'All through this poem Milton makes too frequent use of the dactyl and anapaest'.²⁸ Yet Milton is doing very much what Horace does. For example, Horace has several tribrachs; begins two lines with a dactyl; and in one line has no fewer than three resolutions, which exceeds even what Milton risks!²⁹ We could, indeed should,

²⁵ I follow the discussion of David Mankin, in Horace, *Epodes*, ed. David Mankin, Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 14-22. I am grateful to John Barsby for this reference, which makes more sense of Milton's prosody in *De Idea* than any of the Milton editions or commentaries do.

²⁶ By admitting a spondee in the first but not second half of a metron the ancients preserved the iambic pulse whilst enabling syncopations or other variations to be played around it. The same principle applies in dactylic hexameters and pentameters, indeed also in English iambics: variation in the first part of a unit (be it metron or line) is enabled by the resumed pulse in the second half.

²⁷ I found two dactyls in the epode, both initial; and seven tribrachs. See lines 12, 42, 63, 65, 74, 78.

²⁸ T. Keightley (ed.), *The Poems of John Milton, with Notes*, 2 vols. (London, 1859); quoted in Walter MacKellar (ed.) *The Latin Poems of John Milton*, Cornell Studies in English, 15 (New Haven, 1930), p. 302.

²⁹ Horace keeps things regular and solemn till line 12, but then we read 'alitis atque canibus homicidam Hectorem' (dactyl, iamb, tribrach, tribrach, iamb, iamb). Milton uses

admire Milton's prosody here: it is receptive and absorbent of Horace's, well heard, with a practical understanding of it — which shows equally when he innovates.

Easy as it may feel to dismiss Keightley's unduly rigid prosodic canons, I am arguing that a *similar* rigidity and preconception are spoiling the presentday reader's understanding and enjoyment of the poem. An improbable and unhistorical supersubtlety came in with Coleridge and has got stuck. When iambic is chosen for attack, we should compare iambic attack, not only in Greece and Rome but in early seventeenth-century England. To overstate for emphasis, iambic satire then usually attacked; attacked an outward target, in a blatantly obvious rather than indirect or ironic way.³⁰ The natural way to read Latin iambics which mock is as an attack on what is being mocked.

A more theoretical consideration may also find a place here. In Shakespeare studies, there is a well-attested tendency in the present century to explain whatever is obscure or repellent in the Bard's actions by claiming it is ironical, tongue-in-cheek or self-exploding. (Like the ending of *The Taming of the Shrew*) And not only Shakespeare. Irony, by its nature, becomes pervasive, and recessive in the reader's mind: we find it everywhere, one irony within another, as we academics sit in our rooms and excogitate articles. *Evidentially* speaking, there needs to be something in a seventeenth-century satire, either about the context or within the text itself — clear external or internal evidence, and preferably both — to warrant the invoking of irony so as to subvert the surface sense. Otherwise, we are giving ourselves carte blanche to disallow whatever discomforts a presentday taste. I propose to show that such thinking is unsuited to *De Idea*.

Returning from these wider divagations to the immediate prosodic point, I summarize it thus: the poem attacks, using the metre of attack to give a metrical as well as other pleasures in the attack. These other pleasures include, notably, that of the structuring of the train of thought; in three senses, the argument (the train of thought), the plot, and the quarrel which Milton is picking.

the initial dactyl in his first line; elsewhere he uses anapaests more than tribrachs for his resolutions — hearing a spondee not an iamb in the places where spondee is allowed?

³⁰ Indirect, self-exploding satire is of course frequent later in the century, with Dryden then Swift and Pope.

4. The Internal Evidence: The Structure of Argument

The argument is structured as follows. An invocation of celestial wisdoms leads up (with an imposing duplicity) to the question, *Who* was that founding archetype or divine exemplar of humanity, from which we actual humans derive our humanity? A fortiori, if the immortal wise ones can't say, we can't either. That is Step One, sentence One. Step Two is to give examples of where the archetype is *not*: not in the divine mind, but somewhere finite (line 15).³¹ Step Three suggests a series of unlikely places, round the unknown edges of the cosmos. The argument entails, I think, that to situate the archetype so far from actual humans is not a convincing explanation of what those humans share, here on earth. Step Four takes a new turn, and a stronger grip. Why, pray, have not the great authority-figures of wisdom, not even one of them, left something revealed to disciples and worshippers about it? Why have neither Greek prophecy and religion, nor the *prisca theologia* and Hermetic tradition,³² left us any word about the matter? Implication: there is nothing to say; they don't know; it's all false. Then, tightening the screw one final turn, and confronting Plato himself, the speaker drives the point home: one of two things must happen now. Since you are shown to be as much of a fiction-writer as the poets whom you expelled from your ideal republic, either let them back from exile, or go into exile yourself. The ending poses a dilemma, which hinges on several suppressed syllogisms. As I read the poem, a fast finish is more compelling, in terms of a poem which is making out a case, single-mindedly, than one which at an even exegetical pace makes the whole outcome explicit. This is where structure of argument crosses over into tone, which is considered next; but to anticipate somewhat, the rapid ending befits an argument which is narrow, forensic, and disputative; rhetorical as much as logical.

³¹ Carey, "Confined within definite spatial limits" (line 15). Should the Platonist have said, "Yes, within the divine mind; not in some finite location"? The argument conceals an either / or, each of which has logical and other difficulties: either the archetype is with God, or is God, so how does that help us, here, among particular material realities? or else the archetype is down here among them, in which case we are entitled to ask, where? how do we perceive it, and so on.

³² Milton shows unusual erudition in lines 29-34 on the Hermetic traditions, the *prisca theologia*. He needs to show an informed acquaintance with what he nonetheless seeks to discredit (as he does in the Nativity Ode, composed about this time). Plato and his interpreters alike have erred: that is the thrust of the argument, quickening as it nears the dilemma it will pose to Plato himself.

The reader should perhaps think of a mental duel. The poem seeks to lure the opponent into a dangerous position, then probe, then press, then open him up for a hit. And a very palpable hit: the point of attack moves, from the Archetype itself, to the traditions of authority for it, to the great originator himself.

5. The Internal Evidence: The Tone

The tone suits this sportive, aggressive conception. Let us take the prosody again, because of course the choice of metre and the handling of it are what first establish the rhythm and sound of a poem; and hence, its tone. Milton seems well able to write an orthodox iambic trimeter most of the time, witness lines 2 and 4, or 7 and 12; so why might he resolve so many feet in other lines, and even resolve in ways not sanctioned by ancient authority? (To cite Keightley once more, ‘Though the scazontes of the ancients sometimes commenced with a dactyl, we do not believe that this was the case in the regular iambic measure’.³³)

There is a way to find decorum and pleasure, not incompetence or ignorance, in the unorthodox dactylic start. ‘Dicite’ sounds like hexameter dignity, then it tricks you. The prosodic pomposity carries on into the six-line invocation, only for the next two lines of the sentence, the main clause, to stick in the first barb³⁴; following which the last two lines of the sentence swell the iambic as pompous as it can go, dispensing with caesuras in the process... Far from censoring a heinous fault, we should watch with appreciation; appreciation (the enjoyment as well as the recognition and understanding) of an *orator*, making a case, and having *fun*.

I get the same impression, and a different enjoyment, when I look at the syntax. Without analysing the larger units again, I note that the long sentences are expertly managed within the metre, achieving an expert and argumentative enjambement (more often and expertly than in earlier poems). Here, rather, I take something smaller; the adjectives and their placement.

Adjectives are many and obligatory in neo-Latin verse, as signs of copia and competence, and knowledge of the ancients’ practice. Milton

³³ Keightley in McKellar (ed.), *The Latin Poems*, p. 302.

³⁴ Metaphors of aggressive games-playing come naturally to mind, in this context of disputation-verse. Costello excellently compares the prose fights to the rituals and practices of bullfighting (‘veronicas and half-veronicas’, p. 15).

elsewhere displays the expected patterns profusely, the Golden line and so forth, but often the effect is of padding, of insufficient meaning to merit such embellishment.³⁵ In the present poem, however, their orotundity and patterning do win admiration, because they swell the balloon till he bursts it. We feel, then notice, then appreciate, the grandiose compound at line-ending in 'ordines decemplicis' (17); the straddling pattern of 'citimum... globum' and 'obliviosas... aquas' (lines 18 and 20), where the noun and its adjective as it were embrace the whole line. The pattern keeps changing, as Milton shakes his syntactical kaleidoscope. Though the next two lines again have adjective preceding noun, this time the adjective sits at the caesura while the noun sits at the line-end; thus, between them, controlling the line and insisting on the scornful point, the science-fiction remoteness of the all-important Archetype.

sive in *remota* forte terrarum *plaga*
incedit *ingens* hominis archetypus *gigas*.

Milton is having, and giving, pleasure. Maybe he enjoys his work-out in iambics, which are not a usual metre of his. After all, that metre admits words you can never use in hexameters, because they are ineluctably iambic: mouth-filling words like *aeternitas* (4) or *caecitas* (25); or forcefully, *fabulator* at the climax. But although this technical pleasure shines through, it can hardly be the main point: the fact that Milton chose to use iambics suggests they fitted his meaning and its tone (rather than that he was finding a topic which allowed him to show off his iambics). The local felicities or flourishes help, not hinder, his onslaught.

To repeat my earlier image, because while images may be imprisoning they may (when changed) become heuristic: As when an organist, having practiced the tunes for the hymns (both Ancient and Modern) at the Sunday service, and seeking for something more adventurous and indeed personal by which to end the service with a joyous emphasis — loud enough, too, to drown out the post-liturgical talking — invents a flamboyant and innovative voluntary; so Milton, in my conception, sought out a theme and a diction and a metre which could express dissent, with much at Cambridge and even with his hero Plato. After much overcooked cabbage, he gave himself a sorbet.

³⁵ See John K. Hale, 'Artistry and Originality in Milton's Latin Poems', *Milton Quarterly*, 27/4 (1993), 138-49; and more broadly in *Milton's Languages. The Impact of Multilingualism on Style* (Cambridge, 1997), ch. 2.

Would Milton lavish these frisky embellishments on his persona in order that the persona should be thought *stupid*? This is just not how neo-Latin verse, at least in my experience of it, works. Can the supporters of Coleridge's view point to any congeners? If they can, this is where the debate should go next, to examine these. It is certainly time to ask that the orthodox view offer fresh and abundant evidence, of this sort as well as the other sorts which the heads of my argument are identifying.

Conclusions

The paper asks, as if disbelievingly, did Milton really ridicule Plato's theory of Ideal Forms in his poem *De Idea Platonica*? That is, surely he did not (Latin *Num*)... But my answer is, Yes; he did. And Coleridge, even he, got things the wrong way round. My reasons include the following. (i) Milton may be obtuse; but his university studies trained people to be obtuse in exactly this way (and for a purpose). (ii) Irony is easier to perceive in the title than in the body of the poem. Like several other titles in the 1645 volume this title seems to come from an editorial retrospect, not at the time of the writing itself. (iii) Satire is not usually subtle when practised by undergraduates in high spirits, nor by early seventeenth-century satirists; nor here by Milton, an undergraduate early seventeenth-century satirist (and one whose idea of satire never later moved towards indirection or obliquity). (iv) Irony at one's own expense was rare till the novelists. It is quite a rare taste even now, outside high culture and Academia.

Lastly, let me fill one large gap which has been left hitherto in my reasoning. I have not shown cause why Milton should attack Plato, Plato of all people. I do not assume or guess that it was a set task, because I have not found a genre and occasion for which he could have been set such a task. Yet the *subject* is thoroughly congenial. It is a sly defence of poets, against their greatest and most influential calumniator. Milton the poet parts company with Plato on this issue because they are — for once — on opposite sides. Why should he not have fun repudiating the piece of Plato's wisdom which assailed him where his dreams of a poet's vocation lay? Sidney had done this in one rhetorical way, arguing suavely that poets portrayed a world better than this one, more ideal.³⁶

³⁶ 'Poets only deliver a golden [world]' = They alone bring to birth a world of the highest value; *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan van Dorsten (Oxford, 1973), p. 78.

But the young Milton, trained in verbal combat by the Cambridge system, gave his hero an eloquent, breezy, rebuke. He administered an ambush.

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SOME UNEXPLORED EDITIONS OF SIDRONIUS HOSSCHIUS'S
(AND OF BECANUS'S) POETRY (WITH A FORGOTTEN POEM)¹

Sidronius Hosschius² (de Hossche) was one of the most famous 17th-century poets from the Netherlands and perhaps the most celebrated Latinist the Jesuit *Provincia Flandro-Belgica* has ever produced. Two of his fellows, who also came from Western Flanders, viz. Jacobus Wallius (1599-1690) and Gulielmus Becanus (1608-1683), almost equalled him in virtuosity and popularity. From the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, dozens of editions or translations of Hosschius's elegies came out in most countries of Europe and even in Mexico. For a survey of these editions, one still has to rely on Carlos Sommervogel's old but solid *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*.³ A couple of months ago, I came across some editions not mentioned by Sommervogel, which I want to bring to the notice of the interested reader.

The first one, which was easily found with the help of the *Katalog der Bibliothek Desbillons*⁴ in the University Library of Mannheim, is a reissue of one of Hosschius's best elegiac cycles, the *Christus patiens*, printed by Mathias Riedl at Munich in 1712:

SIDRONII // HOSSCHII // E // SOCIETATE JESU // ELEGIAE //
DE // CHRISTO PATIENTE.// Cum Facultate Superiorum, // JOAN-
NIS JACOBI REMII, // MONACHII, // Typis MATHIAE RIEDL.
ANNO M.DCC.XII.

¹ I want to thank my colleague William McCuaig (Toronto) for his help with my English.

² Cp. D. Sacré (ed.), *Sidronius Hosschius (Merkem 1596 — Tongeren 1653) jezuiet en Latijns dichter. Publicatie n.a.v. zijn vierhonderdste verjaardag* (Kortrijk, 1996), with a bibliography of work on the poet; id., 'A Forgotten Autograph Poem by Sidronius Hosschius S.I. (1596-1653)', *Ziva Antika*, 45 (1995 [1997]), 271-285.

³ For Hosschius: IV (Bruxelles - Paris, 1893), coll. 473-479 (and an addendum in vol. IX, col. 498). See also M. de Schepper, 'Gedrukte edities van Sidronius Hosschius S.J.: een voorlopige Belgische checklist', in Sacré, *Hosschius*, pp. 81-91, and D. Sacré - D. Velghe, 'Sidronius Hosschius: leven en werk', *ibid.*, pp. 15-72 (p. 71 note 258).

⁴ 1. Abteilung: *Belles Lettres*, 1: A-K (Mannheim, 1986), p. 642.

This obviously was a text meant for use in the very important Jesuit College of Munich: Riedl was the local printer for the *Societas*;⁵ and, apparently, Hosschius's poems on the passion of the Lord were widely read by the Munich students of the Jesuits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the *Bavarian State Library Catalogue* mentions three Munich editions of Hosschius's *Elegiae de Christo patiente* (1654⁶, 1685 and 1712), all of which are lacking in Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque*. The 1712 edition, of which I saw the copy in the University Library of Mannheim, must be an exact reproduction of the 1654 edition, since the preface states that "Elegias de Christo Patiente nuper e Belgio allatas, & ab Autore abhinc quadriennio Bruxellis editas, visum est typis nostris recudendas subjicere (...)". The first edition of the *Christus patiens* came out in Brussels in 1649;⁷ therefore, the preface of the 1654 edition must have been repeated in the 1685 edition, as it has been in this 1712 edition.

It is remarkable that the four other editions I want to list are also absent from the *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, since copies of them are to be found in the private library of the General of the Jesuits at Rome⁸ — though I could not discover if these books entered the library before or after De Backer and Sommervogel had compiled the Jesuit bibliography.

Just like the Munich edition of the *Christus patiens*, two of these reissues of both Hosschius's and Becanus's collected verse were meant for a specific audience. In 1695 the Brescia printer Domenicus Grumus published Hosschius and Becanus on behalf of the Jesuit boarding school of the nobility, established at Brescia since 1604⁹:

⁵ Cp. J. Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 12 (Wiesbaden, 1982²), p. 337; D. L. Paisey, *Deutsche Buchdrucker und Buchhändler und Verleger 1701-1750*, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 26 (Wiesbaden, 1988), p. 209.

⁶ The copy of the 1654 edition now is lost. At the time of writing I have not been able to examine the 1685 Munich edition of the *Christus patiens*, mentioned in the Catalogue of the Bavarian State Library, or two editions of the *Elegiarum libri sex*, copies of which are to be found in American libraries according to the *National Union Catalog* (viz. Sevilla, 1705: copy in Yale University; Lyons, 1730: copy in Brown University).

⁷ See Sacré, *Hosschius*, p. 144. These Munich editions are modelled after the *editio princeps*; in Wallius's edition of Hosschius's *Opera omnia* (Antwerp, 1656, etc.) there are five more elegies.

⁸ Borgo S. Spirito, 4.

⁹ Cp. G. P. Brizzi, 'Scuole e collegi nell'antica Provincia Veneta della Compagnia di Gesù (1542-1773)', in M. Zanardi (ed.), *I Gesuiti e Venezia. Momenti e problemi di*

SIDRONII // HOSSCHII // E SOCIETATE IESU // ELEGiarum
 //LIBRI SEX.// ITEM GUILIELMI BECANI ex eadem // Societate
 Idyllia et Elegiae. // Praemittitur Sidronij Hosschij vita, unà cūm //
 Illustrissimorum Virorum poematibus in eius //obitum scriptis iussu
 Eminentissimi Principis // Fabij Chisij S.R.E. Cardinalis, qui fuit //
 ALEXANDER VII. Pont. Max.// ILLUSTRISSIMIS D.D. // COL-
 LEGII NOBILIUM // BRIxiENSIS SOC.IESU // CONVICTORIBUS
 D.// LUGDUNI, ET BRIxiAE, // Apud Domenicum Grumum. 1695.
 // *Superiorum permissu.*¹⁰

Grumus's preface to the noble youth of the Brescia College, dated 13 September 1695, states that this was the first Brescia edition of Hosschius; the students badly needed it, since they met with difficulties when trying to lay their hands on copies of the French edition¹¹ of the Latin poet's works.¹² Some time after 1695 — perhaps in 1696, if it is true that Grumus did not print any more after that year¹³ — an undated and revised edition, again with Becanus's verse, came out; the title-page omitted the audience the book had been printed for; the pages were set up anew, with different ornaments; some misprints were corrected:

SIDRONII // HOSSCHII // E SOCIETATE IESU // ELEGiarum
 //LIBRI SEX.// Item Guilielmi Becani ex eadem // Societate Idyllia et
 Elegiae. // Praemittitur Sidronij Hosschij vita, unà cūm // Illustris-
 simorum Virorum poematibus in eius //obitum scriptis iussu Eminentis-
 simi Principis // Fabij Chisij S.R.E. Cardinalis, qui fuit // Alexander
 VII. Pont. Max.// LUGDUNI, ET BRIxiAE, // Apud Domenicum
 Grumum. // *Superiorum permissu.*¹⁴

storia veneziana della Compagnia di Gesù. Atti del Convegno di Studi Venezia, 2-5 ottobre 1990 (Padova, 1994), pp. 467-511.

¹⁰ XX + 280 pp. Class number: 281-P-10. This edition is mentioned by U. Spini, *Le edizioni bresciane del Seicento. Catalogo cronologico delle opere stampate a Brescia e a Salò*, Regione Lombardia, Servizio biblioteche e beni librari e documentari, Fonti e strumenti, 11 (Milano, 1988), number 896.

¹¹ No doubt the Lyons edition of 1688 (on which see Sacré, *Hosschius*, pp. 165-166 number 80), the particular structure of which was taken up here; hence the *impressum* "Lugduni et Brixiae".

¹² Pp. III-V: "Typis nunc primum Brixianis redditus, Italiam Concivis nunc primum invisit Osschius, quam toties immensa Nominis Sui implevit Fama, hospes peragravit. (...) Advocastis illum saepissime ab Gallia, suavissime increpulistis morantem, doliustis non semel interceptum bellorum saevitie, non semel ademptum. (...) Hinc (arbitror) mirabitur nemo, cum elegiaco Metro Poetam secundum nemini omnium litteratorum suffragio, vel si ad auream Poeseos revocemus aetatem, Vobis qua nobilitate, qua egregia accessione Virtutum spectatissimis, nuncupaverim. Ubi enim Brixianis Fama Convictus laeta omnium non excipitur admurmuratione?"

¹³ U. Spini, *Edizioni bresciane*, index sub nom. Grumus. Spini, however, does not mention this edition *sine anno*.

¹⁴ 283 pp. Class number: 281-P-6.

In 1713 the Milanese printer Dominicus Bellagatta¹⁵ produced a new edition of Hosschius's and Becanus's poetry, that was modelled after that of Lyons 1688 (or one of its descendants):

SIDRONII // HOSSCHII // E SOCIETATE IESU // ELEGIARUM
//LIBRI SEX.// Item GUILIELMI BECANI ex eadem // Societate
Idyllia et Elegiae. // Praemittitur Sidronij Hosschij vita, unà // cùm
Illustrissimorum Virorum poemati- //bus in eius obitum scriptis iussu
// Eminentissimi Principis Fabij // Chisij S.R.E. Cardinalis, // qui fuit
ALEXAN- // DER VII. Pont. //Max.// MEDIOLANI, MDCCXIII. //
Ex Typographia Dominici Bellagattae.¹⁶

Similarly to the Lyons 1688 and the subsequent editions, it contains a short biographical note on Hosschius, taken from Southwell's *Bibliotheca*¹⁷, but has no further introductory materials. The permission to reissue Hosschius was given on 19 January, 1713. Among the persons who accorded the imprimatur, we find the Dominican Giuseppe Maria Ferrarini (Milan, 1670-1744)¹⁸

Finally I want to draw attention to an unknown edition of the Latin text, with a translation in Italian verse, of another popular elegiac cycle of Hosschius's, viz. the *Lacrimae S. Petri*, written around 1649. This unknown Italian edition dates from 1817:

LE LAGRIME // DI SAN PIETRO // OPERA DEL PADRE SIDRO-
NIO HOSSK, //DELLA COMPAGNIA DI GESÙ //TRADOTTA IN
VERSO ITALIANO // DA MARIANO ANZOLFI // DEDICATA // a
Sua Eccellenza Reverendissima Monsignor // FRANCESCO
CESAREI LEONI // DECANO DELLA SAGRA ROTA. // ROMA
1817. PRESSO LINO CONTEDINI. // CON APPROVAZIONE¹⁹

The translator, Anzolfi, does not seem to have produced any other important work; I have not been able to find any trace of his life and activity in such works as the *Repertorio biografico italiano*, the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, the *Index notorum hominum* or Luigi Ferrari's *Onomasticon*. The translation was offered to Francesco

¹⁵ Bellagatta is mentioned in Philippus Argelatus's *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium*, II, 2 (Mediolani, 1745 = Farnborough, 1965), col. 1733.

¹⁶ XXIV + 280 pp. Class number: 281-P-16.

¹⁷ See *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Jesu a Petro Ribadineira — Philippo Alegambe — Nathanaele Sotuello. Romae 1676*. With a New Introduction by A.F. Allison (Westmead, 1969), p. 740.

¹⁸ On whom see Argelatus, *Bibliotheca*, coll. 2047-2048. The two other ones were Dominicus Crispus and Angelus Maria Maddius (= Maggi(o)).

¹⁹ X + 131 pp. Class number: 312-C-6

Cesarei Leoni on the occasion of his imminent consecration as bishop of Jesi²⁰: as Anzolfi stated in his dedicatory letter (March 24, 1817), Cesarei Leoni would become a member of the ‘apostolico senato’, thus coming close to the ‘principe degli Apostoli S. Pietro’; hence, a translation of the *Lacrimae S. Petri* would be appropriately dedicated to him. According to Anzolfi, Hosschius’s work “è parto felice di uno de’ più stimati Poeti, che vanta la Compagnia di Gesù, stata sempre feconda Madre de’ Letterati in ogni sorta di scienze, cioè del Padre SIDRONIO HOSSK.” (p. VIII). The following extract may give the expert italianist an idea of the quality of Anzolfi’s translation:

Pria con onde retrograde il Giordano
 (Io dicea, e il rammento)
 Alla doppia sua origine rivolto
 Indietro correrà, che io mai ti offenda,
 O Santa Fè, nè vinto dal timore
 Possa del mio Signore
 Le insegne abbandonar. Volgiti pure,
 O bel Giordan, e ripiegato il corso
 Indietro torna omai,
 Che io le tradite insegne abbandonai.
 Nè già di Roma i fasci,
 O le impugnate scuri,
 Non l’armi, e non gli armati
 Mi fecero paura. Io vil cedei
 (Neppur dirlo dovrei)
 D’una serva alla voce. E dove allora
 Er’io così superbo?

Dicebam, memini, “Geminus revolutus in ortus
 Iordanes versis ante recurret equis
 quam violem te, sancta fides, victusque timore
 signa ferar Domini deseruisse mei.”
 Nec mihi Romulei fasces strictaeque secures,
 nec mihi fecerunt arma virique metum.
 Vocibus ancillae (res indignissima dictu)
 cessimus: heu ubi tunc ille superbus eram?²¹

²⁰ On Cesarei Leoni (Perugia 1757 - Jesi 1830; he was created bishop in July 1817; in the same month, he was also raised to the purple), see R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi* (...), 7: *A Pontificatu Pii PP. VII (1800) usque ad Pontificatum Gregorii PP. XVI (1846)* (Patavii, 1968), pp. 13, 43 and 61.

²¹ *Elegia sesta. Conosce e piange la sua fragilità — Elegia VI. Fragilitatem suam agnoscit et deplorat* (pp. 70-71).

Already in 1785 and in 1795, an Italian translation of the first elegy of this cycle had been published in Faenza²². Another Italian translation of the entire cycle was published in Orvieto as late as 1858²³. The Latin text only was issued separately in Spain (1721, 1755, 1834 and 1843) and even in Mexico (1756 and 1837).²⁴ During more than two centuries, the *Lacrimae S. Petri* have been a widely read collection of poetry and a popular school book.

* * *

One of Hosschius's last poems, dating from early 1652, was a liminary poem, written in honour of a pharmacopoeia that was published in the same year by order of the city council of Ghent. The work had been compiled by a threesome of Ghent physicians, viz. Franciscus Vanden Vivere, Iohannes Stalins, and Gislenus Rissoens.²⁵ As Marcus de Schepper noted in his description in the catalogue of the Hosschius exhibition, it was both introduced and rounded off by an impressive number of honorary Latin poems composed mainly by local physicians²⁶. One of the poets for the occasion did not belong to that group: it was the Jesuit

²² Together with a translation of Hosschius's famous *Votum* from 1646; the translator was Giovanni Giovannardi (see *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie*, IV, col. 477, and IX, col. 498). These books also contained a translation of Becanus's first book of elegies.

²³ *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie*, IV, col. 477.

²⁴ *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie*, IV, coll. 476-477.

²⁵ *Antidotarium Gandavense sive medicamentorum componendorum a pharmacoepis Gandavensibus observanda methodus, senatu mandante, a medicis libenter obsequentiis, in commune patriae bonum compendiose concinnata* (Gandavi, Bald. Manilius, 1652): cp. M. de Schepper in Sacré, *Hosschius*, p. 151 and Sacré-Velghe, *ibid.*, p. 69. For contemporary pharmacopoeias, see e.g. F. de Nave - M. de Schepper (redd.), *De geneeskunde in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1475-1660). Tentoonstelling Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1 september - 25 november 1990*, Publikaties MPM/PK, 18 (Antwerpen, 1990), pp. 212-225. The Ghent pharmacopoeia was reissued in 1663, but without any accompanying verses.

²⁶ Iohannes Van Dale, M.D. (f. [B4v]), Ioh. vanden Berghe, M.D. (f. C1r), L.V. Brandenburch, M.D. (f. C1v), Jac. Lippins, M.D. (ff. C2v and Ss2v-3r), Simon De Klerck (f. Ss4r), Adrianus De Hasselaer, M.D. (ff. Ss4v-5v), Franc. Ghyseman, M.D. (f. Ss5v), and an Anonymus (= De Hasselaer?) (f. Ss5r). Only one of these occasional poets seems to have acquired some reputation as a Neo-Latin writer, viz. Jacobus Lippins [= Lippens, born at Ghent ca. 1620, physician and Latin poet; he had studied and lived abroad, until he returned to Ghent in 1651], on whom see A. Gerlo - H.D.L. Vervliet, *Bibliographie de l'Humanisme des Anciens Pays-Bas. Avec un répertoire bibliographique des humanistes et poètes néo-latins*, Instrumenta Humanistica, 3 (Bruxelles, 1972), nr. 4610.

Hosschius, who was approached to contribute a poem, no doubt because Franciscus Vanden Vivere, one of the authors of the pharmacopoeia, was a relative of a confrère of Hosschius's, the Ghent Jesuit Robertus Viverius (d. Ghent 1653)²⁷. Anyway, Hosschius's poem was addressed only to Franciscus Vanden Vivere, who admittedly was the *primus urbis Gandavensis medicus*: *Sidronius Hosschius, è Societate IESV, Ad Clarissimum Virum D. Franciscum Vanden Vivere, medicum Gandensem, cum iussu Senatus ederet opus medicum, quod inscribitur Antidotarium Gandavense*; afterwards, the poem was included by Jacobus Wallius as *eleg.* 2,10 in the edition of Hosschius's *Elegiarum libri sex*. In the original work, however, as Marcus de Schepper observed, this poem was followed by another one, signed by "Idem" and absent from all the editions of Hosschius's *Opera omnia*. Both the subscription of the poem and its elegant style make a reasonable case for Hosschius's authorship. There is indeed a big gap between the poetical qualities of these verses and the rather poor contributions by the other occasional poets, such as this *Applausus* by Simon De Klerck²⁸:

Si medicinale est medico doctore probatum,
hoc medicinale est quod tibi, Ganda, datum,

or this anonymous *Votum*²⁹:

Vivere mî Phoebus, bene vivere, Vivere, donas;
qui bene das nobis vivere, vive diu.

One then wonders why Hosschius's editor Wallius preferred to exclude these verses from the *Opera omnia*. My guess would be that Wallius decided to include only poems of a certain length, which suited a collection of *elegiae*, whereas "our" short poem, which consists of only four distichs, could hardly be called anything more than an epigram. It seems reasonable to suppose that Hosschius might have written more short poems, epigrams and similar verses, none of which were inserted in the

²⁷ On Viverius, see Sacré, *Hosschius*, passim and Id., 'Verkenningen in een 17de-eeuws handschrift uit de recente aanwinsten van de Gentse universiteitsbibliotheek: poëzie van Aloysius Lauwenbach S.J.?', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 50 (1996), 115-39. It is not clear if Franciscus Viverius was a relative of Jacobus Viverius (Ghent 1572 - Amsterdam, after 1636), who was a physician and a Dutch poet (cp. W. J. A. Huberts e.a., *Biographisch woordenboek der Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsche letterkunde* (Deventer, 1878), pp. 608-609).

²⁸ F. Ss4r. (first of the six distichs).

²⁹ F. Ss5r.

Elegiarum libri. Most of the liminary verses we can read in Hosschius's collected works constitute rich and complex narrative poems; "our" short epigram is of a different kind. Be that as it may, since copies of the *Antidotarium Gandavense* are very rare, I consider it worthwhile republishing this *carmen minus*.

In opus medicum, a tribus clarissimis viris D. Francisco Vanden Vivere, D. Ioanne Stalins, D. Gisleno Rissoens medicis Gandensibus iussu Senatus Gandensis, anno 1652 editum

Chronographicon
FLOS MEDICINAE³⁰

Intereunt verni flores seu solibus usti,
seu nimio teneras imbre gravante comas;
quin etiam foliis sensim languentibus ultro
nec nimio laesi sole nec imbre cadunt.
Candida deficiunt forma fugiente ligustra,
deficiunt violae deficiuntque rosae.
At FLOS, quem praesens MEDICINAE protulit annus,
numquam (crede mihi, GANDA) caducus erit.

Idem

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³⁰ The characters L M D I C I in FLOS MEDICINAE are to be counted as Roman numerals (= 1652).

Christian LAES

FORGING PETRONIUS: FRANÇOIS NODOT AND
THE FAKE PETRONIAN FRAGMENTS*

Petronius' *Satyricon* has never ceased to attract the attention of both philologists and admirers of classical literature: be it for its various lines of plot, its unusual subjects, its somewhat obscene sense of humour or the unique samples of vulgar Latin.

For many it was as a great pity that such a unique work of art has come down to us only in a highly mutilated and fragmented form. Only 141 chapters remain, and it is generally assumed that this story covers a small part of book XIV, (almost) the whole of book XV and part of book XVI. Besides that, some loose fragments and poems remain. Reconstructing the whole story from the various hints that we can gather from the remaining story and fragments has always been a tempting task for Petronius-lovers, which not seldom led to daring conjectures and bold reconstructions¹.

In this context three attempts to supply the original text of the *Satyricon* with self-made fragments must be considered. Scholarly research has but late directed its attention to these Petronius-supplements: the fake fragment, linking the chapters 24 and 25, produced by the Spanish forger Iosephus Marchena Ruiz y Cueto (1762-1821)² and the charming *Supplementum Petronianum* by H.C. Schnur (1907-1979) who began to rewrite the *Satyricon* from the very beginning, never trying however to deceive philologists with false texts³.

* I would like to thank prof. Sacré, who suggested this subject to me as a paper in 1993. Prof. IJsewijn and prof. Sacré read the text and gave valuable advice. Many thanks also to prof. Windross who corrected my English text.

¹ V. Ciaffii, *Struttura del Satyricon* (Turin, 1955) and J. P. Sullivan, *The Satyricon of Petronius. A Literary Study* (London, 1968) pp. 34-79.

² For text, commentary as well as a biography of the forger: A. Smarius, *Pseudo-Petronius. Het 'Fragmentum Petronii' van José Marchena* (diss. Amsterdam, 1996).

³ C. Laes, 'Imitating Petronius: H. C. Schnur's Petronian Supplement', in *Festschrift J. IJsewijn* (appearing Louvain, 1998). The text of Schnur's *Supplementum Petronianum* is edited in G. Tournoy - D. Sacré (eds.), *Pegasus Devocatus. Studia in honorem C. Arri Nuri sive Harry C. Schnur* (Louvain, 1992), pp. 128-68.

This article will deal with probably the best known of the three Petronius-supplements: the fake fragments by the French army-officer François Nodot (1650-1710). A quick review will reveal that also in this case not too much philological research has been done.

Firstly, the Latin text of these fragments is relatively difficult to trace down, the last edition dating from about 1800. However, in quite a lot of Petronius-translations, the Nodotian fragments are included, as in the English translation by J. Firebaugh⁴, the Penguin classic translation by J. Sullivan, or the German version by H. Schnur⁵. Generally the translators defend their option by stating that thanks to the Nodotian supplements, the readers will be able to follow the fragmented plot-line more easily.

When examining the appreciation of the Nodotian text, one is struck by the contradictory judgements. Very positive in his criticism is H. Schnur: "it is skilfully done and one could wish that there were more army officers equally proficient in Latin"⁶ or J. R. Evenhuis⁷: "De man die deze lacune zonder meer het allerelegantst heeft weten op te vullen..." "omdat het doodgewoon zonde zou zijn, als men het werk van zo'n Petronius-artiest... zou verwaarlozen".

Totally different are the ruthless contemporary attacks on the poor quality of the forgery (cfr. infra). I will confine myself here to the severe criticism by G. W. Leibniz: "Hic languor et frigus. Nec inventi connexionis ratio admodum constat, tum Gallicismi passim, quin et quae in rationem dicendi peccant"⁸ and the harsh attack by P. Burmann, the well known Petronius-editor: "... ut impune illos pro deliciis Petronianis insulsis escis appositis deciperet."⁹ But also modern translators are not always praising when referring to Nodot, as L. Tailhade¹⁰: "Le faussaire de Belgrade, riz-pain-sel, doublé de Latiniste..."; "elles aideront les

⁴ *The Satyricon of Petronius. Adapted from the Translation of W. C. Firebaugh, with an Essay by C. Whibley* (New York, 1927).

⁵ Petron, *Satyricon. Ein römischer Schelmenroman, übersetzt und erläutert von Harry C. Schnur* (Stuttgart, 1968).

⁶ H. Schnur, 'Petronius: Sense and Nonsense', *The Classical World*, 66 (1972), 13-20 (p. 16).

⁷ J. R. Evenhuis, 'De discrete charme van de Petronius-vervalsingen', *Hermeneus*, 54 (1982), 156-9 (p. 158).

⁸ G. W. Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe* (Berlin, 1975) I, IX, p. 298.

⁹ *Titi Petronii Arbitri Satyricon quae supersunt. Cum integris doctorum virorum commentariis*, curante Petro Burmanno (Amsterdam, 1709; anastatic reprint Hildesheim - New York, 1974).

¹⁰ *Le Satyricon de Pétrone*. Traduit par Laurent Tailhade (Paris, 1922).

quelques gens du monde qui lisent couramment les caractères d'imprimeries à supporter la découverte de Rome au III^{ème} siècle".

In 1987 appeared a thorough historical study on Nodot's life and works by W. Stolz, *Petrone's Satyricon und François Nodot (ca. 1650-1710). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte literarischer Fälschungen* (Wiesbaden, Stuttgart, 1987). It is an indispensable work for anybody wishing to study Nodot and the historic circumstances of the falsification. However the author confined himself to an 'historic-positivist' approach, so that a wide field is left for the researcher wishing to focus on the linguistic and literary analysis of the Nodotian text. That will thus be the main purpose of this article. In order to understand the whole context of the Nodotian forgery, I will first highlight Nodot's life and the historical backgrounds of his forgery. These paragraphs will be relying entirely on Stolz's work¹¹.

The story of the forgery

In February 1691 the learned world was surprised by the news that 'the fragments'¹² of Petronius' *Satyricon* had finally been discovered during the siege of Belgrade by the German imperial troops in 1688. Some months later, in May, the discovery was confirmed by Nicolas Toinard (1629-1707) who stated that an edition would appear soon¹³. These statements created quite a stir amongst philologists, the discussion about the authenticity of the *Cena Trimalchionis* (found about 1650 in Traù/Trogir, Dalmatia) not being solved at that period of time.

A first 'pirate-edition' appeared in 1691 in Grenoble, with a false indication of place: *Coloniae Agrippinae apud Josephum Groot*. The first official edition dates from 1693, Rotterdam 'Typis Regneri Leers'. This edition includes a letter, containing the story of the discovery of the new Petronian fragments, written by François Nodot on the 12th of October 1690 to François Charpentier¹⁴, moderator of the *Académie Française*. Nodot claims to have heard that a certain *monsieur Dupin*

¹¹ Stolz also outranges the article by Evenhuis, *De discrete charme* (note 8). It is a somewhat hastily written article, in which the author claims e.g. (p. 158) that the Nodotian text can still be found in the best Petronius-editions.

¹² Stolz (1987), p. 5. In this first announcement, Nodot does not speak about the discovery of the complete *Satyricon*, but already in the first editions it is stated that readers are confronted by the entire text of this Roman novel.

¹³ Both tidings were made in *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans*, cf. Stolz (1987), p. 5.

¹⁴ Stolz (1987), pp. 116-117 for the correspondence between Nodot and Charpentier.

was in possession of new Petronian fragments. He had therefore written to this man, who explained him the following story. During the siege of Belgrade, Dupin had stayed with a learned Greek, who had a library containing an old manuscript. When he grasped the fact that it was a Petronius-codex, he had it copied by a clerk able to read the handwriting. Dupin was willing to show the copy to Nodot, but since Nodot did not get the permission to leave his winter quarters, he sent a merchant from Frankfurt to Dupin. This man was able to buy the copy¹⁵ from Dupin's clerk, the one who had copied the text in Belgrade.

Of course this whole story seems very unlikely. Firstly, it is rather strange that a learned Greek in these regions would possess a Latin codex. Secondly, the name of the 'Francofordian merchant' is not mentioned by Nodot. And why should Dupin and his clerk have waited for the merchant to come instead of making money from their discovery sooner?

The first man to comment on these new fragments was Henri Basnage de Beauval, who announced the edition of Rotterdam in the revue *Histoire des Savans* (November 1692). He already criticized the great number of gallicisms and grammatical errors in the text, as well as the elements in the plot that refer to seventeenth-century France rather than to Rome in the first century, like the passage "nos enim ad earum ornamentum matutinum quotidie urbanissime assidebamus" (fr. 6) which he considers to be an allusion to the French court-ladies making their toilet. Basnages rightly supposes that the new fragments were made by a Petronius-admirer in order to make the plot of the *Satyricon* more easy to be understood, but does not at all condemn this enterprise, since it increases the joy of reading.

In 1693 two official editions appeared in Paris, with Jean-Baptiste Langois (18th of February) and with Thomas Moette (the 15th of December). The year 1694 was a turning-point, with the publication of a first decisive critique by Georges Pelissier, *Observations sur le Pétrone trouvé à Belgrade en 1688 et imprimé à Paris en 1693 avec une lettre sur l'ouvrage & la personne de Pétrone* (Paris, 1694). Pelissier was in fact a pseudonym for Claude-Ignace Brugière de Barante¹⁶. His arguments to prove the forgery are basically the same as those by Basnage,

¹⁵ Nodot makes an error when he writes to Charpentier that the merchant had promised 'se *manuscriptum codicis* ad me missurum', since Dupin did not have the codex itself, but only a copy of it!

¹⁶ Stolz (1987), pp. 14-17; p. 104.

but more elaborate. He deals with inconsistencies relating to the plot of the *Satyricon*, as well as with grammatical and stylistic errors. The argument of the 'making of the toilet' is made, and also the use of the word *castellum* to denote the French word *château* (instead of using the Latin word *villa*). His conclusion is clear as well as devastating for Nodot: "Il n'est plus besoin de disputer sur la patrie de Pétrone, je le reconnois à son langage; il est François" (quoted from Stolz, p. 17).

Somewhat disquieted by this criticisms, Nodot sought and found support with the academies of Arles and Nîmes. Stolz (pp. 17-22) however points out that the authority of such local literary societies (often consisting of pedantic dilettants) must not be overestimated. The worst however had still to come. When he was staying in Grenoble in the winter quarters of the army (1693-1694) he received anonymous letters severely criticizing the translation and commentary in his Petronius-edition of Grenoble (12th of February 1694). Moreover, the anonymous writer discovered that this translation was not entirely by Nodot's hand, but copied in part from an edition with a translation by Giroud in Paris (1694)¹⁷!

He disclosed the whole story in his *Lettres de Monsieur de XXX sur un livre qui a pour titre Traduction entière de Pétrone, suivant le nouveau manuscrit trouvé à Bellegrade en 1688* (Cologne, 1694), the most thorough and devastating critique of the Nodotian fragments. Besides the numerous errors in the French translation and comment, the whole story of the 'discovery' is again condemned, as well as the various errors regarding Latin grammar and the inconsistencies that still remain in the plot. Moreover the author calls it at least remarkable that the emendations by many scholars suddenly happen to be confirmed by the Belgrad codex... It is generally assumed that this anonymous critic was a French Jesuit, Jean-Antoine de Mongenet¹⁸. Nodot only later found out about his identity, and in his *Contre-Critique* he uses but poor arguments to refute him.

Nodot did indeed try to defend himself against these serious accusations in his *La Contre-Critique de Pétrone* (Paris, 1700). His refutation however is rather weak, attacking mainly Brugière de Barante on personal grounds and emphasizing some weaker points of his '*Observations*'. Although in his defence Nodot displays much self-confidence,

¹⁷ Stolz (1987), pp. 22-26 for the perils concerning the edition by Giroud (he had a quarrel with Nodot about the number of author-copies).

¹⁸ Stolz (1987), p. 35 for biographical information.

the booklet has not been able to convince philologists. The final attack against the Nodotian fragments is made by Burmann in his Petronius-edition of 1709, and also the *Bibliotheca Latina* by Fabricius (Venice, 1728) speaks of a forgery.

Nevertheless, these fragments are still to be found in a number of twentieth-century Petronius-translations.

Nodot's life and works

For Nodot's biography, we are dependent on clues in his own writings and contemporary sources. It is to Stolz's credit that he collected this dispersed information¹⁹.

Paul François Nodot was born about 1650, in a rather modest middle-class family. Certainly he attended classes at secondary school. His knowledge of Latin is certainly not sufficient to pass off as a philologist. He had a successful career in the provisioning of the French army²⁰: in Flanders (1672 and 1689), as a *Capitaine général* in the Italian campaign during 1690-1694 (winter quarters in Grenoble) and presumably again in Lille and Flanders in 1706. In 1709 he sent a letter to Versailles, from where we know that in that period he was *Directeur de Vivres* in the important borderland area of Cambrai-Douai-Valenciennes-Tournai. This splendid military career was not at all matched by his literary career. Nodot wrote quite a number of works²¹, which were not appreciated by his contemporaries. Amongst these literary productions we find a bombastic eulogy of Lully (1687), a pedantic handbook for provisioning in the army (1697), two fairy-tales (1698 and 1700), a rather clumsy 'galant novel' (1699), a successful guide to Rome (probably not written entirely by himself) (1700), and a poem about Christ's death (1706). In both of these activities, military as well as literary, Nodot turns out to be an ambitious person, ready to do almost anything to achieve his aims. There can be no doubt that this (literary) ambition played a great part in the events regarding the fake Petronian fragments.

¹⁹ Stolz (1987), pp. 45-100.

²⁰ Stolz (1987), p. 48 for details about the ranks in the provisioning section of the French army: 'Général de Vivres', some 'Commis généraux' (head-inspectors), 'ordinary Commis' (emergency staff).

²¹ Stolz (1987), pp. 102-104 for a list of his collected works.

The true story of the forged fragments²²

Basnage, the first critic of the 'new' Petronian fragments did not doubt Nodot's sincerity, and suggested that Nodot could not be the author of the forgery.

But who then was 'the real forger'? Pétrequin raises the possibility of Pierre Linage²³ and Nicholas Chorier (1612-1692), French lawyer, politician and *homme de lettres*. He is particularly known for the affair of the *Satyra Sotadica* (1660), a pornographical work in Latin which he claimed to be written by a virtuous woman, Aloysia Sigée. Later (about 1680) it turned out that Chorier himself was the writer, and that was also the reason why he spent the last part of his life in loneliness and poverty.

In his autobiography (*Adversaria de vita et rebus suis*, I, 9) Chorier writes about an encounter with Pierre Linage in Paris, 1647 (a crucial passage for the question of the false fragments):

P. Linagius, (...) Petronii Arbitri Satyricon gallice interpretatus erat, et lacunas insuper, quae incomparabile deformavere opus, insertis de suo, quae convenire intelligebat, ingeniose impleverat. Exire tamen in manus hominum noluerat.

Stolz (pp.78-79) however claims that Linage made his Latin fragments between 1673 and 1675. The word *suppellectarius* offers a valuable clue: it is a printing error for *suppelecticarius* in a dictionary from the first of March 1673. Linage used this lexicon and copied the error in his text! Presumably it was the discussion about the authenticity of the *Cena* (found in 1664) that put Linage up to write his own Petronius text. The fact that Chorier mentions Linage and his fragments in the year 1647 must not be seen as an obstacle for Stolz's date: Chorier's chronology in his memoirs is confused and he often mentions later facts when he speaks of his first encounter with a person.

Chorier visited Paris again in 1673. Probably it was abbot Michel de Marolles who told him about Linage working on Petronian fragments. In March, Chorier left for Lyons and Grenoble²⁴. It seems that he asked

²² This theory was proposed for the first time by J. E. Pétrequin, *Nouvelles recherches historiques et critiques sur Pétrone* (Paris/Lyon, 1869), pp. 99-110, and has been confirmed, though slightly altered and with an abundance of proof, by Stolz (1987), pp. 66-82.

²³ Very little was known about him, and it is to Stolz's credit that he collected biographical information about him (pp. 71-77). He made a living as assistant librarian and wrote historical works and a Seneca translation.

²⁴ He does not seem to have had time to work on the fragments together with Linage. Pétrequin (1869), p. 105 supposed that he did.

Linage later to send the fragments, which he willingly did since he had written them with no purpose of publication, but only to amuse himself and other readers. In 1690 the cunning lawyer Chorier met the ambitious army officer in Grenoble. Totally broke, he managed to mislead him by promising him immortal literary glory as the editor of the 'new and complete Petronius'. Nodot tells us at least some truth when he says that the Francofordian merchant had asked a lot of money for the Petronius manuscript. Did Nodot know that he was editing a falsification? Was the 'deceiver' Nodot in fact deceived himself by Chorier, or did he take the initiative in cheating the learned world? The answer to this question remains highly speculative and will perhaps never be solved.

Text of the fragments

We have used the text of the so-called 'Bipontina-edition': *T. Petronii Arbitri Equitis Romani Satiricon cum supplementis Nodotianis* (Zweibrücken, 1792) and an edition from 1694 (edited by Pierre Marteau): *La Satyre de Pétrone. Traduite en François avec le texte latin, suivant le manuscrit trouvé à Bellegrade en 1688. Ouvrage complet* (Cologne, 1694).

fr.1 (before ch.1)

Jam dudum, quae mihi acciderunt, vobis ita narrare pollicitus sum, ut hodie promissis stare decreverim: nobis, ad scientias non solum explicandas, sed etiam ad hilaria colloquia, fabulis jucundioribus animanda, opportune congregatis. Fabricius Vejento de religionis erroribus jam nunc ingeniose locutus est, et detexit quo doloso vaticinandi furore sacerdotes mysteria, illis saepe ignota, audacter publicant. Sed [*here begins the Petronian text*]

fr.2 (after ch.2,9)

Haec taliaque olim declamabam, cum Agamemnon nobis se admovit, et oculo curioso inspiciens, quem conciones tam diligentius audiebant [*here begins c.3,1*]

fr.3 (in ch.8,4)

- 1 [*dedissem poenas*] Dum sortem suam mihi narrat Ascyrtos, ipse paterfamilias, comitatus muliere haud inculta, supervenit et respiciens ad Ascyrtos rogavit ut domum intraret, certiore faciens nil timendum; sed cum Patiens esse nollet, saltem Agens foret.
- 5 Aliunde mulier urgebat consensum ut secum venirem. Subsequimur ergo et conducti inter titulos aspicimus complures utriusque sexus ludentis in cellis [*adeo ubique omnes mihi videbantur satyrion bibisse*]. Ut conspicimur, nos cynaedica petulantia allicere conati sunt, statimque unus alte succinctus invadit Ascyrtos et super eum, grabato prostratum, molere conatus est. Succurro statim patienti et [*junctis viribus molestum contempsimus*]. Egreditur Ascyrtos et fugit, meque eorum libidini obnoxium relinquit, sed valentiorum viribus et animo illaesum dimisit. Lustrata paene urbe, [*here begins c.9*]

fr.4 (*in ch.9,1 + 9,9*)

[*Quasi per caliginem vidi Gitona in crepidine semitae*] limineque diversorii

[*non taces, inquit, gladiator obscene, quem*] hospitis homicidam [*de ruina harena dimisit?*]

fr.5 (*after ch.10,7*)

Contumeliam aegre ferens Ascyrtos et silens cum impetu egreditur. Tam praeceps eruptio laevum augurabat: etenim nota erat mihi ejus animi impotentia, notus et amor impotens. Subsequor ergo abeuntem, exploraturus consilia illisque obstiturus; sed oculis se subripuit meis, et frustra illum diu quaesivi.

fr.6 (*after ch.11,4*)

- 1 Res tam inopinata injuriam ictusque silere constrinxit: casum igitur irrideo et prudenter; aliter enim proeliandum erat cum aemulo. Hilaritate mentita animum illius sedavi. Subrisit etiam Ascyrtos et: 'Tu, inquit, Encolpi, deliciis sepultus, non cogitas nos pecuniam deficere et quae
- 5 supersunt nullius esse pretii? In aestivis temporibus urbs sterilis est, rus erit fortunatius: eamus ad amicos'.
- Consilium probare coegit necessitas, dolorisque sensum cohibere. Itaque onerato Gitone sarcinulis, urbe egredimur et ad castellum Lycurgi, equitis Romani, pergitur. Cum olim illi frater fuisset Ascyrtos, pulchre nos
- 10 accepit; coetusque ibi congregatus jucundiora effecit oblectamenta. Imprimis erat Tryphaena, pulcherrima mulier, quae venerat cum Lyca, navigii domino et fundorum in vicinia maris possessore. Quas in hoc loco gratissimo voluptates hausimus, nulla vox comprehendere potest, quamvis Lycurgi mensa frugaliter esset. Scias oportet Venerem nos omnes
- 15 quamprimum conjunxisse. Formosa Tryphaena placuit mihi et vota mea libens audivit. Sed vix eam amplexui jungebam cum Lycas indignatus, raptas sibi furto delicias, me de repetundis insinulavit. Illa enim erat vetus amor illius: itaque mercedem jacturae sed festive aggressus est. Libidine concitatus me prosequitur. Tryphaena autem cor meum possi-
- 20 dente, aures Lycae negavi: denegatione tamen ardentior factus me quoquo sequebatur et meam noctu cellam intravit; sed, precibus fastiditis, ad violentiam in me conversus, tam violenter exclamavi ut, excitata familia et Lycurgo favente, a molesti impetu liberatus evasi. Ut denique Lycurgi domus illius votis non commoda videbatur, mihi suadere

- 25 tentavit ut hospitium ejus praeberem, sed repudiata propositione auctoritate Tryphaenae usus est: eo libentius illa me rogavit Lycae voluntati consentirem quod ibi liberius vivere speraret. Sequor ergo amorem, sed Lycurgus, cum Ascylto veteri ratione renovata, eum discedere non passus est. Propterea pacti sumus quod ille cum Lycurgo remaneret, nos
30 autem Lycam sequeremur. Insuper et decrevimus quod unusquisque secundum occasionem praedaretur in communem usum. Accepta propositione, incredibilis fuit Lycae laetitia: acceleravit discessum, et continuo valere jubemus amicos eodemque die ad ejus domum pervenimus. Tam gnaviter res disposuerat Lycas ut in itinere secundum me sederet,
35 Tryphaena vero assideret Gitoni; idque propter notissimam sibi hujus mulieris inconstantiam ita struxerat, nec deceptus: arsit enim illa puerum statim et id de facili perspexi. Lycas quoque illud mihi accurate notavit jussitque credere. Quamobrem gratiosius illum accepi et gaudio perfusus fuit, certus scilicet ex illata mihi a sorore injuria contemtum nasciturum:
40 quo facto, Tryphaenae succensus, eum libentius acciperem. Sic res se habebat in aedibus Lycae: Tryphaena Gitonem amore deperibat, Gito ei serviebat toto pectore et utrumque oculis meis minime gratum erat, dum Lycas, mihi placere cupidus, quotidie nova excogitabat oblectamenta, quae Doris, ejus formosa uxor, certatim augebat et tam concinne ut
45 Tryphaenam e corde meo statim expulerit. Oculorum nictu meus innotuit amor Doridi et mihi blanda oculorum petulantia Doris annuit adeo ut haec tacita loquela, linguam antecedens, quam animorum propensionem eodem momento senseramus, furtim expresserit. Zelotypia Lycae, jam antea mihi nota, causa erat silentii et amor ipse
50 animum mariti erga me patefecerat uxori. Ubi primum nobis licuit colloqui, quod deprehenderat, retulit et candide fassus sum narravique qua severitate semper illum exceperam. At mulier prudentissima: “et nunc ingenio utendum est, inquit.” Secundum ejus consilia unius concessio fuit et possessio alterius. Interim dum attritus Giton vires reficit,
55 Tryphaena ad me rediit, sed repulsa ex amore in rabiem efferata est. Ardens ergo secutuleia meum cum utroque conjuge commercium detexit. Petulantiam erga me mariti, nihil sibi auferentem, sprexit. Doridis autem furtivos amores aggressa est notavitque Lycae qui amorem zelotypia superante ad ultionem decurrit. At Doris, ancilla
60 Tryphaenae admonita, ut procellam averteret a secreta familiaritate abstinuit. Haec ut intellexi, Tryphaenae perfidiam ingratumque animum Lycae exsecratus, abundi formavi consilium; et favit Fortuna: pridie enim sacrum Isidi navigium, manubiis oneratum, vicinis scopulis alli-

serat. Consilio igitur cum Gitone habito, libenter ille assensus est, quia
65 Tryphaena exhaustum eum negligere videbatur: multo mane ergo ad
mare proficiscimur et navigium conscendimus eo facilius quod cus-
todibus, Lycae ministris, noti eramus. Sed cum nos comitatu semper
honorarent nec ideo nobis praedandi locus esset, Gitone cum eis relicto,
opportune me subdixi, subrepsique in puppim, ubi Isidis simulacrum
70 erat, quod veste preciosa, sistroque argenteo spoliavi et alias manubias e
diaeta Magistri sustuli, furtimque descendi per funem, Gitone solo
advertente; qui se quoque custodibus subdixi et clam me secutus est.
Ut illum vidi, furtum ostendi et Ascylton celeriter adire decrevimus, nec
ante posterum diem Lycurgi domum licuit pervenire. Ascylton igitur
75 accedens paucis narraui latrocinia et quomodo amoris ludibrium fuera-
mus. Nobis consilium dedit Lycurgi animum in nostri gratiam occupare
et asserere novam Lycae petulantiam migrationis nostrae furtivae et
praecipitis causam fuisse. Quibus auditis, Lycurgus iuravit se nobis
adversus inimicos in praesidio semper futurum. Fuga nostra latuit, donec
80 Tryphaena Dorisque expergefactae surrexerunt: nos enim ad earum
ornamentum matutinum quotidie urbanissime assidebamus. Cum ergo
praeter morem defuimus, Lycas exploratores misit et praecipue ad maris
litus, accepitque nos ad navigium ivisse, sed de latrocinio nihil: latebat
quippe, nam puppis pelagus respiciebat et Magister in navigium nondum
85 redierat. Fuga denique nostra pro certo habita et Lycas pertaesus fugae
in Dorida, quam discessus causam autumabat, vehementer furit. Tacebo
verborum manusve atrocitates, singulas ignoro; dicam tantum Tryphae-
nam, perturbationis materiam, Lycae suasisse ut apud Lycurgum, refugium
fortasse nostrum perquireret fugitivos, seque ipsam comitem voluit ut
90 contumelia nos pro merito obrueret. Postero die proficiscuntur et in
castellum pervenere. Aberamus, nam Lycurgus ad Herculeae sacra, quae
celebrabantur in oppidulo vicino nos duxerat. Quod ut intellexerunt,
obviam venerunt veloces et in porticu templi occurrerunt. Quibus con-
spectis valde turbati fuimus: Lycas de fuga nostra apud Lycurgum vehe-
95 menter conquestus est. Sed tam constricta fronte altoque supercilio
exceptus fuit ut ego, audacior factus, gravia et turpia probra alta voce
jeci in ejus libidinosos impetus, tum in Lycurgi, tum in propriis aedibus,
in me factos: et Tryphaena obluctans etiam poenas dedit me turpi-
tudinem ejus praedicante concionibus quae ad clamorem confluxerant,
100 et, pro veritatis argumento, Gitona exsuccum meque tentigine meretricis
prope enectum prodebam. Ad concionum risus inimici obstupere,
maestique meditantes ultionem recesserunt. Ut ergo Lycurgi animum

notarunt a nobis esse circumventum domi eum exspectare voluerunt ut ab errore averterent. Solemniis tardius finitis castellum adire non potuimus, et Lycurgus in villam, medio itinere distantem, nos conduxit posteroque die adhuc dormientes reliquit, castellum petiturus ad negotia expedienda.

Ibi Lycam Tryphaenamque invenit exspectantes qui tam blande eum allocuti sunt ut nos suis manibus imponere eum incitaverint. Lycurgus, natura crudelis et fidem servare nescius, qua ratione nos traderet jam meditans Lycae persuasit ut auxilium iret quaesitum, dum ipse in villa nos daret custodiendos. In villam venit, primaque fronte nos excepit ut Lycas ipse excepisset et postquam manibus inter se contritis nostrum in Lycam mendacium exprobravit in cella, qua discumbebamus, Ascylo excluso nos includi jussit, noluitque etiam illi in defensionem nostram aures praebere et postea Ascyton secum abducens in castellum custodibus usque ad reditum nos tradidit.

Iter faciens incassum Ascylos Lycurgi animum tentat effrangere: nihil preces, nihil amor, nihil lacrimae promoverunt. Fratri ergo in mentem venit nos a vinculis liberare: et certe, Lycurgi contumaciae succensus, dormire cum eo noluit sicque quod animo conceperat, facilius exsecutus est. Familia primo somno sepulta Ascylos nostras sarcinulas humeris imposuit et per muri ruinam, antea observatam, transiens diluculo ad villam pervenit quam, nullo obstante, intravit, cubiculumque petiit nostrum, quod custodes claudi curaverunt. Apertura vero non difficilis: ligneum erat claustrum cujus firmitatem, inserto ferro, laxavit; et sera dilapsa, nos excitavit: stertebamus enim invita fortuna. Utque ob pervigilium altus custodes habebat somnus, ad fragorem soli expergiscimur: et Ascylos ingressus paucis narravit quae nostri gratia fecerat. Pluribus non opus fuit. Dum amicum, diligenter mihi in mentem venit occidere custodes, villamque expilare. Consilium Ascylo declaravi: expilatio placuit, sed absque sanguine optabilem exitum dedit: omnes enim noscens aedium aditus, in recessum supellectarium, quem ipse reseravit, nos conduxit et quod pretiosius erat, subducimus; dein summo mane egredimur et vias publicas declinantes non quievimus, donec nos securos esse credidimus.

Tunc Ascylos, collecto spiritu, exaggeravit quanta cum laetitia villam Lycurgi, hominis avarissimi, expilaverat, de cujus parsimonia juste conquirebatur: nullam enim mercedem noctium acceperat, mensaque sicca et sterili victitavit: adeo quippe sordidus erat Lycurgus, ut, invitis opibus immensis, etiam quae sunt vitae necessaria, sibi denegaret.

- Neapolim eodem die intrare volebat Ascylos, sed: "Imprudenter est, inquam, eo nos recipere ubi, quantum conjicere licet, perquirendi sumus: absentes ergo pro tempore peregrinemur; habemus ut bene sit."
- 145 Placuit consilium et ad pagum progredimur praediorum amoenitate formosissimum, ubi non pauci ex nostris familiaribus voluptate tempestiva fruebantur; sed vix ad medium itineris pervenimus, ecce nimbus urceatim detumens in vicum proximum fugere nos coegit, et diversorium ingressi, notavimus se plures, imbris vitandi causa, eo recepisse.
- 150 Impediebat frequentia ne observaremur; sic facilius in turba quid furari possemus curiosi investigabamus oculis cum Ascylos humi sacellum, nemine advertente, collegit in quo multos invenit aureos. Hoc primo faustoque omine plurimum exsultamus; timentes tamen ne quis illos repeteret, per pseudothyrum clam egredimur, ibique servum ephippii equos instruentem vidimus, qui aliquid oblitus domum repetens ab equis discessit et, eo absente, superbum pallium ephippio alligatum, loris solutis subripui; dein secundum mapalia in silvam proximam effugimus. In nemoris recessu magis in tuto positi de occultando auro jactavimus multa; ne aut latrocinii argui possemus, aut ipsimet expilari: tandem statui-
- 160 tuimus illud pannis tunicae detritae intus consuere, quam ego postea scapulis imposui, curaue pallii Ascylo commissa, viis obliquis urbem petere destinamus; ast egrediens laeva haec audivimus: "Non effugient, nemus ingressi sunt, diversis perquiramus, ut facilius prehendi possint". His auditis, terror ingens ita nos invasit ut Ascylos Gitonque secundum
- 165 dumos ad urbem fugerint, ego vero tanta destinatione reduxi gradum ut ex humeris me non sentiente pretiosa tunica ceciderit, fessusque tandem et ulterius progredi impotens, sub tegmine arboris recubui ubi primum jacturam tunicae notavi. Tum dolor vires restituit, surrexique ad thesaurum perquirendum et diu frustra discurri, donec labore tristitiaque
- 170 attritus in tenebrosius nemoris latibulum penetravi, ubi quattuor horis commoratus et in tam horrenda solitudine maestus, exitum quaesivi; sed procedens rusticum quendam conspexi; tunc omni constantia mihi opus fuit, nec defuit. Audacter ad illum progressus sum et qua ad urbem iretur petii, conquerens me diu in silva deerrare. Ille habitum meum miser-
- 175 atus, quia leto pallidior eram lutoque oblitus, interrogavit num aliquem in silva vidissem. "Neminem, inquam," dein humanissime ad viam regiam me conduxit ubi duos sibi familiares offendit, qui retulerunt se per omnes silvae semitas discurrisse, nihilque praeter tunicam, quam ostendunt, invenisse. Illam repeterere audacia non valuit, ut fas est
- 180 credere, licet quanti erat probe nossem: tunc vehementius dolere coepi,

- raptumque gemens thesaurum, rusticis non advertentibus et ingravescente debilitate solito lentius gradiebar. Tardius ergo in urbem perveni et stabulum intrans Ascylton semimortuum grabatoque resolutum inveni, in alium quoque lectum ipse decidi et ne quidem verbum proferre potui.
- 185 Perturbatus ille quod tunicam mihi creditam non videret, praecipiti voce illam a me petiit. Sed ego deficiens, quod vox negabat, oculorum languore explicui, viribus tandem paulatim redeuntibus, Ascylto infortunium declaravi. At me jocari putavit et quamvis ambitiosus lacrimarum imber sacramenti testis foret, plane revocavit in dubium credens se
- 190 aureis me fraudare velle. Giton, inter haec stans aequae maestus erat ac ego ipse et dolor pueri tristitiam augebat meam; sed perquisitio quae de nobis fiebat, magis torquebat animum: rem Ascylto declaravi, qui leviter commotus fuit quia se feliciter a negotio expedierat. Persuasus insuper nos esse securos, ignotos scilicet et a nemine visos. Morbum tamen
- 195 mentiri voluimus ut diutius in cubiculo morari liceret; sed deficiente pecunia, citius quam statueramus migrare et cogente necessitate, manubia vendere oportuit.

fr.7 (*after ch. 15,9*)

- 1 Cum aureos extraheremus, tunicam dissuendo audivimus aliquem a diversitore petentem: "Quod hominum genus stabulum jam nunc intraverat?" Hac voce perterritus, eo egresso ad sciendum quid esset, descendi accepique praetoris lictorem, qui pro officio curabat exterorum
- 5 nomina inscribi in publicis codicibus, duos vidisse advenas domum ingredi, quorum nomina nondum in acta retulerat et idcirco de illorum patria et occupatione inquirere. Haec ita perfunctorie narravit diversitor ut mihi suspicionem dederit nos hic non in tuto esse, atque ne deprehenderemur placuit egredi, nec, nisi noctu, domum repetere: itaque discentes officium coenae Gitoni mandavimus. Ut nobis in animo erat vias
- 10 publicas declinare per solitarias urbis regiones gradimur et sub vesperum in loco semoto obvias habuimus duas mulieres stolatas haud indecores, quas lento gradu secuti sumus usque ad sacellum, quod ingressae sunt et unde murmur insolitum, quasi voces ex antri penetralibus erumpentes,
- 15 audivimus. Curiositas sacellum intrare etiam nos impulit, ibique complures, Bacchantium instar, mulieres vidimus, quae in manu dextra Priapinos fascinosos gestabant. Plus videre non licuit, nam, ut nos animadverterunt, tam magnum clamorem sustulere ut intremuerit templi camera; et nos corripere conatae sunt, sed velociter ad diversorium
- 20 confugimus.

fr.8 (*after ch.19,1 + between 19,5 and 19,6*)

Tandem, inquit Quartilla.

Dum haec mente volvebam, accessit Quartilla ut tertianae mederer; sed delusa spe furibunda egreditur et reversa paulo post nos invadi ab ignotis et in palatium superbissimum transferri iussit.

fr.9 (*in ch.20,2*)

[*lodiculam in pavimento diligenter extendit*] et

(*in ch.20,4*)

Interim [*duas institas ancilla protulit de sinu*]

(*between ch.20,4 and 20,5*)

Constrictus ita vinculis: "Non, inquam, hac ratione frui potuerit votis domina tua." "Fateor, inquit ancilla, sed alia medicamenta sunt mihi ad manum et certiora." Subito vas satyrio plenum attulit et jocose fabuloseque multa jactitans ita effecit ut fere totum liquorem exhauserim et, quia nuper ejus blanditias spreverat Ascylos, extrema satyrii portione ejus dorsum, illo non sentiente, sparsit.

(*in ch.20,6*)

inquit

fr.10 (*between ch.26,5 and 26,6*)

- 1 Libidine Quartillae ita fatigatus eram ut recedendi vias meditarer. Ascylo mentem declaravi quae multum placuit: cupiebat se ex Psyche vexationibus expedire; idque nobis non difficile, ni Giton cubiculo fuisset inclusus: volebamus enim eum abducere et meretricum petulantiae
- 5 subtrahere. Hoc ipsum anxie meditabamur, cum Pannychis lecto cecidit, Gitonaque suo traxit pondere, illaesum tamen, puella autem capite leviter laesa tanto exclamavit ut concitata terrore praecipiti gressu accurrens, Quartilla nobis effugiendi locum dederit: nec mora, celeres in hospitium pervolamus nostrum et continuo

(*between ch.26,6 and 26,7*)

- 10 Postero die egredientes duos ex nostris raptoribus offendimus, quos ut conspexit Ascylos alterum animose aggressus est, quo victo et graviter vulnerato, mihi alterum urgenti praesto fuit. Ille vero tam strenuus se gerebat ut nos ambos, sed leviter, vulneraverit illaesusque effugerit.

(in ch.26,7)

[*Venerat jam tertius dies, id est exspectatio liberae cenae*] apud Trimalchionem

(in ch.26,8)

[*Itaque*] in diversorium citissime abimus et, haud alte vulnerati, in lecto plagas oleo et vino medemur. Raptor tamen debellatus humi jacebat et ne agnosceremur, timebamus.

(in ch.26,8)

[*Itaque cum*] igitur

fr.11 (after ch.82,6)

Interim mihi arduum erat amorem vindictae superare et mediam noctem anxius consumsi, sed tristitiae sublevandae injuriaequae propellendae causa, egressus diluculo omnes circuivi porticus et

fr.12 (in ch.84,4)

1 [Nescio], inquam, [*quomodo bonae mentis soror est paupertas*] et suspirabam

(in ch.84,5)

“merito, inquit senex, sortem doles litteratorum”. “Non illud, inquam, suspiriorum materia; dolendi mihi altera causa est et longe gravior”;

5 simulque, ut propensio humana alienis auribus proprios dolores deponit, fortunam meam illi exposui, imprimisque Ascyli perfidiam exaggeravi, proclamans inter tot gemitus:

(after ch.84,5)

Visus ego seni ingenuus, me solari coepit, utque tristitiam leniret meam, quid sibi in amoribus olim contigerat, narravit.

fr.13 (after ch.90,6)

simulque

(after ch.90,7)

et continuo in balneum ivimus, ubi

fr.14 (in ch.85,1)

In Asiam, inquit,

fr.15 (in ch. 91,7)

[*Postquam se amari sensit, supercilium altius sustulit*] “Sed, inquam ego, [*nec amoris arbitrium ad alium judicem tuli*]

fr.16 (*after ch.92,13*)

Vixdum finieram, cum coenula allata est: cibus scilicet plebejus, sed succosus et nutritivus, quem Eumolpus, doctor famelicus, devoravit. Satur vero philosophos de negotio ejicere coepit et multa jactare in illos qui vulgo nota contemnunt, raraque solum plurimi faciunt.

“Corruptae menti,” inquit

fr.17 (*in ch.94,1*)

[*O felicem, inquit*] Eumolpus

fr.18 (*after ch.96,6*)

Tum ad aures Eumolpi accedens

(*in ch.96,7*)

[*Contubernalis mea*] inquit submissius

fr.19 (*after ch.98,1*)

Illis autem vix egressis

(*after ch.98,6*)

At

(*after ch.98,9*)

Eumolpus, tum Encolpii tum Gitonis commotus aerumnis et praecipue blanditiarum Gitonis non immemor: “Stultissimi, inquit, certe estis vos, qui virtute praediti, felices esse potestis, vitam tamen aerumnosam degitis et singulis diebus vos ultro novis torquetis cruciatibus.

fr.20 (*after ch.99,1*)

- 1 id est in tranquillitate: si me vultis imitari, sollicitudines animis mittite. Ascylos hic vos insectatur, fugite illum et me profecturum in regiones extraneas sequimini.

- In navigio vector proxima forsitan nocte proficiscar: ibi plane notus sum et gratiose accipiemur”. Prudens utileque hoc consilium mihi visum est quia Ascyli vexationibus me vindicabat, vitamque pollicebatur feliciorum. Eumolpi victus humanitate, nuper illi injuriam fecisse maxime dolui, meaeque aemulationis, tot malorum causae, paenitentiam agere coepi.

(*after ch.99,4*)

- 10 In puppis constrato locum semotum elegimus et, nondum orta die, Eumolpus dormitabat. Ego vero Gitonque, ne quidem minimum somni haurire potuimus. Anxius perpendebam me in societatem recepisse

Eumolpum, Ascylto formidabiliorem aemulum, et illud valde me torquebat. Ratione vero dolorem vincente,

fr.21 (*in ch.100,1*)

[*Molestum*], inquam

fr.22 (*after ch.103,2*)

Placuit et

(*after ch.103,6*)

Postero die statim atque Eumolpus e lecto Tryphaenam consurrexisse intellexit, diaetam Lycae intravit; ubi postquam locutum est de felicissima navigatione, quam caeli serenitas augurabat, Lycas respiciens ad Tryphaenam,

fr.23 (*in ch.104,1*)

[*Videbatur*] inquit

fr.24 (*after ch. 106,4*)

- 1 Ut ad vindictam unanimem et propensam vidit Tryphaenam Lycas, nova jussit adduci supplicia: quae ut intellexit Eumolpus, his eum mitigare conatus est.

- “Infelices, inquit, illi, quorum te vindice stat exitium, tuam, Lyca,
5 implorant misericordiam et

fr.25 (*in ch.108,6*)

[*veneranda*] passuram injuriam

fr.26 (*after ch.113,9*)

- 1 Maerenti tamen mihi, cum novum decus adderet flavum corymbion, Lycas novo etiam incensus amore, amasiis oculis mi nictitabat et

(*after ch.113,10*)

- et diu frustra tentavit: tandem omnino repulsus, amorem vertit in furorem et vi gratiam extorquere conatus est cum inexpectata
5 Tryphaena, oppido ingressa, illius procacitatem notavit. Ille perturbatus diligenter amicitur et fugit. Hinc Tryphaena, majori libidine concitata: “Quo pertinet, inquit, illa petulans Lycae molitio?” et fari coegit: narratione ardentior facta et antiquae familiaritatis memor ad pristinas me voluit revocare voluptates. Ast ego, tot voluptatibus fatigatus, illius
10 blanditias respui. Illa autem amore furens amplexu effusissimo me inva-

sit et tam arcte me complexa est ut subito exclamaverim. Ex ancillis una ad clamorem accurrit, facileque credidit me, quam gratiam Doridi negaveram, ab ea extorquere conari, et irrumpens amplexus solvit. Tryphaena sic repudiata, furorisque libidinose impatiens, durius me
 15 excepit et additis minis, convolat ad Lycam ut eum in me magis commoveret meque vindicta communi insectarent. Scies autem me olim huic ancillae acceptissimum fuisse, cum dominae familiaris eram, itaque iniquo tulit animo me cum Tryphaena deprehendisse et gemitus duxit altissimos, quorum ardentem causam sciscitatus sum, dum illa resistens in
 20 haec erupit:

(after ch.113,12)

hoc enim ardens studium haud dubie me traduxisset et illud valde timebam. Cum autem apud me perpenderem quo pacto, ne id resciret Eumolpus, efficere possem ecce, subito ipse ingreditur rei peractae haud ignarus: Tryphaena enim omnia Gitoni retulerat, ipsaque repulsae meae
 25 pensationem, fratris sumtibus, habere tentaverat: unde vehementer excandescebat Eumolpus et eo magis quod petulantiae illae signatum foedus aperte violarent. Cum senex me conspexit, sortem meam dolens, narrare iussit ut res se habuerat. Lycae autem stuprosam petulantiam Tryphaenaeque libidinosum impetum jam bene monito ingenue exposui:
 30 quibus auditis

(after ch.113,13)

se nos haud dubie vindicaturum et deos aequiores esse ut tot crimina paterentur impunita.

fr.27 *(after ch.115,19)*

Secundum has considerationes supremo cadaver mandavimus officio

fr.28 *(after ch.125,4)*

1 Animo haec volvens, domo egredior tristissimus, liberiori aere mentis recreandae causa: sed ambulationem publicam vix intraveram, cum haud inculta puella obvia venit, meque vocans Polyaenum, fictum mihi nomen metamorphoseos declaravit, dominam suam rogare ut sibi
 5 mecum liceret loqui. “Falleris,” inquam ego perturbatus, “servus sum extraneus, et hac gratia minime dignus.” “Ad te ipsum,” inquit, “jussa sum, sed

fr.29 (*after ch.127,10*)

Sed nervorum subita debilitate Circe decepta fuit, qua injuria ex-
candescens

fr.30 (*after ch.128,2*)

- 1 Tam levis excusatio Circes iram minime sedavit: a me contemtim ocu-
los reflexit et ancillam respiciens

(*in ch.128,4*)

[*raptimque*] in vicinam [*aedem Veneris intravit*]

(*after ch.128,6*)

- Infortunium illud somnium verum, immo vera fascinatio mihi certe vide-
5 batur, et tam diu nervis destitutus fui ut nec surgere potuerim. Animi
tandem oppressione paulatim laxata, vigor sensim rediit domumque petii
ubi languorem simulans in lectulum me conjeci. Paulo post Giton, qui
me aegrotare acceperat, tristis intravit cubiculum. Ut vero mentem illius
sedarem, declaravi me sola quiescendi causa lectum petiisse; multaque
10 alia jactavi, de infortunio autem nihil, quia ejus aemulationem valde
timebam, et ad omnem suspicionem avertendam eum lateri applicans
meo, amoris specimen praebere tentavi: sed anhelitus sudoresque
fuerunt irriti. Surrexit ira commotus et nervorum debilitatem animique
alterationem accusans dixit se jam dudum animadvertisse me non dubie
15 primum vires spiritusque alibi consumere. “Immo,” inquam, “frater,
erga te meus semper idem amor fuit: sed nunc ratio amorem vincit et
petulantiam

(*in ch.128,7*)

[*Itaque*], inquit me irridens

fr.31 (*before ch.129,1*)

tum rursus adjeci

(*after ch.129,1*)

me sine nervis esse Giton sentiens et

(*after ch.129,2*)

eo vix egresso

fr.32 (*in ch.131,4*)

Haec dicente, anus [*illa*

(*after ch.131,7*)

His peractis anus me restituit Chrysidi, quae laetissima erat thesaurum
recuperasse dominae: festinans ergo me ad illam praecipitem duxit et in

secessum admisit amoenissimum ubi, quidquid gratum oculi natura prodit, videbatur.

fr.33 (*after ch.132,1*)

Sed inter haec gratissima primordia nervis adhuc subito deficientibus, ad summam voluptatem pervenire non potui.

fr.34 (*after ch.133,2*)

His certe obrutus, non mei compos eram nec quae dicebam probe noram. "Quid enim," ajebam, "praeterita, iterum nocitura in memoriam revocare?" Denique, ut nervos reciperem, mihi non sum molitus. Volui et etiam me diis vovere: Priapum igitur exoraturus egredior et

fr.35 (*in ch.134,1*)

[*Quae striges*], inquit

fr.36 (*after ch.135,7*)

Sacerdos hujus virtutis ita sectatrix videbatur ut apud eam eluceret in minimis. Casa praecipue illius verum erat paupertatis sacrarium

fr.37 (*in ch.136,1*)

[*Dum illa*] purgata faba

fr.38 (*after ch.137,13*)

aniculaeque anserem, materiam antea tristitiae, vorabant laetae: illo exeso, Oenothea semiebria ad me respiciens: "Perficienda sunt, inquit, mysteria ut recipias nervos," simulque

fr.39 (*after ch.138,2*)

- 1 Tum me subduco, [*aniculae*] aestuantes consecantur

(*after ch.138,4*)

- Ubi tamen me domum potui recipere, defatigatione gravis, lectum petii, nec tamen somnum capere potui: quaeque enim adversa mihi contigerant, animoolvebam, reputansque neminem magis casibus me obnoxium esse, proclamabam: "Fortuna semper infensa mihi, egebatne Amoris cruciatibus ut me magis torqueret? O me infelicem, junctis viribus, Fortuna et Amor in perniciem conspirant meam. Ipse dirus Amor nusquam mihi pepercit: amans amatusve crucior. En! Chrysis, quae me perdit amat, lacessere non desinit. Illa, quae, cum mihi domi-
- 5

- 10 nam conciliabat, me ut servum contemptum despexit, quia servili indu-
bar veste, illa, inquam,
(*after ch.138,5*)
seque lateribus tuis semper instituram iuravit, cum sui amoris vehemen-
tiam mihi patefecit. At Circe me totum habet, ceteras sperno. Revera
quid illa pulchrius?
(*after ch.138,8*)
- 15 Haec taliaque cum idea formosissimae Circes ita meum concitarunt ani-
mum ut

fr.40 (*after ch.139,1*)

- 1 sed inutiles adhuc fuerunt conatus.
Vexatio meam tandem fregit patientiam: et veneficium, quo eram con-
tactus Genio inimico exprobravi. Animo tandem collecto inter heroas
antiquos, ira deorum olim insectatos, consolationem quaerens in haec
- 5 erupi:
(*after ch.139,2*)
His tortus sollicitudinibus anxie noctem consumsi totam, et Giton, qui
acceperat me cubuisse domi, cellam intravit primo diluculo, meque licen-
tiosius vivere vehementer accusavit dixitque familiam de mea agendi
ratione valde conqueri, rarissime ministeriis me adesse, et mihi fortasse
- 10 funestum fore illud, quod gerebam, commercium. His intellexi de meis
negotiis illum esse commonitum, et aliquem domi forte de me percontat-
um fuisse
(*in ch.139,3*)
[*Quaerere*] igitur [*a Gitone meo*]
(*after ch.139,3*)
Haec vehementer me torserunt, novaque convicia in fortunam jeci et
(*after ch.139,4*)
- 15 Chrysidis petulantia multum turbatus fui et verborum blanditiis usus
sum ut illam dimitterem: timebam enim ne rumores furentis ad aures
Eumolpi pervenirent; a felicitate enim superbum domini supercilium
induerat. Omnem ergo adhibui industriam ut mitigaretur Chrysis:
amorem finxi, blande susurravi, in summam, ita dissimulavi astute ut me
- 20 amore captum crediderit. Exposui, quo in periculo uterque essemus, si
mecum in cella deprehenderetur, Eumolpumque vel de minimo poenas
repetere. His auditis, confestim exit et eo celerius, quod reducem videbat
Gitona, qui paulo antequam illa me convenisset, exierat e cubiculo. Vix
egressa

(after ch.139,5)

- 25 Adeo turbatus maestusque visus sum Gitoni, ut nihil mihi de muliere dixerit: de Eumolpo dumtaxat locutus est, jussitque potius cum illo
jocari, quam agere serio. Parui equidem, et tam hilari vultu ad eum
accessi, ut non severe, sed festive me exceperit: de Venere mihi propitia
cavillatus est, laudavit formam et elegantiam meam, matronis
30 omnibus acceptissimam: et "Non me latet, inquit, te a formosissima
deperiri: at nunc, Encolpi, illud nobis in loco poterit prodesse. Philo ergo
sustine personam, equidem, quam suscepi, sustinebo." Adhuc loque-
batur, cum intravit

fr.41 (after ch.140,11)

- 1 Non tam graviter sustuli hanc debilitatem quam pristinas: paulo post
enim redierunt nervi et repente me sentiens valentiorum esse, procla-
mavi:

(after ch.140,13)

- Hac ingenti gratia hilaritatem nobis concitante, risimus prudentiam
5 Philumenes, liberorumque experientiam in arte, illis quoad nos nihil pro-
futuram; sola enim hereditatis spe puerum puellamque illa nobis pro-
diderat. Hinc igitur sordidum orbos senes circumveniendi modum apud
me reputans, de nostrae praesentis fortunae statu ratiocinandi occa-
sionem nactus, commonui Eumolpum captando captatores captari posse.
10 "Omnes," ajebam, "nostrae actiones cum prudentia convenire debent."
(after ch.140,15)

Quamobrem Crotoniatae tam laute hactenus nos exceperunt, sed,

fr.42 (after ch.141,1)

- 1 "Modum excogitavi, inquit Eumolpus, quo nostros captatores valde sol-
licitos habeamus," simulque tabulas e pera trahens, sic ultimas legit vo-
luntates.

(after ch.141,4)

- Cumque prima capita legeret, quidam magis Eumolpo familiares
5 intrarunt cubiculum et in ejus manu tabulas testamenti conspicientes, ut
fierent lectionis participes eum enise rogarunt. Annuit ille subito et a
primo ad ultimum recitavit. Hi vero, audita necessitate cadaveris edendi,
non tralatitia propositione tristes admodum fuerunt sed
(in ch.141,5)

- et illius ad aspectum tam humiles erant ut de hac novitate conqueri non
10 ausi fuerint. Ast unus ex eis, nomine [*Gorgias paratus erat exsequi*]

(*after ch.141,5*)

dummodo diutius non exspectaret. Ad hoc Eumolpus

(*after ch.141,11*)

Ultimo cum sola cogitatio humanae carnis edendae fastidium creare potest, animum adversum toto corde vincetis ut legata immensa, de quibus statuo vobis, recipiatis.

- 15 Has novitates propudiosas ita incomposite effudit Eumolpus ut captatores de illius promissis diffidere coeperint, et statim dicta factaque nostra propius explorantes, suspicionibus experientia auctis, planos et levatores nos crediderint. Accedebat hoc quod quibusdam advenis noti eramus. Itaque qui maioribus impensis nos exceperant, invadere et vindictam pro merito sumere, decreverunt. Sed Chrysis, omnium machinarum particeps, Crotoniatarum in nos consilium mihi renuntiavit, quo audito, ita perterritus fui ut illico una cum Gitone effugerim, relicto fatis iniquis Eumolpo, et paucis abhinc diebus accepi Crotoniatas indignantes quod veterator iste sumtibus publicis laute diu alitus fuerat, Massiliotico
- 20 more eum mactasse. Id ut intellegatis, scitote, quod
- 25 (*follows fr.1 = Servius ad Vergili Aen. 3,57*)
[et sic] de rupe [*projiciebantur*]

Commentary

Unlike the foregoing paragraphs, I can but rarely rely on previous philological work in writing this commentary. Whenever possible, I shall refer to the early, eighteenth-century, commentators of Nodot.

In the commentary, the following abbreviations will be used:

ThLL	=	Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (Leipzig, 1900-).
LS	=	C. T. Lewis — C. Short, <i>A Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1879).
OLD	=	P. G. W. Glare (ed.), <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1968-1980).
KG	=	R. Kühner — C. Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. II. Satzlehre. Zusätze und Berichtigungen von A. Thierfelder</i> (Hannover, 1976).
Forc.	=	E. Forcellini, <i>Totius Latinitatis Lexicon</i> (Patavii, 1771).
Petersmann	=	H. Petersmann, <i>Petrone Urbane Prosa</i> (Vienna, 1977).
Adams	=	J. N. Adams, <i>The Latin Sexual Vocabulary</i> (London, 1982).
Conc. Petr.	=	M. Korn — S. Reitzer, <i>Concordantia Petroniana</i> (Hildesheim-Zürich- New York, 1986).
Lex. Petr.	=	I. Segebadé — E. Lommatzsch, <i>Lexicon Petronianum</i> (Leipzig, 1898).

fr.1.

It is interesting to note that on the 18th of February 1693, Leibniz in one of his letters, was the first to criticize the Nodotian fragments, mainly based on this *prooemium*. Leibniz's arguments, often proof of a keen philological intellect, will be inserted in my commentary. The text of Leibniz's letter is easily accessible in: G.W. Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe* (Berlin, 1975), I, IX, p.296-300.

l.1: acciderunt: In the Nodotian fragments, we often find an indicative used for an indirect question (cfr. fr.1 l.6 *publicant*). Petersmann (1977) p. 265 discusses Petronius's habits in this matter. In the vulgar passages, he uses both indicative and subjunctive; in the 'urban' passages (like the one we are dealing with) the subjunctive. There is however one sentence (c.8,1) where he deviates from this rule, and I have a strong feeling that Nodot is referring to this particular phrase: '*Si scires, inquit, quae mihi acciderunt*'.

l.2: ad scientias explicandas: Leibniz (p. 298 l.12-13) put the case that such a subject would be entirely strange for a novel such as the *Satyricon*. He claims (p. 298 l.15-16) that the same can be said about '*de religionis erroribus*' (fr.1 l.4), in my opinion a far-fetched argument.

Burmann (1709) calls the juncture *scientias explicare* not a good Latin expression. Indeed the combination does not seem to occur in ancient writings.

l.3: fabulis iucundioribus animanda: Burmann (1709) in his "Praefatio" makes a point by revealing the illogical line of thought in this sentence: if the

“colloquia” are already “hilaria”, why should they be “fabulis jucundioribus animanda”? I consider this rather a weak argument; these words might have been added “euphoniae causa”.

1.3: animanda: Burmann (1709) considers this word as a blatant gallicism (French: *animer*), but *animare*, with the meaning of “to enliven”, “to refresh” occurs in ancient writers (LS I E), be it post-classical.

1.4: congregatis: Burmann (1709) suspects that the forger had in mind a text of the Vulgata: *ubi duo tresve in nomine meo congregati fuerint* (Mt.18,20).

1.1-4: Jam...congregatis: This sentence is too long as to be Petronian. Here we have for the first time the use of the construction *ita... ut*, which the forger uses over and over again.

1.4: Fabricius Vejento: Leibniz (p.298 l.14) calls this a *monstrum nominis*, but in fact it is an ingenious allusion. In Tacitus (*Annales* 14,50) we read that Vejento was condemned by the emperor Nero (!) for slandering priests!

Much more to the point is Burmann’s remark. He observes that Fabricius Vejento would be the only ‘real’, historic person’s name in the whole of the *Satyricon*. In all other cases, Petronius uses nick-names.

1.5: quo doloso... furore: In an indirect question, we should expect ‘*quam*’. Petersmann (1977) p.264-265 affirms Leibniz’s critic (p.299 l.1-2): ‘*quam*’ is used for an indirect question even in late Antiquity.

1.6: illis: A clear error. ‘*Sibi*’ or perhaps ‘*ipsis*’ (Leibniz p.299 l.3) is needed here.

1.6: publicant: cfr. l.1: *acciderunt*. (cfr. Leibniz p.299 l.4-5)

1.6: mysteria: Leibniz (p. 299 l.5-9) observes that ‘*mysterium*’ is used here in a christian sense. In classical antiquity the word means ‘*a secret service, secret rites, secret worship of a deity*’ (LS s.v. I + II). The christian signification is ‘*something transcending mere human intelligence*’ (LS s.v. III). Leibniz thinks that it is impossible that either of the first two (classical) significations is meant, since it is obvious that these priests knew the sacred rites of their gods. I don’t think that Leibniz is right in this statement, since there are parallel texts in which the priests’ ignorance of the rites is blamed (Quintilian, 1,6,40: ‘*Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta*’: perhaps there an allusion is made to this text?).

Moreover Leibniz censures the expression ‘*mysteria publicare*’, since the only thing that antique priests brought forth were predictions. He therefore corrects in ‘*futura publicare*’.

Burmann too (*Praefatio* 1709) severely censures this sentence: he claims that Nodot was writing here about young priests or monks of his own time preaching *e cathedra* to the assembled crowds in their churches.

Apart from these separate remarks, other serious criticisms on this prooemium may be added:

1. It is totally abnormal for an ancient novel that the reader finds himself immediately ‘*in medias res*’. Normally, the narrator first presents himself, and tells us something about his youth and his past. The only known exception on this

- rule is Heliodorus' *Ethiopica*²⁵. In this matter, the ancient novel is different from ancient epic, where the reader is placed immediately '*in medias res*'²⁶.
2. The transition from the authentic fragments halts abruptly. We do not even know the names of the main persons, and without any explanation we find ourselves suddenly in a declamation. Only at the end of chapter 2, in the fake fragment 2, do we read that in chapter 1 and 2 Encolpius is declaiming. Moreover there is a contradiction between: '*nunc... est locutus*' (fr.1) and '*haec taliaque olim declamabam*' (fr.2). (cfr. also Leibniz p.299 l.10-19).
 3. This *prooemium* is far too short to pretend to be the preface of the complete Petronius. The *Satyricon* as it is now preserved contains about 31.000 words; but the original might have about 400.000. Nodot added but ca. 1885 words to the text, which is of course quite insufficient. Already in his time it was known that the first Petronian fragment (*Num alio genere...*) came from book 15²⁷. A preface of 7 lines can hardly replace 14 books...

fr.2

A sudden and unexpected transition: Agamemnon appears here without being mentioned before, and his name now appears twice in the same sentence (c.3,1: *non est passus Agamemnon*).

l.2: se admovit: c.11,2: *cum Ascyrtos furtim se foribus admovit* and 86,2: *ephebus ultro se admovit*.

l.2: audiebant: here also one would expect a subjunctive (cfr. fr.1)

fr.3

Unwillingly, Encolpius finds himself in a brothel. When he tries to flee, he discovers Ascyrtos at the entrance, tired and nearly dead. Ascyrtos tells him how he got in the brothel, but then the story breaks off — a clear gap in the text. The two remaining fragments (*adeo ubique omnes mihi videbantur satyrion bibisse* and *junctis viribus molestum contempsimus*) offer us two possibilities: either this is a part of Ascyrtos' story, or the adventurers are attacked again. Nodot chooses the second solution.

l.2: dum... supervenit: Petersmann p. 279 mentions that *dum* is nearly always used with an present indicative in Petronius.

l.3: patiens: For "pati" in erotic sense: LS B1: *to submit to another's lust, to prostitute one's self*. See c.25,4: *cum virum passa sum* 87,7: *annis ad patientium gestientibus* and 140,15: *pateretur injuriam*.

Adams, p.189-190 also refers to c.9,6 (abstract *patientia* in the same sense).

l.4: agens: For "agere" in erotic sense: Adams p.205 (no examples in the *Sat.*).

²⁵ Héliodore, *Les Ethiopiques. Théagène et Chariclée* (ed. R. M. Rattenbury, rev. T. W. Lumb, trad. J. Maillon) (Paris, 1994), pp. XVIII-XIX deals with this particular aspect of this novel.

²⁶ J. P. Sullivan, *The Satyricon of Petronius. A literary study* (London, 1968), p. 39.

²⁷ For these numbers: Sullivan (1968), pp. 35-36, and also Smarius (1996), p. 15. (see note 2).

- l.5: consensum urgere:** Forc. (s.v. “urgere”) II,8: *aliquid= alicui rei acriter incumbere* (Horatius, *sat.* 2,7,6: *urget propositum*).
- l.8: cinaedica petulantia:** the adjective “cinaedicus” is a very rare word; ThLL only exhibits Plautus, *Stich.* 760 and, as a masculine substantive, Plautus, *Stich.* 769 and Varro, *Men.* 353.
- l.8: alte succinctus:** = c.21,2
- l.9: invadit:** “invadere” in erotic sense: c.20,8/ 85,6/ 139,4.
- l.9: super... molere:** “molere super” in c.23,5 (also Adams, p.153).
- l.9: grabato:** A “grabatus” is a “*small, low couch, campbed*” (LS). The word also occurs in c.97,4.
- l.12: dimisit:** A sudden and clumsy change of subject, since we must assume that the “paterfamilias” of the brothel is the subject of this verb.
- l.13: lustrata urbe:** c.11,1: *lustravi...urbem*.
- l.11-12:** It is strange that Encolpius turns out to be strong and able to resist his enemies. In the real *Satyricon* he is a rather weak person, who never resorts to violence; see H. Schnur, ‘Petronius: Sense and Nonsense’, *The Classical World*, 66 (1972), 18.

fr.4

Nodot inserts no further additions between c.8,4 and 9,1, which creates a problem of chronology. Now we must assume that Ascylos raped Giton immediately after his escape from the brothel, and before Encolpius went back!

- l.1-2: limineque deversorii:** From c.11,2 (*cellula*) it is clear that they are in a hostel.
- l.3: hospitibus homicidam:** It is clear from the *Satyricon* that Encolpius has killed someone: c.9,9: *nocturne percussor* and c.81,3: *hospitem occidi*. Schnur however (*Classical World* (1972), 18) believes that surely c.9,9 and maybe also 81,3 should be understood in an erotic sense.

fr.5

This is certainly a good transition: in c.10,7 Encolpius is still in the hostel; in c.11,1 he is searching for someone in town. However, it must be pointed out that Nodot fails to fill another clear gap (between c.10,3 and 10,4): otherwise the sudden change of mood of the two heroes remains unexplicable.

- l.1: silens cum impetu:** Seems to me a rather strange combination of words.
- l.2: animi impotentia:** Ascylos being hot-tempered: c.9-11 (*passim*).
- l.3: amor impotens:** For Ascylos’ lasciviousness: c.81,4: *Adolescens omni libidine impurus... stupro liber, stupro ingenuus*.

fr.6

In c.11,4 Ascylos beats Encolpius with his belt; in 12,1 they are in the *forum*, in the evening (*deficiente iam die*).

- l.1: silere constrinxit:** “Constringere” with infinitive is not attested in antiquity (KS II,2,p.683) and is a clear example of a Gallicism (*contraindre à*). For a free use of the infinitive: Lucretius, 3, 895-896: *occurrunt... praeripere*.
- l.2: erat:** An imperfectum for unreality in the past: c.140,6: *si non servasset... periclitabatur* (Petersmann, p.194).

- l.3-5:** A very sudden and abrupt change of mood. It seems also quite unexplicable why Ascyrtos suddenly begins mentioning their financial problems.
- l.5-6: In aestivis temporibus... fortunatius:** In his preface Burmann (1709) mocks this passage, which he considers to be a reminder of the French "*mar-supii exenteratores*" in Paris. In this critique, he is completely wrong, since Rome also knew the problem of pickpockets. Nodot alludes here to Plautus, *Ep.* 2,2,3 and 3,4,74.
- l.8: sarcinulis:** This word is mostly post-Augustan and occurs mainly in the plural: c.10,4 and 81,1.
- l.8: castellum:** An important error which betrayed the forgery. "Castellum" is in antiquity only used in a military context (LS: *a stronghold, a citadel, a fortress*) but Nodot uses it for the French word *château*. For this word, the Latin term *villa* should be used (see Stolz (1987) p.16).
- l.8: Lycurgi:** Only occurs in c.83,6 and 117,3. From these fragments it is clear that the adventurers indeed once robbed his house (*et quicquid Lycurgi villa grassantibus praeibisset*).
- l.9: frater:** In an erotic sense: c.11,2/ 127,2/ 129,8.
- l.9: frater fuisset:** Sullivan (1968) p.44-45 also thinks that Lycurgus was Ascyrtos' former lover (c.81,4/ 83,6), but we cannot be absolutely sure about this.
- l.11: Tryphaena:** Appears in c.100-116 as Lichas' girlfriend. From the remaining fragments, it appears that she suffered maltreatment by Encolpius (c.106,4). We also come to know that she has had a relation with Giton (c.104,2: she receives an omen in her dreams about Giton/ c.106,2: *Volebat Tryphaena misereri, quia non totam voluptatem perdiderat*' (for Giton).
- l.11: Lycas:** Appears in c.100-116, and is a sea-captain. Also he had a love-affair with Encolpius (c.105,9/ 108,6). After that, they became enemies, since the first encounter didn't end very well for the captain (c.104,1).
- l.13: hausimus:** A subjunctive would be more appropriate here (cfr. fr.1: 1.1).
- l.14: quamvis:** Occurs twice with subjunctive in the *Sat.* (14,1 and 138,3) (Petersmann p.283). A better tense would be *fuerit* for expressing anteriority, though *esset* might go with *hausimus*.
- l.16: jungere:** In erotic sense: LS B7 (many examples) and Adams, p.179.
- l.17: delicias:** Tryphaena is thus clearly not Lichas' wife, as may be derived also from the *Sat.* As we shall see, Nodot thinks that Doris (c.126,18) was Lichas' wife, Sullivan (1968) mentions Hedyle (c.106,2) and Schnur in his *Encolpi Casus* mentions Lichas' wife without giving her a name (EC p.152/ 167).
- l.20: aures negavi:** This expression doesn't seem to have been used in Antiquity (not in ThLL).
- l.20: denegatio:** Is a very rare word. ThLL mentions but four examples, all of them from the fourth century.
- l.45 nictu oculorum:** Forc. offers some examples in Ovid (*Met.* 3,460) but adds a remark: *sed ubique alii 'nutu' reponunt*. OLD only offers two examples: Caecil., *comm.* 194 and Festus, p. 177 M.
- l.23: evasi:** A clear error: consecutive *ut* is used here with an indicative!
- l.28: ratio:** In erotic sense: Forc. A 3 (*commercium, sodalitas*).

- l.29: pacti sumus quod... remaneret:** *Pacisci quod* + *subj.* never occurs in Antiquity (KS II, 2, p.712). Also the subjunctive is very strange, and smells like a Gallicism.
- l.30-31: decrevimus quod.. praedaretur:** *Decernere quod* + *subj.* never occurs in Antiquity (KS II, 2, p.685), and may be considered also as a Gallicism.
- l.34: tam... ut:** One of the manyfold examples where Nodot resorts to this construction. Cp. frgm. 6,44-45; 6,46-48; 6,96-97; 6,108-109; 6,140-141; 6,164-165 and 6,165-166; 7,7-8; 7,18; 9,6; 10,1; 10,7-8; 10,12-13; 26,11; 30,5; 39,16; 40,19-20; 40,25-26; 40,27-28; 42,9-10; 42,15-16; 42,22.
- l.44: Doris:** Lichas' wife is mentioned here for the first time. *Doris* only occurs in c.126,18, where she turns out to be one of Encolpius' former lovers. We will see that Nodot's reconstruction matches with this fact. Schnur in his *Encolpi Casus* thinks that Doris was Lycurgus' wife.
- l.48: quam senseramus:** Here too a subjunctive would be more appropriate (see however cfr. fr.6 l.159), as in line 46 (*exceperamus*).
- l.56: secutuleia:** Is a Petronian hapax (c.81,5: *mulier secutuleia*: "a street-walker").
- l.57: nihil sibi auferentem:** At this moment, there seems to be no relation between Tryphaena and Lichas, as had been the case before (fr.6 l.15-16).
- l.58: notavitque Lycae:** c.6,1: *non notavi mihi Ascyli fugam* (LP also offers other examples of *notare* + dative 'sibi').
- l.59-60: ancilla... admonita:** An "ab + ablative" would have been better to denounce the agent, and would make the sentence more clear.
- l.63: sacrum Isidi navigium:** Refers to the "*navigium Isidis*" (5th of March): the beginning of the new season for the ships and seamen (Apuleius, *Met.* 11,5,5).
- l.69-71:** The robbing of a small Isis statuette is indeed mentioned in c.114,5: our trio stole such a statuette from Lichas (namely the *vestem divinam* and the *sistrum*).
- l.71: magistri:** here in the meaning of "captain of a ship" (LS I a): *Dig.* 14,1,1/ *Gaius, Inst.* 4,71/ *Livy* 29,25,7.
- l.71: Gitone:** The subject of the absolute ablative is repeated in the main sentence, as in vulgar Latin: M. Leumann/ J.B. Hofmann/ A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik*, 2 Band (München, 1965) p.140. This does not occur in the *Satyricon* (for c.76,10: see H. L. W. Nelson, *Petronius en zijn 'vulgair' Latijn* (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1947), p.137).
- l.72: advertente:** Without "animum" for "to observe by directing the mind" often occurs in ancient writers (LS II B). No examples in Petronius.
- l.74-75: Ascyllon... accedens:** "Accedere aliquem": LS I A d): c.6,4: *accedo aniculam*.
- l.75-76: fueramus:** Also in this indirect question, one would expect a subjunctive.
- l.79: in praesidio futurum:** c.79,1: *neque fax ulla in praesidio erat*.
- l.80-81:** This passage has often been criticized, since it reminds us of the French court, where the ladies were used to making their toilets every morning assisted by men (Stolz (1987), p.16).
- l.84: quippe:** Is used here as a particle of corroboration. It occurs twice in the *Satyricon* in the same sense, but only in poetic parts (c.121 v.110/ c.122 v.142).

- l.87:** Seems a bit out of place here, since Encolpius never reconciles himself with Tryphaena, how could she have told him then that Lichas attacked here so severely?
- l.88: materiam:** Is used here in the meaning of “*causa*” (LS III B) and is indeed often said of persons (Cicero, *Mil.* 13,35).
- l.91: Herculea sacra:** Sullivan (1968) p.43-44 presumes that in c.106,2 the colonnade of Hercules is meant.
- l.92: porticu:** A fine allusion to c.106,2: *sed Lichas memor adhuc uxoris corruptae iniuriarumque quas in Herculis porticu acceperat.*
- l.95: constricta fronte:** c.132,15 (v.1): *Quid me constricta spectatis fronte Catones?*
- l.95: alto supercilio:** Elevated eyebrows to denote anger: LS I A.
- l.96-97: ut... jeci:** A clear error: consecutive “ut” with indicative!
- l.96: gravia et turpia probra:** Surely the *iniuria* of c.106,2.
- l.111: quaesitum:** In Petronius’ time, the supinum ending in -tum had disappeared completely. It appears but once in c.71,8 in a standard expression: see Petersmann, p.221.
- l.118: effrangere:** ThLL s.v. *effringere*: this variant only in Cael. Aur., *acut. ex.* 4 p.497/ Ps. Venant. Fort., *Vita Med.* 4,12/ *Not. Tir.* 81,13.
- l.122: somno sepulta:** Ennius, *Ann.* v.291 (Vahlen): *vino domiti somnoque sepulti* Lucretius, 1,133 (*somnoque sepultis*) and Virgil, *Aen.* 3,630.
- l.123: per muri ruinam antea observatam:** A very strange expression. The use of the term “ruina” for denoting “a gap” doesn’t seem to be attested. Perhaps it is a misprint (confusion with “rima” is possible). Moreover, why shouldn’t he have left through the door while the others were asleep?
- l.123: transiens:** Present participle for expressing anteriority: often in Silver Latinity, but never in Petronius: Petersmann, p.217.
- l.125: apertura:** First examples in Vitruvius (4,6,6) (ThLL).
- l.126: firmitatem laxare:** c.97,8: *servus claustrorum firmitatem laxavit.*
- l.127-128: ob pervigilium:** “Ob” with accusative occurs but twice in Petronius as an older word for ‘propter’: Petersmann, p.153.
- l.129: fecerat:** In the indirect speech “fecisset” would be more appropriate (cfr. fr.1 l.1).
- l.131: expilatio:** Referred to in c.83,6/ 117,3.
- l.133: noscens:** As temp. praes. meaning “to know, recognize” very rare (LS II A).
- l.133: supellectarius:** An important error betraying the forger. Only “*supelectarius*” exists (OLD). Linage took over a misprint from a dictionary from 1 March 1673 (Stolz (1987), p.78).
- l.138: expilaverat:** Again a subjunctive would have been better (cfr. fr.1 l.1).
- l.140: victitarat:** Not in Petronius, and mainly ante-classic (Forc.).
- l.148: urceatim:** A Petronian hapax: c.44,18.
- l.148: detumens:** *Detumescere* in c.17,3/ 109,5; but no forms of *detumere* seem to be attested (ThLL). The use of such “simplicia” is however very frequent in medieval and neo-Latin (“*surdere*” instead of “*surdescere*”, etc.).
- l.150-182:** This episode alludes to the chapters 12-15 from the *Satyricon*. Our trio has once hidden a great amount of gold pieces in an old shirt, but has lost

it in the woods. When the three try to sell a stolen cloak on a market, they suddenly see a farmer trying to sell their lost shirt. This farmer turns out to be the man from whom they stole the cloak. A droll scene emerges where both parties are accusing each other of theft. Finally they manage to regain the shirt, with the gold still in it.

l.157: mapalia: “a brothel” (c.58,13).

l.162: ast: A solecism, only in c.99,3 (in an epic, poetic context): Petersmann, p. 250.

l.165: gradum reducere: c.136,10: *gradum reduxi*.

l.172: rusticum quendam: A fine allusion to the man referred to in c.12,5: *videbatur ille mihi esse qui tunicam in solitudine invenerat*.

l.179: quam ostendunt: Also in this indirect speech a subjunctive would be expected. Petersmann, p.292 mentions two cases of indirect speech where Petronius uses the indicative; there we are clearly dealing with relative clauses, defining an object. From that point of view, the use of this indicative may be defended.

l.189-190: se aureis me fraudare velle: The construction of this infinitive-clause is rather ambiguous: the subject has to be “me”

l.190: inter haec: Better: “inter nos”. I do not understand to what the plural neutre refers in this case, lest it means the same as *interea*.

l.191: perquisitio: Not in Forc., LS or OLD. It is a Christian word from late Antiquity: J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1976).

l.193: quia: Explains “leviter”: because the “perquisitio” does not seem to concern Ascylos very much. I fail to see however why this should be the case for Ascylos.

l.196-197: manubia: Error; the accusative should be “manubias”. The author may have mistaken this word for “manubrium”.

fr.7

l.2: diversitor: Is a Petronian hapax, appears but twice in Petronius (c.79,6 and 96,1).

l.2-3: intraverat: A rather strange transition from an (expected) indirect question to a direct question. Petersmann, p.291-292 mentions an example from the *Satyricon* (101,9) where we get a somewhat similar transition. He considers it a typical feature of vulgar Latin.

l.4-5: qui... codicibus: Mention is made here of a duty to report oneself to the local authorities: the strangers’ names must be reported to the praetor. This sort of obligation did not exist in Roman times, but was a custom in the seventeenth century in France: *Petron. Satyricon. Ein römischer Schelmenroman übersetzt und erläutert von H.C. Schnur* (Stuttgart, 1968), p.201/ 258.

l.6: retulerat: In this indirect speech, a subjunctive would be more appropriate (see however fr.6 l.179).

l.7: perfunctorie: Very rare word, but occurring in c.11,4 and *Cod. Th.* 12,3,2 + 14,9,1.

l.11: gradimur: The word does occur in Petronius, but only in poetic passages (LP).

l.12: obvias habuimus: *Obvius* in combination with *habere*: Auct. B. Afr. 89.

- l.16: Bacchantium instar:** *Instar* + gen. does not occur in Petronius.
l.17: Priapinos: This adjective does not exist in Antiquity (Priapeius does exist).
l.17: fascinosos: Hapax from *Auct. Priap.* 79.
l.13-20: Excellent addition, since it is clear that Ascyrtos and Encolpius have witnessed, without permission, secret ceremonies: c.16,3: *ego sum ancilla Quartillae, cuius vos sacrum ante cryptam turbastis* and c.17,8: *ne... quod in sacello Priapi vidistis vulgetis deorumque consilia proferatis in populum*. From c.17,7 it may be deduced that this watching happened by night (*illa nocte*), in Nodot's addition "*sub vesperum*" (l.11).

fr.8 + 9 +10

The so-called 'Quartilla-episode' is a particularly obscene passage of the *Satyricon*. In their hotel-room, the trio are visited by Quartilla (the priestess whose ceremonies had been watched by Encolpius and Ascyrtos) who submits them to 'a repulsive punishment consisting of an overdose of sex'²⁸. The precise plot-line of this orgy is sometimes hard to understand, since the fragments are seriously shaken up. It is also in this story that the other forger, Marchena, situated his fake fragment (c.24-25). Already at the beginning of the episode, there is a strange sentence (c.16,3): a girl enters the room "*illa scilicet quae paulo ante cum rustico steterat*". This sentence is considered generally to be a later addition, since there is no indication in the extant text that Quartilla's maid could have anything to do with the story of the farmer and the stolen cloak (c.12-15). Nodot however maintains this phrase, without relating the maiden to this story, which is of course unacceptable when one pretends to edit the complete Petronian text.

fr.8

A good link. In c.19,5 Encolpius is sure that with three they can easily beat the three women; in c.19,6 suddenly the trio turns out to be desperate. Therefore Nodot invents a gang of *ignoti* who come and kidnap our three heroes and bring them to a "palatium".

fr.9

Despite the Nodotian addition, the whole context remains extremely obscure. In c. 20,5 Ascyrtos asks whether he is not worthy to drink from the satyrion. The girl answers (to him?): "*Apposui quidem, adulescens, solus tantum medicamentum ebibisti?*" To which Quartilla replies: "*Itane est... quicquid satyrii fuit, Encolpius ebibit?*" It is very probable that we need to assume a gap between "apposui" and "quidem" (as does Müller in his edition). In Nodot's text, nothing is added between these two words, and his addition between c. 20,4 and 20,5 doesn't resolve the riddle: Encolpius is forced to drink the largest part of the liquid, and the remains are poured out over Ascyrtos' back. But why does the maiden answer to Ascyrtos that he has drunk nearly the whole portion?

²⁸ *Petronius, Satyricon*. Vertaald en toegelicht door A. D. Leeman (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 30.

l.7: quia... Ascyrtos: The fact that Ascyrtos rejects her proposals is not mentioned in the text.

Again a gap is not completed: between c.21,2 and 21,3, else it is not clear about which "secretum" the two are talking (lest they swear to be silent about the whole orgy, but then the fragment is in the wrong place).

fr.10

l.8-9: This is a fairly sudden transition: was the "palatium" really so close to their hotel?

l.16: alte vulnerati: I have found no examples of this combination of words.

l.17: plagas oleo et vino medemur: A quote from Lucas 10,33: already Leibniz noticed and criticized it.

fr.11

Encolpius is rejected by Giton who seems to prefer Ascyrtos. He locks himself up for three days. Finally, he rushes out of doors like a madman with a sword, but a soldier orders him to hand over his weapon. He then returns to the inn (c. 82,6).

l.1: vindictae: Here in the meaning of "ultio" (LS II B): c.136,7.

l.1: amorem: Here in the meaning of "a strong desire for" (LS II C: *amor gloriae*: Cicero, *Arch.* 11,28).

fr.12

l.5: propensio: A Ciceronian hapax: Cicero, *Fin.* 4,17,47. Our writer has probably been influenced by the French equivalent.

l.9: contigerat: In indirect speech, a subjunctive would be more appropriate (cfr. fr.6 l.179).

fr.13

Refers to c.86,6. Eumolpus has promised the gods to give the boy a Macedonian horse (*asturco*) in return for a '*coitus plenus et optabilis*'. The boy is deeply asleep, while the promise is made, but the next day he asks for the horse. Nodot supplies Eumolpus' answer (*elegantem* refers to the *asturco*).

fr.14

An excellent transition: with these few words Encolpius, Eumolpus and Giton are brought together again.

fr.16

l.2: succosus: Is a post-Augustean word. In c.38,6 it appears in the meaning of "rich".

l.2: nutritivus: Does not appear in Antiquity and is a medieval Latin word: A.BLAISE, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Turnhout, 1975) s.v.: Guillelm. a S. Theodorico (12 s.), *De Nat. Corp.* 1, c.700 C/ Joh. Scot. c.792 C. See also R. HOVEN, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden etc., 1994) s.v.

l.3: de negotiis ejicere: Excellent imitation: c.56,7: *philosophos de negotio dejiciebant*.

fr.18

A good addition. The man in charge of the house first orders Eumolpus to go away (c.96,6), but it is clear from c.96,7 that after that he whispers something in his ear (he asks him to maledict his girlfriend with verses). Several manuscripts have tried to supply the gap between 96,6 and 96,7 with the interpolation *Bargates procurator ad Eumolpum*.

fr.19

Eumolpus enters the room when the men who were with Ascylos searching for Giton have just left. The first addition is therefore good, but the use of “*autem*” is clumsy, since there is now twice “*autem*” in one sentence (c. 98,2: *Eumolpus autem, ...*).

Eumolpus now treats to hand over Giton to Ascylos. Encolpius lies to him, saying that the boy has disappeared. Giton however, who is hidden under the bed, sneezes and betrays himself. He then tries to soften Eumolpus’ mind with blandishments.

l.3: Encolpii: A serious error: since Encolpius is the narrator, ‘*meis*’ had to be written here!

fr.20

l.3: extraneus: Post-classic (see c.55,6).

l.10: puppis constrato: = “a deck”. In this sense in Petronius 100,3 and 100,6 (also Livy 30,10,14).

l.13: illud: “Id” seems more appropriate here, but Petersmann (p.47-48) mentions that Petronius often uses “ille” instead of “is”.

fr.22

Encolpius and Giton have now discovered that they are on Lichas’ ship and they have tried to disguise themselves.

l.3: statim atque: This combination does not occur in Petronius.

l.4: locutum est: A clear error: the deponent verb *loqui* is used here in a passive sense!

fr.24

l.1: vindicta: see fr.11 l.1.

l.4-5: implorant misericordiam: Here the rhetorical language is imitated in a very good way (with an allusion to Cicero, *Mur.* 40,86).

fr.26

A good addition: in c.113,9 + 10 Lichas approaches Encolpius; the sentence of c.113,11 is, according to an interpolation in various manuscripts²⁹) uttered by a maiden.

²⁹ *Ancilla Tryphaenae ad Encolpium*.

- l.1: corymbion:** Hair curled in the form of clusters or ivy-berries. Tryphaena's maiden has ornamented Giton's and Encolpius' heads with some of her mistress' artificial curls (Petronian hapax: c.110,1 and 110,5).
- l.2: nictitare:** The word does not seem to exist in Antiquity! (cfr. *nictu oculorum* in fr.6 l.45).
- l.4: gratiam extorquere:** c.9,4: *pudorem extorquere*.
- l.5: oppido:** No meaning of this word (*very, completely, precisely*) fits in this context.
- l.5: notavit:** "observed": cfr. c.6,1: *non notavi mihi Ascyli fugam* (LS II B).
- l.7: molitio:** In obscene sense: Adams, p.152-153.
- l.7: fari:** This archaic word does not occur in Petronius.
- l.9: ast:** cfr. fr.6 l.144.
- l.10: amplexu effusissimo me invasit:** Is a literal quote from c.139,4.
- l.11: arcte me complexa est:** c.11,1: *alligo artissimis complexibus puerum*.
- l.16: insectarent:** Rare form from the deponent verb *insectari*: Plautus, *Capt.* 3,4,61.
- l.16: scies:** The use of the future tense seems rather strange here, but Petersmann (p.171-172) mentions some cases in the *Satyricon* where the future is close to the subjunctive (potentialis) (c.104,3: *hinc scies... Epicurum hominem esse divinum*).
- l.16-17: me... fuisse:** This fact has not been mentioned previously in the Nodotian fragments, lest we suppose that this maiden is the *ancilla* from fr.6 l.32.
- l.17: acceptissimum:** In the meaning of "*gratissimum*": Plautus, *Capt.* 3,5,56.
- l.17-19: gemitus ducere:** Virgil, *Aen.* 6,873: *graviter imo de pectore gemitus ducens*.
- l.21:** Fits after c.113,12: Encolpius fearing that Eumolpus would make a poem.
- l.21: traduxisset:** "to make public". This signification also occurs in c.41,7 (LS II B3).
- l.22: resciret:** Is a primitive form of the verb "*rescisco*", assumed by Gellius (2,19,4) but not confirmed by any example from Antiquity!
- l.25: pensationem:** "recompense"; a post-Augustean word. See c.141,6: *multorum bonorum pensatio*.
- l.25: fratris:** cfr. fr.6 l.9.
- l.26: petulantiae illae:** In the plural, this word normally means "*insolent language*" (Gellius 3,3,15).

fr.27

Encolpius and Giton have just discovered that Lichas died in a shipwreck.

- l.1: secundum:** In temporal sense: c.18,1 *secundum hanc deprecationem* (Petersmann, p.155).
- l.1: supremo mandavimus officio:** An excellent imitation of c.112,6: *supremo mandaverunt officio*.

fr.28

The adventurers are now in Croton, where they pretend to be very rich.

- l.1: aer liber:** The expression does not seem to be attested in Antiquity.
- l.3: Polyaenum:** Encolpius' nick-name in Croton: c.127,7/129,4 and 130,1.

The name appears here quite suddenly, and has never been mentioned before.

l.4-5: A “matrona” fond of slaves and lower class people: c.126,5-11 (a typical satiric theme: Sullivan (1968), pp. 119-121).

fr.29

Of course an excellent link between c.127,10 (beginning of a love scene) and 128,1 (Circe disappointed).

l.1: nervorum debilitate: “*Nervus*” or “*nervi*” as *membrum virile* (also all the tendons of the body, including those of the penis): c.129,8/ 131,6 and 134,1 (Adams, p.38).

fr.30

l.4: fascinatō: Examples from ThLL are mainly from later Antiquity.

l.5: nervis: cfr. fr.29 l.1.

l.5-6: animi oppressione: The expression does not seem to be attested in Antiquity.

l.11: lateri applicans: c.126,13: *laterique meo applicat mulierem*.

l.12: anhelitus... sudoresque: c.87,8: *inter anhelitus sudoresque*.

l.14: alteratio: Only occurs in very late Latin: first example in Boëthius (ThLL has three examples from this author and one from *Acta Achatii* 5, p.120,18). Maybe our writer was thinking of the French equivalent of the word.

fr.31

These obvious additions make the whole chapter more clear, but it remains a riddle why Giton flees so suddenly.

fr.32

Circe and Encolpius have exchanged letters and Circe has brought Encolpius in contact with a hag who has managed to cure his “*membrum virile*”.

fr.33

l.2: voluptas: Adams, p.197-198: often (as *gaudium*) with a connotation of sexual pleasure.

fr.34

Encolpius is again with Giton. They speak about the night Giton spent with Ascyrtos.

l.2: quid: A colloquial phraseology: see H. L. W. Nelson, ‘Het vulgaire Latijn van Petronius’, *Hermeneus*, 54 (1982), 82-93 (esp. pp.90-92).

l.5: sum molitus: c.23,5 (Adams, p.153).

l.5: nervos reciperem: c.129,8.

l.6: Priapum: Also in c.139,2 (v.8) this god is mentioned in the context of the healing of Encolpius.

fr.36

l.1: sectatrix: Very Late Latin: Julianus apud Augustinum, *Op. imperf. contra Jul.* 4,43 and Augustinus, *De Virg.* 18.

l.2: illius: “Ille” replacing “is”: fr.20 l.11.

fr.38

l.2: semiebria: The word is not attested in Antiquity.

fr.39

l.6: o me infelicem: Petersmann, p.59 mentions six cases of an *accusativus exclamationis* in Petronius.

l.8: Chrysis: Suddenly he mentions that also Chrysis is in love with him; this is mentioned never before!

l.9: She despised Encolpius before (c.126,9).

l.15: idea: Has in Antiquity always the meaning of *Platonic idea*.. Only in Augustinus does it occur in the sense of ‘*imaginatio*’ (ThLL s.v. 3).

l.16: ut: No link is possible with c.139,1 (*vexavi*): this creates an *ut* + indicative, a clear error!

fr.40

l.2: veneficium: Here in the sense of ‘*magic*’: c.128,2: *veneficio quo eram contactus* (LS II).

l.4: insectatos: Rare passive form of the deponent *insectari*.

l.6: noctem consumsi: c.103,6: *reliquas noctis horas... consumpsimus* occurs in Auct. B. Afr., 71,4.

l.8: familiam: In c.139,5 Eumolpus is called “*dominus*”; and it may be assumed that the adventurers, claiming to be rich folk, pretend to be one *familia*, with Eumolpus as a sort of *pater familias*, and Encolpius and Giton as servants or slaves. This fact however is not well elaborated in the Nodotian fragments.

l.9: ministeriis: Duties of the family (it is not clear which are meant). See c.139,5: *dominum iratissimum esse affirmavit, quod biduo iam officio defuissem*.

l.16: furentis: Presumably Chrysis is meant to be furious (from love), or ‘*furentis*’ can also be connected with ‘*Eumolpi*’.

l.17-18: supercilium induerat: “*Supercilium*” means here “*pride, haughtiness*” (LS II B): c.113,10: *nec domini supercilium induebat*.

l.31: Phili: “*the beloved*”. Excellent imitation of c.110,7 (Müller reads *filiorum*).

l.31: deperiri: “*To be desperate in love with*” (LS II) (not in Petronius).

fr.41

In c.140,11 Philomena’s boy comes to Encolpius, but also experiences his impotency. In c.140,12 Encolpius is cured: *di maiores sunt qui me restituerunt in integrum*. Nodot deals with the problem of the curing in a rather short way! The problem in this fragment is that the very obscene story about Philomena’s children is not finished properly: it begins quite suddenly in c.140,1 (no link

with 139,5) and ends abruptly (no mention is made about the disappearing of the children).

l.4: illis: "*Ipsis*" would be more appropriate (cfr. fr.1 l.6)

l.11: Crotoniotae: LS: Cicero, *Inv.* 2,1,1 (and other examples).

fr.42

The adventurers are afraid that their fraud will be discovered, since the promised ship with Eumolpus' goods does not appear.

l.2-3: ultimas voluntates: Justinianus, *Inst.* 1,5,1 (LS I B3).

l.8: translaticia: LS II B: *usual, common* (Petronius, 110,4 and 113,8).

l.10: ast: cfr. fr.6 l.162.

l.14: planos et levatores: An excellent imitation of c.140,15: *unde plani autem, unde levatores viverent*. "Levator" (a lifter, a thief) does only occur in *Sat.* 140,15.

l.16: sumere decreverunt: "*Decernere*" with infinitive: KS II, 2, p.685.

The 'Nodotian Satyricon' ends with fr.1 (= Servius, *ad Vergili Aen.* 3,57: Servius ends his commentary with the remark: *hoc autem in Petronio lectum est*)³⁰. The end is as abrupt as the prooemium. Eumolpus dies as a scape-goat, but it is not clear what happens to Giton and Encolpius. As I already said, this makes the *Satyricon* far too short. Normally we should also expect a happy end in an ancient novel (Sullivan (1968) p.76-77). It is interesting to know that Sullivan (p.39-42) believes that the *Satyricon* begins with this fragment (and with fr.4): Encolpius being expelled for insulting Priapus (parody of the *Iliad*) and beginning his wandering (parody of the *Odyssey*).

Conclusion

Language and style

The most important weakness of the Nodotian fragments is, beyond doubt, its use of the Latin language. Whilst reading the text, one is struck by the many errors that occur in a text which is not extensive at all. In these 'errors' are included constructions and words which were apparently unknown to Petronius (late Latin or even medieval Latin words), but also clear grammatical faults (not seldom Gallicisms). The following list, in which we refer to our line-by-line commentary, provides convincing support for this thesis.

³⁰ In the *apparatus criticus* of the Ernout edition (1962), p. 181: *Ad Capitulum CLXI hoc fragmentum pertinere censuit Gomallus*.

illis (fr.1)
 constringere + inf. (fr.6)
 castellum (fr.6)
 denegatio (fr.6)
 use of supinum (fr.6)
 effrangere (fr.6)
 gradimur (fr.6)
 pacisci quod + subj. (fr.6)
 decernere quod + subj. (fr.6)
 subject of an absolute ablative repeated in main sentence (fr.6)
 supellectarius (fr.6)
 perquisitio (fr.6)
 manubia (fr.6)
 ast (fr.6 + fr. 26 + fr. 42)
 Priapinos (fr.7)
 nutritivus (fr.16)
 'Encolpi' instead of 'meis' (fr.19)
 locutum est (fr.22)
 amasiis (fr.26)
 nictitare (fr.26)
 oppido (fr.26)
 insectarent (fr.26 + fr.40)
 rescirent (fr.26)
 idea (fr.39)
 consecutive 'ut' + ind. (fr.6/ fr.39)
 alteratio (fr.30)
 sectatrix (fr.36)
 semiebria (fr.38)

In Nodot's defence it may be observed that he also has some typical Petronian words or expressions in his text; and sometimes fine allusions were found:

fr.2: se admovit	fr.6: fronte constricta
fr.3: supervenit	fr.6: urceatim
fr.3: pati	fr.6: gradum reducere
fr.3: alte succinctus	fr.7: diversitor
fr.3: invadit	fr.7: perfunctorie
fr.3: super... molere	fr.16: de negotio deicere

fr.3: lustrata urbe	fr.20: puppis constratum
fr.4: frater	fr.26: corymbion
fr.6: secutuleia	fr.26: gratiam extorquere
fr.6: notare + dative	fr.26: amplexu... invasit
fr.6: accedere + accusative	fr.26: arcte complecti
fr.6: in praesidio esse	fr.27: supremo... officio
fr.29: nervi	
fr.30: lateri applicans	
fr.30: anhelitus sudoresque	
fr.40: noctem consumere	
fr.42: planos... levatores	

The style of the Nodotian fragments may be considered as far better. With a degree of elegance Nodot imitates the Petronian *sermo urbanus*, the cultivated everyday speech, mainly consisting of short sentences, particularly suited to the purpose of *delectatio*, and where the erudition is clearly present, although it is not too conspicuous (*ex conversatione doctorum tacitam eruditionem*: Quintilian 6,3,17 and 6,3,104).

To be convinced, one should re-read fragment 6 (the long addition to chapter 11) with its short and easy paratactic sentences, sufficiently varied by the use of asyndeta and the alternated fronting of other parts of a sentence³¹.

Though the overall stylistic impression is good, there is one serious fault: the excessive use of the consecutive construction 'adeo/ ita/ ut + subj.'. In my commentary (fr. 6, l. 34), I have indicated every case of this construction, to which the author seems to resort as to a stop-gap. Some 25 cases in a total of ca. 4230 words occur.

Some other little stylistic blemishes may be observed. The excessive use of little words like 'et' sometimes creates a strange, somewhat anacolouth effect (fr. 6, l. 95-101):

Sed tam constricta fronte altoque supercilio exceptus fuit ut ego, audacior factus, gravia et turpia probra alta voce *jeci* (*grammatical error*) *in* ejus libidinosos impetus, tum *in* Lycurgi, tum *in* propriis aedibus, *in* me factos: *et* Tryphaena obluctans etiam poenas dedit me turpitudinem ejus praedicante concionibus quae ad clamorem confluerant,

³¹ *Petron. Satyricon. Ein römischer Schelmenroman*, übersetzt und erläutert von Harry C. Schnur (Stuttgart, 1968), p. 201: "ganz im Stil der Pikaresken Schelmenromane".

et, pro veritatis argumento, Gitona exsuccum meque tentigine meretricis prope enectum prodebam.

This sentence is far too long to be Petronian, and *in* occurs 4 times in two lines!

Also rather long, clumsy and complicated (twice 'et' and 'que') is the following sentence from fr.6, l. 112-117:

In villam venit, *primaque* fronte nos excepit ut Lycas ipse excepisset, *et* postquam manibus inter se contritis nostrum in Lycam mendacium exprobravit in cella, qua discumbemus, Ascylto excluso nos includi jussit, noluit*que* etiam illi in defensionem nostram aures praebere *et* postea Ascylton secum abducens in castellum, custodibus, usque ad reditum, nos tradidit

Another strange 'et' also in fragment 6, l. 154-157:

ibique servum ephippii equos instruentem vidimus, qui aliquid oblitus domum repetens ab equis discessit *et*, eo absente, superbum palium ephippio alligatum, loris solutis subripui...

Apart from this, the opening sentence of Nodot's prooemium is too long and tortuous (see my commentary *ad hoc*).

Nodot resorts but once, effectively, to another level of speech which also occurs in the *Satyricon*: fragment 24 contains a rhetorical phrase with an imitation of Cicero.

Vulgar Latin, typical of the *Cena Trimalchionis*, does not occur in Nodot's fragments.

Line of plot

The best (the only?) reason for printing the Nodotian texts nowadays in translations of the *Satyricon*, is the fact that they offer good links between the fragments and therefore make it easier to understand the whole story. In my commentary I have tried to indicate how each fragment fits in with the rest of the novel. Generally, the Nodotian additions may be considered as narratologically good. Certainly, inconvenient regarding content are the anachronistic errors: quotes from the Bible (fr.1 + 10), referring to toilet-making habits at the French court (fr.6), and to the duty of reporting oneself to a lictor (fr.7).

There are also some obvious gaps which are not completed (a contradiction when one claims to have found the complete *Satyricon*). Some examples that are not dealt with in the commentary: in ch.10,3-10,4

there is a sudden change of mood with Encolpius and Ascyltos which cannot be explained. The crimes to which Encolpius refers in 81,3 are never mentioned in previous fragments, and also a clear gap between 135,2 (Oenothra in bed) and 135,3 (Oenothra before the altar) remains.

Apart from that (which ancient text is completely without gaps?) two fundamental problems remain. Firstly, Nodot completely omits the fragments (about 30 in the Müller edition) which, according to explicit ancient testimonies, clearly belonged to the *Satyricon*.

Another serious objection is made by Smarius (1996), p. 15. The *Satyricon* as we know it contains some 31.000 words, and it is estimated that the whole consisted of some 400.000 words (Sullivan (1968), p. 36). Since Nodot offers us some 4230 new words his 'complete *Satyricon*' is far too short as to be genuine.

Finally, one can say that Nodot's additions are often quite obvious. No humour occurs, no funny, interesting or unexpected facts are mentioned. Therefore they give the impression of "a bad restoration which deteriorates rather than embellish this unique work of art" (Smarius (1996), p. 19 *my translation*). In other words: one might better use one's own fantasy, that makes the reading more challenging!

General conclusion

In my article on Schnur's *Supplementum Petronianum*³², I developed the idea that this text can be basically evaluated on two levels: not only how Schnur imitated language, style, line of plot, humour of the genuine Petronius; but also how he referred as an 'Alexandrian *scriptor doctus*' to a broad tradition of Latin literature beyond him. Since he never had the purpose of making a forgery, one can admit certain 'non-Petronian' liberties in his work.

It should be clear from this article that on a first level, the Nodotian fragments may be judged as flawed. It is however theoretically possible to evaluate them on the other level, since it is possible that they were written 'just for fun' in 1673-1675 by Pierre Linage, with no purpose of forging. But even in that case, the fragments cannot stand comparison with Schnur's *Encolpi Casus*: the grammatical errors remain, and learned references or pleasant allusions to other ancient writers are scarce³³.

³² To be published in *Festschrift J. IJsewijn* (Louvain, 1998) (see note 3).

³³ One could think of the strange 'resciret' in fr. 26 l. 19, or *fascinosus* (fr. 6). Fr. 1 contains an allusion to Quintilian, and fr. 6 to Plautus (the pickpockets).

In the contest for the best Petronius imitator, Nodot would gain only the bronze medal. For sure the ambitious army-officer offers us some pleasant reconstructions, amusing sentences and an interesting insight into the French cultural world of the late seventeenth century³⁴. Besides that, there's always the joy of 'finding the errors'...

Haagdoornlaan 38
B-2950 Kapellen

³⁴ From 1650 Epicurism is becoming more and more popular in France (replacing the Stoa). In this context must be considered the interest for Petronius: Stolz (1987), pp. 94-99.

INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

J. IJsewijn, G. Tournoy, D. Sacré, M. de Schepper

Appellatio ad auctores

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Augustis anni 1998.

SIGLA:

<i>AHSI</i>	<i>Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu</i> (Roma)
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i> (Gütersloh)
<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève)
<i>GSLI</i>	<i>Giornale storico della letteratura italiana</i> (Torino)
<i>HL</i>	<i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven)
<i>IJCT</i>	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i> (Boston)
<i>IMU</i>	<i>Italia Medioevale e Umanistica</i> (Milano)
<i>JMRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i> (Durham, N.C.)
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London)
<i>RIN</i>	<i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze)
<i>RnR</i>	<i>Roma nel Rinascimento</i> (Roma)
<i>RPL</i>	<i>Respublica Litterarum</i> (Lawrence, Kansas)
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York)
<i>RS</i>	<i>Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford)
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (U of Missouri, Columbia)
<i>SPV</i>	<i>Studia Philologica Valentina</i> (U of Valencia)
<i>WBN</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>WRM</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen</i> (Wiesbaden)

ABBREVIATIONES:

<i>ALF-Erfurt</i>	Dummer G. - Sallmann N. (eds.), <i>De studiis classicis inde a Petrarca usque ad Melancthonem in multis partibus Europae florentibus. Acta septimi Conventus</i>
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- VON ALBRECHT MICHAEL: 'Victoris Poeschl piae memoriae', *Academiae Latinitati Fovendae Commentarii*, s. II, 7-8 (1996-1997), 206. Carmen.
- WATANABEUS ACCIUS: 'Tabacum et diabolus. Fabella Iaponica a Riunosuke Akutagawa conscripta, quam Latine reddidit A.W.', *Retiarius*, 1 (1998).
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- WITCZAK CHRISTOPHORUS THOMAS: 'Iuliani Tuwim "Latinitas" (Iacina)', *Živa Antika*, 46 (1996 [1998]), 40. Carmen Iuliani Tuwim Polonicum Latine versum.

7. Opera Incepta

- *Bibliotheca Latinitatis Novae* (Assen, Van Gorcum, 1998-): paratur corpus scriptorum neolatinorum quod moderantibus Y. Haskell, J. H. Waszink et aliis in lucem proferetur. Mox edentur *Vitae Rud. Agricolae* (ed. F. Akkerman) et *Iohannis Miltonis scripta Latina selecta* (ed. J. K. Hale).
- Beate Czapla (Bonn) parat editionem poematis Bernardi Moelleri c. t. *Rhenus et eius descriptio elegans* (...) (1570).
- Elisabet Sandström (Bögatan 43 D, SE 412 72 Goteborg, Sverige) parat editionem criticam Laurentii Vallae opusculi c. t. *Emendationes quorundam locorum ex Alexandro ad Alphonsum primum Aragonum regem*.
- Mag. Wolfgangus Strobl (Kapuzinerberg 6, A-5020 Salzburg, Austria) commentarium parat in *Crisiada* Hilarionis Veronensis, item editionem

principem carminis anonymi *De Raptu Proserpinae*, quod extat in codice Vaticano Urb. lat. 352.

Prof. A. Thill †(Université de Haute-Alsace) et Dr. G. Banderier (Mulhouse) novam parant anthologiam poetarum e S.J. Latinorum, quae mox prodibit Genavae apud Droz. Continebuntur carmina Hosschi, Hermannii Hugo, Baldei, Commiri, Petavi, Rapini, Vavassori, Vanieri, Sauteli, Sarbievi.

NUNTII

1. Societas internationalis studiis neolatinis provehendis

Societatis Internationalis Studiis Neo-Latinis Provehendis Undecimus Conventus, c. t. "Res Publica Litterarum: Unitas et Varietas", anno 2000 diebus 30 mensis Iulii - 5 mensis Augusti Cantabrigiae apud Britannos celebrabitur. Plura qui scire velit, sive nostram retis universalis paginam inspiciat (<http://fuzzy.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/ianls/>) sive litteras mittat ad

The 11th International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, entitled "*Res Publica Litterarum: Unity and Diversity*" will take place at Cambridge (U.K.), 30 July - 5 August 2000. For further information, please see our web site (<http://fuzzy.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/ianls/>) or contact

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2. Institutur Sodalitium Classicum Bolivianum

Diebus 18 ad 20 mensis prope elapsi iunii anni 1998 in civitate Pacensi amantes Humanitatum classicarum ex Boliviana gente coadunati sunt. Non sane permulti, sed certe toto corde intenti ut patrimonium classicum etiam in Boliviana re publica rursus sive colatur sive inveniatur et cognoscatur.

Circa duodecim alii amantes alii studiosi totidem fere disciplinis (ut philosophia, historia, musica, iure, litteris, iconographicis artibus...) sive imbuti sive instructi et in Pacensi, Sucrensi et Cochabambensi civitatibus degentes, in conventum classicum sese congregarunt, dum etiam consociationem Bolivianam studiis classicis fovendis (*Sociedad Boliviana de Estudios Clásicos*) instituunt. Eius scopus tum ipsarum litterarum classicarum, tum earum in Boliviana patria haereditatis, tum ambarum mixtionis et cuiuscumque generis vestigii in indigenis gentibus et pervestigatio et aestimatio et diffusio.

Ex iuvenibus studiosis etsi incipientibus ibi praesentibus iamiam dies futuros meliores nobis omnibus sperare licet et onus causae classicae in eorum manus sine mora transmitti debet.

Conventus Pacensis sodalibus non tantum ex vicinis (Argentina, Chilensi Peruanaque), sed etiam ex longinquis (Hispana, Italica) gentibus oriundis multimodis ditatus est, cui et orationes et consilia magno iuvamini fuerunt. Obidipsum consociatio eiusque membra quamplurimis cum personis sodalitiisque necessitudines stabilire cupiunt.

Ut iam finem ponam, en inscriptio tabellaria consociationis (a secretis):

Sociedad Boliviana de Estudios Clásicos
Secretaría Lic. Andrés Eichmann
Casilla 10.506
LA PAZ (Bolivia)
Telef./fax (591-2) 359436

Josep M. Barnadas
Casilla 455, Sucre, Bolivia

3.

IN MEMORIAM Andrée Thill (1922-1998)

Madame Andrée Thill nous a quittés le 9 juin 1998. Agrégée des lettres, docteur ès-lettres, elle fit porter ses premiers travaux sur la poésie latine classique, avec une édition critique de la huitième *Bucolique* (1970) et, surtout, sa thèse devenue classique, *Alter ab Illo. Recherches sur l'imitation dans la poésie personnelle à l'époque augustéenne* (1979). Elle fut ensuite presque naturellement conduite à la poésie néo-latine du XVII^e siècle, dont elle fit son terrain d'élection. Le jésuite alsacien Jacob Balde devint plus particulièrement son *socius*: elle en donna un florilège (1981), traduisit deux livres d'odes (1987), ainsi que des extraits de l'*Urania Victrix* (1989), et publia de nombreux articles, réunis en recueil (*Jacob Balde. Dix ans de recherche*, 1991). Elle composa également une anthologie poétique du jésuite polonais Sarbiewski, le maître de Jacob Balde (1995). Son dernier ouvrage, *La lyre jésuite. Anthologie de poèmes latins (1620-1730)* paraîtra aux éditions Droz, dans la collection des «Travaux du Grand Siècle».

G. Banderier

INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

NOVA LEXICA

- *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol. X, 1 fasc. X: *Perfundo - Pernumero* (Lipsiae, Teubner, 1997).
- *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, edd. J. W. Fuchs†, Olga Weijers et Marijke Gumbert-Hepp, Fasc. 48: *Praemium-Prioratus* (Leiden - New York - Köln, E. J. Brill, 1997).
- *Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, VII, 7 (58): *Praelargus-primatiatus* (Kraków, 1997).
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- Diefenbach L., *Glossarium latino-germanicum mediae et infimae aetatis. E codicibus manuscriptis et libris concinnavit L.D. (Supplementum lexici mediae et infimae latinitatis conditi a Carolo Dufresne Du Cange)* (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997). Est editio phototypica (1857¹).

INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba, quae neque in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis* Forcelliniano reperiuntur. Ea autem, quae in lexicis et glossariis Mediae et Inferioris Latinitatis leguntur, stellula (*) notavimus; cruce (†) quae in lexico neolatino Renati Hoven relata sunt.

- | | |
|---|--|
| Anthropologia: <i>anthropology</i> : p. 31; 33. | † Circumlingere: <i>to lap around</i> : p. 207 (l. 1149). |
| Ant(i)apologia: <i>response to an apology</i> : p. 75. | Classifier: <i>bearing ships</i> (a harbour): p. 71 (l. 3). |
| *Antidotarium: <i>pharmacopoea</i> : p. 355, 356. | Commoderari: <i>to steer</i> : p. 195. Vide et ThLL: <i>commoderatus</i> ! |
| *Astripotens: <i>ruling the stars</i> : p. 206 (l. 1117). | Consceleratio: <i>delinquency</i> : p. 111. |
| *Aurisonus: <i>clinking with gold</i> : p. 196 (l. 766); 205 (l. 1107). | *(†) Craneum: <i>skull</i> (κρανίον): p. 184 (l. 355). |
| *Aurivomus: <i>belching gold</i> : p. 205 (l. 1107) | *Crudivorus = ὀμοβόρος: p. 188 (l. 490). |
| Caedivus = caeduvus: p. 177 (l. 83). | |
| *† Calcifex: <i>shoe-maker</i> : p. 115 (l. 99). | *Detumere = detumescere: p. 371 (l. 148). |
| * Cardinalis: <i>Cardinal</i> : p. 352; 353. | Dimobilis: <i>movable</i> : p. 187 (l. 457). |
| *Chronographicon: <i>chronogram</i> : p. 357. | *†Ducatus: -us: <i>duchy</i> : p. 173. |

- †Duriuscule: *somewhat roughly*: p. 111.
- Eremiterium (cf. *† eremitorium/*eremitarium): *hermitage*: p. 288.
- †Excudere: *to print*: p. 68.
- †Exenterator (marsupii): *pickpocket*: p. 387.
- Faex adusta: *brandy*: p. 203 (l. 1005).
- Filiferus: *spinning threads*: p. 110.
- †Fortunula: *poor fortune*: p. 110.
- *Francigena: *Son of the Franks*: p. 72.
- Gallicismus: *gallicism*: p. 359.
- *Haeducus, -i: (*Hungarian*) *soldier*: p. 192 (l. 623).
- *Horologus = *horologium*: p. 210 (l. 1273).
- *Humulus (= †Lupulus): *hop(plant)*: p. 199 (l. 869); 201 (l. 941).
- *†Incompensabilis: *irretrievable*: p. 210 (l. 1279).
- Irrecutitus: *not circumscribed*: p. 209 (l. 1238).
- Lignigenus: *wooden*: p. 183 (l. 289).
- *Lupuletum: *hop field*: p. 199 (l. 893).
- *†Lupulus: *hop(plant)*: p. 199 (l. 885); 200 (l. 899, 925, 929); 201 (l. 932, 934, 937, 945); 203 (l. 1019).
- *†Marchio: *margrave*: p. 197.
- †Martes, -is (* martur): *marten*: p. 197 (l. 813).
- *†Medo (= hydromeli): *mead*: p. 203 (l. 1019, 1021, 1024); 235; 236. Vide et ThLL: *meto/medo*.
- *†Muscatus: *muscat*: p. 209 (l. 1230).
- †Mystax: *moustache*: p. 212 (l. 1335).
- *Nictitare: *to blink*: p. 376 (fr. 26, l. 2).
- *†Nutritivus: *nutritive*: p. 375 (fr. 16, l. 2).
- Octolinguis: *of eight languages*: p. 173.
- Orcipotens: *ruling the underworld*: p. 219 (l. 1583).
- *Palatinatus, -us: (in Poland) *palatinate*: p. 241.
- *†Papatus, -us: *papacy*: p. 110; 111.
- *Parix: *a singing bird*: p. 178 (l. 128).
- †Pharmacop(o)eus: *pharmacist*: p. 355.
- †Poetaster: *poor poet*: p. 170.
- *Popus, -i: *pope*: p. 216 (l. 1496); 224 (l. 1757, 1758).
- *Praeterfluus: *flowing along*: p. 215 (l. 1433); 241.
- Priapinus = Priapus (?): p. 372.
- Refurari: *to steal back*: p. 218 (l. 1562).
- Russiacus: *Russian*: p. 196 (l. 759).
- Russigena: *Russian born*: p. 175 (l. 9); 179 (l. 152); 217 (l. 1515).
- *Sabellus, -i: *sable*: p. 197 (l. 811).
- *Schediasma, -atis: *essay*: p. 284; 300; 308.
- †Semicorrosus: *half-gnawed*: p. 44.
- Semiebrius: *half-drunk*: p. 379 (fr. 38, l. 2).
- Semiprofanus: *half-profane*: p. 216 (l. 1494).
- *Septipedalis = septempedalis: p. 181 (l. 224).
- Sigoneitas: *stylistic features of Sigonius*: p. 259.
- *†Spermologus: *boaster*: p. 117 (l. 188).
- *Sudificus: *clearing the air*: p. 196 (l. 777).
- Superadmirandus: *most admirable*: p. 256.
- Turdigenus: *born from a thrush*: p. 193 (l. 648).
- †Typographia: *printing office*: p. 353.
- *Vinum crematum: *brandy*: p. 201 (l. 958).

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